

## THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

By Tom Mann.

Melbourne, August 1, 1909.

In describing the conditions that prevail in Australia it may be advisable to state that I have had over seven and a half years' experience in Australasia, and during the whole of that time have been actively identified with the movement, and have been through each of the Australian states, as well as Tasmania and New Zealand, under conditions that have brought me in direct relationship with the workers in their homes and at their work.

It can scarcely be necessary to say that the economic basis of society in Australia is the same as in Europe, and that the standard of life is a little higher than in Britain, only a little.

From the standpoint of a non-Socialist Labor man Australia is fairly well organized politically, and moderately well industrially, and fully one-third of the total members of the various Parliaments are Labor members, at least this is so in the Lower Chambers.

The industrial legislation likely to be of most interest to British readers is that whereby attempts have been made to guard against disputes and to adjust working conditions without resorting to lock-outs or strikes.

In Victoria this is attempted by means of Wages Boards, the boards being appointed by resolution of Parliament, and as each trade requires a separate resolution to be carried by Parliament, these boards are not by any means universal throughout the state.

In New South Wales the State Arbitration Act has been superseded by an Industrial Disputes Act, under which many unions have been registered, but many unions refuse to register, and are bitterly opposed to the act. As is well known, no doubt, to your readers, there is also a Federal Arbitration Act to deal with disputes extending over more than one state.

In each state instances can be given of improved conditions obtained through the agencies mentioned, and a considerable number of Labor men and unionists are firm believers in the Federal Arbitration Court, and prefer to have their cases dealt with by such a court rather than to be saddled with the responsibility of thrashing the matter out by trade union methods.

For some three years after my arrival, first in New Zealand and then in Australia, I was of opinion that there was much more to be said in defense of these legislative methods of dealing with disputes than against them, but since they have been applied more extensively, and time has afforded fuller opportunities to test these institutions and their effect upon the workers, I have lost any faith I had in them, and am now of opinion that their effect is positively harmful and dangerous. The standard of life is not raised either more quickly or more effectively by these means than it has been in times past, here and elsewhere, by unionist methods, and the effect upon the workers themselves is most pernicious.

The system hands over very largely the dealing with and the settling of purely industrial matters to the lawyer fraternity, none of whom know anything at first hand of the actual industrial conditions, and none of whom have any real experience of living upon the amounts fixed as being satisfactory for workmen.

The badgering that takes place between opposing lawyers and witnesses in the courts as to amounts earned and how they are spent is most exasperating. An insolent lawyer, in domineering tone, asks a workman's wife what she pays for her boots and gowns, and how many she gets in a year, or demands of a man witness how much he gives his wife, and how he spends his pocket money; whether he is a teetotaler or smoker, and how much of liquor or tobacco he uses; what clubs he belongs to, and how much he pays to them; also whether his wife is economical or wasteful. These and a thousand other humiliations make the blood flow quicker than usual at the impudent audacity of the lawyer. These men, receiving from seven to thirty guineas a day, make long-winded speeches to prove that Australian workmen can live in such comfort as they ought to aspire to on seven and sixpence a day.

And such exhibitions are classed by some as being far superior to the "barbarous" methods of strikes. I know of nothing in the social or industrial realm so utterly humiliating or so entirely degrading than to find experienced unionists not only handing their case over to lawyers, but spending many hours instructing them, and taking infinite pains to prepare witnesses for them, whilst the workmen themselves sit helplessly looking on and listening to blunder after blunder and insults innumerable to individual witnesses and to the whole working class. This, I say, is to my mind the very limit of humiliation, and is evidence of the lack of fighting ability and manly courage, as well as being a demonstration of the absence of class-consciousness on the part of workmen consenting to such procedure.

During the last nine months I have had extensive opportunities of gauging the effect of resorting to such institutions in connection with the lockout at Broken Hill Mines, New South Wales, and the Port Pirie Smelting Works, South Australia.

The Federal Arbitration Act was passed, not to settle disputes merely, but to "prevent disputes" by preventing a stoppage of work pending a decision of the court. Fully three months before the lockout at Broken Hill occurred, it was common knowledge to all Australia that difficulties were brewing and likely to come to a head at the end of 1908, but nothing transpired to prevent the wealthy Broken Hill proprietary company from locking out the workers at Port Pirie and at Broken Hill, and not till ten weeks after the lockout commenced was an award given by the court, this award was challenged by the company immediately and taken to the Federal High Court, another eight weeks thus elapsing before the decision was given, and during all this time some ten thousand persons had to be provided for.

The whole case could have been settled in a fortnight, and on better lines, without any such legal machinery; as it was, the men were out fully twenty weeks.

Without going into too much detail respecting this particular struggle, it may be mentioned that the men at the Port Pirie smelters have always worked seven shifts a week. During the progress of events before the recent lockout, the men decided to ask for a six-shift week, and were willing to drop the pay for the seventh shift, urging that one seventh more men should be employed, to provide the necessary relief gangs. It is a certainty that if there had been no resorting to the courts this change would have been secured; as it is, the seven shifts still prevail in all departments save one.

It may seem strange to some of your readers that such conditions should obtain in South Australia, where there was a Labor Premier for nearly four years, indicating a considerable Labor Party power and influence. To show that the presence of Labor members in the South Australian Parliament does not carry with it industrial and social wellbeing for the workers, I may record a few facts collected during the past fortnight, where I have been organizing on the Yorke Peninsula, South Australia. Moonta and Kadina are copper mining towns; at Moonta, where there is a large percentage of Cornishmen, the system known as "tributing" obtains amongst about 90 per cent of the miners. These men are in the employ of the Wallaroo and Moonta Mining and Smelting Co., Limited, which company deserves an advertisement for its unbounded generosity. Tributors get anything from about 5s a week up to 45s a week, the average being not more than 25s. In verification of this statement I enclose a balance sheet of a tributing pitch, at which two men worked for nineteen days—that is, three weeks and one day—

and the total sum received was less than £2 13s for the two, or less than nine shillings a week per man, and I had ample evidence that there was nothing exceptional in this. I purposely did not mention the exact amount, as although Europe is a long way off, I count it advisable not to be specific, as even this privilege of tributing might be taken from the men who would dare make known the facts.

It should be borne in mind that of the three members of Parliament representing the district named, two are Labor men. One of them, living at Moonta, is Mr. John Verran, M. L. A., the present leader of the Labor Party in the South Australian Parliament, and leader of the Opposition. Also, the Moonta men are in a union, but they are purely sectional, hitherto not even being federated to their next-door neighbors at Wallaroo or Kadina. At the latter place, Kadina, there is less "tributing" and more contracting in the mines, but the "stopes" are let by the company to the men on a competitive contract—i. e., there may be two "stopes" to let. Notice is posted up, the men tender—probably twenty of them will do so—and the lowest tender is generally accepted; and this comes as a rife from the man whose surroundings are most poverty stricken, whose family credit is nearly run out at the stores, and whose wife has been told by the storekeeper that "unless they can pay something off the debt, the credit must stop next week." The husband in such a case—and such cases are numerous—puts in a price at which it is impossible to make the equal of ordinary wages, as a guarantee that he will be lower than his mates, and so he gets the contract, and the wife is able to report this to the grocer, and credit is allowed for another spell.

I see no earthly chance of changing these wretched conditions for the better by any existing agency. You may judge that the men are fully alive to the facts as regards Wages Boards and Arbitration Acts, and still the standard is as I have described.

A ray of hope has recently made its appearance by a special effort being made to bring each of the unions together to secure class solidarity. The Kadina miners have already amalgamated with the men at Wallaroo smelters, and now negotiations are going on to extend the amalgamation to Moonta also. Better still, as a result of the lessons learned by the Port Pirie men during the recent struggle, they are convening a congress of all unions in the state, to meet in Adelaide next week, with the object of taking action to get rid of sectional trade unionism, and so pave the way for definite action to wipe out the anomalies of shocking low wages and other faulty social conditions.

It is seriously believed that by means of industrial unionism the workers will be galvanized into healthy activity, will revolt against capitalism, and begin to speedily raise the standard of life, either by withholding their labor or some other method that is yet to be decided on; but for the time the cry is Industrial Unionism, not to supersede political action, but to do the work that makes for life and health, and carries with it whole-hearted revolt.

The Socialist Party of Victoria, the Sydney Socialist group, the Adelaide Socialist group and the Broken Hill Socialist group (New South Wales) sent their delegates recently to Broken Hill to hold the annual conference. The above-named societies constitute the Socialist Federation of Australia, and they are systematically and vigorously conducting an educational propagandist campaign. Being avowed revolutionary Socialists, they do not work with the political Labor parties, but are exercising an increasing influence in the unions, and are so really materially influencing Labor parties. But here in Australia, as with you in Great Britain, it has been found possible for some comrades not to agree entirely with others, and so friction has sometimes been evident; but I can assure the readers of the Labor Leader that there is a real Socialist movement here, and I can truly state that the Socialists are doing more genuine propaganda than all other societies combined.

We are watching with the keenest interest the development of affairs in Europe, and we are very glad that such a sturdy spirit is being manifested by the miners of Britain. The reports just to hand by cable of the imprisonment of the 160 Gateshead miners, the hearty backing of the Northumberland men by Keir Hardie, M. P., his declaration in favor of working-class solidarity, and the apparent indorsement of this by the Warwickshire, Scotch, and other miners of Britain, is the most encouraging news we have received from Britain for many a long day. I am permitted by our party to send their most hearty encouragements and congratulations to all the comrades engaged in the great task of developing class solidarity, and aiming at the achievement of economic emancipation.—London Labor Leader.

## FOR SWEDEN'S STRIKERS AID FOR SWEDEN'S WORKERS

Sandgren Meeting is Beginning.

The meeting addressed by John Sandgren at Druid's Hall last Tuesday contributed over \$25 in money and laid plans for an active campaign in behalf of the Swedish strikers.

Comrade Sandgren was late in arriving, but the audience waited patiently and listened to Comrades Jackson and Pope meanwhile. When he did reach the hall Comrade Sandgren plunged into the heart of his subject without delay. It is a marvelous state of affairs that he pictured to his hearers, a situation unprecedented in the annals of the modern labor movement.

A nation's entire working class in a fight to a finish with a solidly united body of their exploiters, each side fully aware that the loser in this grim struggle will be annihilated. The capitalist class of Sweden is backed by practically all the capitalists of Europe, and the Swedish workmen are being supported by other workers the world over. A million people are starving in Sweden, but not one will give in. They can not. The terms set by the exploiters are impossible of acceptance. To accept would mean the destruction of the Swedish nation and the scattering of her population to the four winds. Sandgren pointed out the vital necessity of victory and asked that a committee be formed to carry on the work in St. Louis. The committee as chosen consists of G. Dahlberg, N. J. Nelson, Jas. Barratt, Alex. Borjesson and Mrs. Evaline Hunstock. This committee and others to be selected later will conduct an active campaign in St. Louis in behalf of our brothers in Sweden. The committee is to meet Friday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m., 212 South Fourth street. All who are willing to help in raising funds and creating a favorable sentiment are invited to attend.

There are signs that the laborers are beginning to think about changing these laws. They have long been trained to think that things must be right as they are and that change would be wrong or impossible. But every day that passes is showing them that this position is not correct. Their very work is making them think.

## The Bond of Commerce

By Wm. Restelle Shier.

Someone, an Anglican divine, if we mistake not, once said that men have preached religion, argued about religion, fought and died for religion, but never lived religion. With commerce it is somewhat different. Men have never preached it, argued about it, or put it into thirty-nine articles, but they have lived, fought and died for it as ardently as they have burned heretics at the stake.

The love of riches, wrote the Apostle Paul, is the root of all evil. It is certainly the root of most wars, notwithstanding the many plausible reasons given for them by their promulgators. Of course, men are naturally loth to admit that they split each others' skulls with the intent to pillage each others' possessions. Higher motives, they insist, impel them to take up the sword against their fellowmen. Such is human nature. The reason can usually justify any misdemeanor committed under the frown of a protesting conscience. So it is with nations. When they attack a rival nation or invade another's country, they always do so in the interests of liberty, civilization and religion. Though individually we be selfish, collectively we are altruistic, for we are never snared into a war by the spirit of our own covetousness!

It is now admitted by historians that war is at bottom an economic institution. Behind all the grievances, real and imagined, with which races justify themselves in the eyes of the world for attacking other races, are usually to be found the symptoms of land-hunger, trade-hunger, the craving for more customers, more markets, more wealth. The flag is pushed into foreign lands that trade may follow it.

A few instances will suffice to show that commercial cupidity is responsible for a great deal of international strife. Take the recent Titanic struggle in the Far East. The capitalists of Russia and Japan looked with covetous eyes upon Manchuria and Korea as fields of profitable exploitation, and, through their governments, sought to bring those territories within their own peculiar spheres of influence. The wily Slav was the first to insinuate his proprietorship of the disputed ground, and was gradually encroaching upon it, when to his chagrin his competitors, the Japanese, took alarm and peremptorily demanded his withdrawal. The Russo-Japanese war sprung from the economic rivalry between the two contesting powers.

Now that the English people can look with dispassionate eye upon their subjection of the Boer republics, they see that they were duped into the game by the machinations of a clique of cosmopolitan capitalists who were dissatisfied with Boer administration and thought to have things all their own way if they could introduce British government and get it into their own hands. It is morally certain that had there been no gold in South Africa the Transvaal and Orange Free State would not now be under the English yolk.

## COMRADE HICKEY IN ST. LOUIS

On Four Successive Evenings He Addressed Splendid Street Meetings.

The only and inimitable Hickey was in St. Louis for a few days last week. He spoke three times at Twelfth and Olive and once at Broadway and Chestnut. The crowds ranged from 100 to 500, and the meetings were excellent in every way. Literature sales were quite satisfactory. Comrade Hickey uses a blackboard to illustrate his argument and makes his points clear to even the dullest hearer. The best of order prevailed and the audiences exhibited a strong desire for light and instruction.

### TRUST DEVELOPMENT.

The Socialist points to this growth of monopoly in industry not merely for vindication of the present criticisms of Marx and other Socialist writers, but also, and more particularly, to make clear the point that the economic changes noted make possible and necessary the social and political change to an industrial democracy which earlier Utopian dreamers advocated in vain because the necessary economic conditions did not yet exist. The transformation of countless small industrial and commercial concerns from private to public property was impossible, but the transformation of great industrial monopolies to public or social monopolies is not only possible, but appeals to all save those immediately interested in them, as profit takers, as the only means whereby their interests may be safeguarded. The trust marks the point in the development of the capitalist system at which it becomes possible for the citizens of the country to socialize industry without loss of efficiency. The end of the capitalist regime and the inauguration of Socialism becomes now a matter for the intelligent agreement of the people.

### The Capitalist System and Class Divisions.

Capitalism, or the capitalist system, is that industrial and social system in which the production of goods is carried on, not primarily for the use and enjoyment of the producers and their families, but by wage-paid laborers for the profit of a class of employers and traders. This system, seen in embryo in the workshop system of the non-chartered towns of Europe in the latter half of the sixteenth century, became the dominant system with the industrial revolution of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Only machinery and a highly scientific division of labor made its employment possible. The essential features of capitalism, then, are: (1) Production for sale and profit instead of for use; (2) The existence of a wage-paying class owning the tools and other means of production used by others, and a wage-receiving class using the tools owned by others in the interests of the tool owners.

### 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 languages: English, Bohemian, German, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Hebrew, Hungarian, Polish, Slavonic, Lithuanian, Croatian and Finnish. Ten cents each copy. No reduction for quantities. Order from National Office, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

### The Harp for September.

The September issue of "The Harp" contains "Is Socialism Destroying Religion at McKees Rocks?" by Anna A. Maley, organizer of Women for the Socialist Party. "Ireland's False Leaders," by X. "Industrial Unionism," by Justus Ebert. "John Smith, Esquire," by Louisa Dana Harding. "Learning Their Lesson," by the editor, and Spailpin in his "Harp Strings," reviews the happenings of the month. "The Harp" is the journal of the Irish Socialist Federation and is published monthly at 749 Third avenue, New York City. The subscription price is 50 cents yearly.



## Was Harriman a Christian?

This question is answered in the Miners' Magazine in this philosophical manner:

Since Harriman was snatched from life's arena and laid away in a rock-ribbed vault on Arden hill, the pen of the journalist and the tongue of the orator have been busily engaged in reviewing the personal history of the man who was recognized as the railroad wizard of the world. Harriman had but little more than passed the three-score mile-post when he felt the chill of death, and his unearned millions could not stay the summons of the grim messenger that subpoenaed the shriveled soul from the wasted tenement of clay.

Harriman died a victim of the system that made him a monarch in the world of finance and transportation. For years he had heard the bay of the Wall Street bloodhounds, and he knew that he could never rest in the mad race for profit and dividends. To give recreation to his worn-out body and tired brain meant financial death, and the man of millions was forced to hurry himself to a premature grave, in order that he might keep out of the reach of the pitiless hyenas who looked with covetous eyes upon his stocks and bonds. But when Harriman closed his eyes in death and his lifeless and emaciated frame was prepared for Mother Earth, a minister of the gospel was summoned to extol the virtues of the great man and to impress upon the exclusive circle that was permitted to stand in the presence of the dead magnate that he was a man of noble character and that his life was adorned with deeds of charity that stamped him as a Christian gentleman.

Harriman was no better and no worse than the other wolves who devour the sheep. He realized that in the struggle to amass millions he could give no quarter and show no mercy. He knew that in the race for gold there was no sentiment, and that the man whose heart was moistened by the milk of human kindness would go down to failure and be crushed by the iron feet of heartless brigands whose eyes are tearless and whose hearts are steeled to human suffering. The minister of the gospel who delivered the funeral oration over the remains of Harriman and who endeavored to impress upon his hearers that the man who surrendered his spirit on Arden hill had lived the life of a Christian will scarcely be believed, even by the very men who conspired with Harriman to reap millions from the juggling of stocks and bonds. Harriman showed no fear of death.

When the eye was becoming glassy and the ashen hue crept over the wan face, his thoughts did not soar towards the stars, but he was thinking of his empire on earth, and to save his domain from hungry vultures he summoned the great banker of America, J. Pierpont Morgan, to his bedside, to place in his care and custody his thousands of miles of railroads and to impress upon him the necessity of holding intact his vast accumulations.

According to the press reports, Harriman worked until ninety minutes before he took his exit to an invisible world. "The mansions in the skies" did not seem to trouble the expiring moments of his life, for he continued in the battle until he sank into the "dreamless sleep" that knows no waking on earth.

## UNFAIR LIST

of the

### American Federation of Labor

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

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

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

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

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

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

**GROCERIES**—James Butler, New York City.

**TOBACCO**—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

**WHISKY**—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**IRON and STEEL**—Illinois Iron and Bolt Co. of Carpentersville, Ill.; Casey & Hedges, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Lincoln Iron Works (F. R. Patch Mfg. Co.), Rutland, Vt.; Singer Sewing Machine

Co., Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.; Pittsburg Expanded Metal Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; American Hoist and Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Standard Sewing Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Manitowoc Dry Dock Co., Manitowoc, Wis. **STOVES**—Wrought Iron Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.; United States Heater Co., Detroit, Mich.; Gurney Foundry Co., Toronto, Ont.; Home Stove Works, Indianapolis, Ind.; Buck Stove and Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.

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

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

**WALL PAPER**—William Bailey & Sons, Cleveland, O.

**WATCHES**—Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; Jos. Fahy, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Watch Case Co., Sag Harbor; T. Zurbrugg Watch Case Co., Riverside, N. J.

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

**BILL POSTERS**—Bryan & Co., Cleveland, O.; A. Van Buren Co. and New York Bill Posting Co., New York City.

**HOTELS**—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

**RAILWAYS**—Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co.

**TELEGRAPHY**—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind.

Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.

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

**FIBRE WARE**—Indurated Fibre Ware Co., Lockport, N. Y.

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**GOLD BEATERS**—Hastings & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Keeley, New York City; F. W. Rauskolb, Boston, Mass.

**LUMBER**—Reinle Bros. & Solomon, Baltimore, Md.; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co., Tacoma, Wash.; Gray's Harbor Commercial Co., Cohnopolis, Wash.

**LEATHER**—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

## 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 workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grind their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

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

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

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

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

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all ves-

tiges 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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Dalles, R.	1027 Allen av.	Marschall, L.	2908 S Broadway
Dintelman, H.	1824 S 10th st.	Messerschmidt, P.	2225 Cherokee st.
Ekert, 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.	1991 Lami st.	Old Homestead Bky	1038 N Vandeventer
Graf, Ferd	2201 S 2nd st.	Papendick B'k'y Co	3609-11 N 22d st.
Hahn Bakery Co.	2801-5 S. 7th st.	Rahm, A.	3001 Rutger st.
Halleman, Jos.	2022 Cherokee st.	Riedle, Geo.	2100 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.
Huts, Fr.	7728 S Broadway	Schueler, Fred	3402 S Jefferson av
Imhof, F.	1801 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.	2737 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.	2110 S 7th st.
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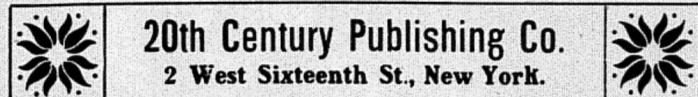


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## Jealous Employee

### Discord Among Workers Irritates the Manager

By JOHN A. HOWLAND

**I** HAD a talk the other day with the earnest, conscientious head of a department in a big publishing house, who for a long time has been troubled with the affairs of his particular integral part of the business. He has under his direction a staff of a dozen or more illustrators and artists, most of whom are "temperamental." Much of the work of the department is high-grade work; much more of it is much less so. In the organization of the department men have been chosen as far as possible according to their fitness for a particular work and the scale of salaries of the office emphasizes this fact.

But at times my friend is tried sorely by the conditions which persist in his organization in spite of all he can do in mitigation of them. This head of the department himself is an artist. At one time he, too, probably suffered from "temperamentalism." But for so many years he has been director of work in this department, responsible for results reported in department expenses to the business department of the house, that he has had to discard temperament in large measure. He is a little intolerant of it, in fact. Yet every day he is confronted with the jealousies, petty questionings and "knockings" on the part of men who he feels are old enough to know better.

"But what can I do about it?" he asks in desperation. "I can 'fire' two or three or four of them, but I'd get just two or three or four others who are of the same disposition. So what's the use?"

This troublesome situation in an art department has been pictured in detail only for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that in more or less measure the same condition holds wherever salaried men work under a manager. Jealousy in its common acceptance applies largely in matters of the heart. It is there that it attracts widest attention of the world when the fruits of it become public. But always this evil of jealousy obtains in the world of the workers and always it has been a problem of the manager how to lay it.

The remedy, however, is easiest applied by the offender himself. Not only may the one former offender, if he will, clear himself of the charge of offending, but he may become—if he will—an active agent, co-operating with his employer in doing away with the evil.

In the thousand and one instances of every day in which some one of a group of workers must be chosen for a specific accomplishment, only that one man of all others can be chosen. It is only human nature that any one worker, feeling himself capable of acquitting himself successfully in such a task, should feel a sane measure of disappointment if he shall be passed over.

But it is a different thing if in the heart of this young man he has resort to the bitterness of jealousy against manager and fellow employe alike. Something is radically wrong with the man himself!

Have you been nursing this evil of jealousy? Drop it if you have. More than this, enlist yourself as an active agent for putting down jealousies among your fellows. Laugh at them—scuff at them—"knock" the whole secret system of cabal against your employer.



After the prospective settler reaches his new home, whether it be in Alberta, Canada, or in the panhandle of Texas, he must acquaint himself with his neighbors and the territory in which he is to live and remember that every one looks upon a stranger with a suspicious eye. Therefore, before he can become acquainted with his new neighbors, he must receive many a snub and still be as one blind and not seeing what is going on around him. Before he can attain a strong footing in the community he must be as meek as a lamb and, although he knows that he is not being

treated just exactly right, he is obliged to remain in good spirits and show enmity toward none.

If a prospective settler or a settler that has already bought his farm has any new or up-to-date tools the neighbors will want to borrow them. In order not to make an enemy of any one he must not refuse, although he does not like to part with his implements. He must look pleasant whether he wishes or not.

The opportunities that are offered in the southern Alberta district for the young farmer are almost innumerable. The wheat fields of southern Alberta are about the best in North America, as the statistics of the last few years show.

Innumerable opportunities are also to be found in the panhandle of Texas. The state of Texas owns many millions of acres of land in more than 100 different counties, which are at present rented to large ranch owners and corporations, but a new law has been passed to put this land on sale to the public as soon as the leases expire.

There is no duty that ought to be thought more serious than the duty we all owe to each other in the matter of preventing any infection we may have from spreading to others. It is a sacred duty which nations, families and individuals owe to others. To take infection knowingly among others is morally murder. Every one should recognize the truth of this. The precautions which every one ought to take, but which many willfully neglect, are the following:

1. Don't send children to school from a house where any infectious disease exists.
2. Don't go to church meeting or crowded shop when you are nursing infectious illness.
3. Don't send toys used by children suffering from any infectious illness to other children; they should always be burned.
4. Don't write letters from infectious rooms.
5. Don't let dogs or cats into rooms where infectious illness is. They may convey the infection in their fur to other houses.
6. Remember that we may infect a whole neighborhood if we don't disinfect all the evacuations of the sick before they are put down the drains.

## He Knows His Owner

"Mother" Jones has been speaking in the Black Hills; South Dakota, and this lady who has spent the best years of her life in using all her ability to arouse toiling humanity to a realization of the brutal system under which we live has wounded the dignity of a pigmy editor who is permitted by his master to conduct a measly rag known as the "Call."

"Mother" Jones in her speeches in the Black Hills, so reports the Miners' Magazine, wore no gloves, but rapped capitalism with bare knuckles, and for this unpardonable sin against society all the vindictive venom of a prostituted brain is hurled at her through the columns of a subsidized sheet that is edited by a spineless vassal whose last vestige of manhood has been confiscated to earn the plaudits of a privileged few whose wealth is built on the degradation and destitution of the producing class. Had "Mother" Jones invaded the Black Hills as the defender and champion of vested interests, the lickspittle that fawns in cringing sycophancy to jingling coin would have crawled on his abdomen to do her homage. Did she belong to the "Smart set" she would have been the guest of the aggregation that hatched the foul and infamous conspiracy that sent Freeman Knowles to jail.

Did she blaze with diamonds and wear a director's gown, the "mollycoddle" and puerile mental "weaking" that slobbers with vituperation to please his owner would have crowned her as a queen among women and impoverished his limited command of the English language to cover her with encomiums of praise, adds the Miners' Magazine. But "Mother" Jones being a WOMAN and not a "lady" in the "smart set," the mental nonentity on the Call could not comprehend the vastness of her subject nor could he give her credit for her fidelity to a class whose wails of anguish are heard in every nation on earth.

It is lamentable to contemplate the number of degenerates who have fastened themselves on journalism and who, for "filthy lucre," put in chains their infant mentality to receive from their owner the declaration of approval: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

But when the scribbler on the "Call" and "Mother" Jones are facing eternity, when both have been laid away in "the silent city of the dead," men, women and children will gather at the last resting place of this grand old woman whose hair has been whitened by the snows of age, and her memory will be kept alive, while humanity will scarcely ever realize that a microbe infested the Black Hills to inflict verbal slum on intelligent people.

The editor of the "Call" should take a large dose of Sloan's Condition Powders for Mules.

### Class Divisions.

To many people, especially Americans, any reference to class divisions is exceedingly disagreeable, and acts as a red flag is supposed to act upon the nerves of a bad tempered bull. They are perfectly willing to admit that classes existed in ancient times, under the slave system and the later feudal system which bound the serf to the soil. They admit the existence of classes at the present time in the old world where more or less of the feudal traditions exist, but they do not willingly admit the existence of class divisions, similar in all essential respects, in twentieth century America.

This is perfectly natural, for, superficially, conditions in the United States are different from conditions in Russia, Germany, or even England. We have no hereditary monarchy; no titled aristocracy; no State Church. The Constitution, the foundation of our political system, guarantees freedom and equality to all. Politically, the poorest man is theoretically equal to the richest in the land, and the humblest child born has equal chance with every other child of becoming the head of our government. It is not easy for men and women reared in such a country, and educated to such views as these, to realize that just as the class division which existed under the ancient slave systems existed, but in a slightly changed form, under the feudal regime in which the serf depended upon the owner of the soil, so it exists under capitalism, in the creation of employer and employe. For, as in each of the previous systems, the means upon which one man's life depends is owned by another who exacts service for access to those means.

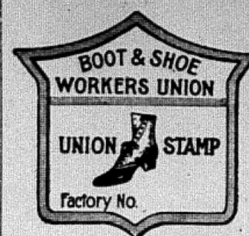
### Why Women Are Cheap.

From whatever moral plane one views the function of the ballot, there is, for woman, this obvious value in creating or in controlling and chastening its economic power. The larger economic aspect of the suffrage immediately follows in influencing and regulating through the laws, the conditions of commerce, national and international, the relation between labor and capital, buyer and seller. Only the ignorant or the willfully blind today are in any doubt as to woman's need for the ballot to protect herself and her claims in these things. The reason women are cheaper than men is because they are more helpless. The reason that children are cheaper than women is because they are still more helpless. Only the animals are more so, and it is because they are the most helpless of all that they are the cheapest of all. It has become self-evident in this country that the people who have the ballot get more consideration than those who haven't. They have a weapon with which to defend themselves against oppression. It is known that in the four equal suffrage states the laws protecting women and children, regulating wages and hours, are more favorable than anywhere else in this country. It is equally obvious that women are more careful of the interests of children than men are, and that woman's economic object in demanding the ballot is fortified by a natural instinct and that she is acting for the good of the race. The primal instinct to protect her young is quite as powerful as the determination to free herself in this present world-wide movement for political equality. In most of the states of the Union women are obliged to struggle for their economic ends indirectly. If they are wage earners they have to influence the conditions under which they earn, conditions sometimes which kill, maim and undermine health—they have to influence these conditions, indirectly. If they are not wage earners or otherwise financially independent, then their economic survival is still more indirect. And indirection is the unhappiest development in woman's situation and in woman's nature.

### Socialism Not a Theory of Economic Fatalism.

At first this theory may appear to be harsh and repellant, destroying all man's individuality, making him a mere automaton, and involving a mechanical conception of social progress, a rigid economic fatalism. The theory is often criticised from this point of view and it must be confessed that the exaggerations of the theory by some Socialists are partly responsible for this. But Socialism does not rest upon any such fatalistic conception. If it did there would be no justification for the existence of a Socialist movement with its political party organization, its ceaseless propaganda, its press and constantly growing literature. Man is not only a creature of his environment in common with the lower animals; unlike them, he is able, within certain limits, to change his environment. Reason, the sovereign attribute which makes him master of the universe, enables him to interpret the facts of his daily life, to understand the significance of constant changes in the conditions by which he is surrounded, and to seize upon the opportunities for the advancement of his comfort which those changes present. In a word, man is able to understand the great blind forces of progress, in some measure to direct them, and to profit by every change.

A woman's thinking is confined principally to the home and family, and a man's business is some form of social service. She thinks only of the family service. He does social service, but thinks of personal profit. They are each thinking of their own business, but neither kind of thinking is right.



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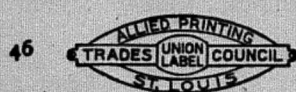
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1893 ..... 2,585,000  
1898 ..... 4,515,000  
1903 ..... 6,825,000  
1906 ..... over 7,000,000

## To the Socialists of Missouri

Comrades:—

Within a few months another Congressional Campaign will be upon us.

The fact is that the Democrats and Republicans are already oiling and greasing the blood-stained wheels of their party machineries.

For the last two years the working class of this country has been enjoying the kind of prosperity which the trust kings and millionaire speculators believe in. Prosperity that means inconceivable wealth for the drones and exploiters of society, and poverty, misery, starvation and despair for the millions of wage workers.

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican administration in city, state and nation dares let the people know the number of men thrown out of work during the present industrial depression, which began in the fall of 1907.

Such information might be obstructive to the future operations of the capitalist pirates, hence their press, their political and other liars and henchmen must continue their policy of chloroforming the masses of wage slaves who produce the country's wealth.

President Taft, the jolly, ever-smiling clairvoyant general of the capitalist class, is at present touring the country from East to West, from North to South. What's the object of this junketing trip? To prepare the great mass of misguided, politically uneducated wealth-producers for the great campaign in 1910.

Like Mark Hanna and Roosevelt, Taft is warning the "good, conservative workingmen" against Socialism. It would be a calamity for our country if our working people should follow the example of their brothers in France, England, etc., says the big three hundred-pounder, whom Wall Street's money landed in the White House. The Republican press re-echoes the words of their political director.

And the Democrats are doing the same work against the Socialist and Labor movement. We have the best experience in St. Louis, where a corrupt Democratic machine and their press organs are operating like a well-organized gang of gamblers and pickpockets.

In the last session of the Missouri legislature Democrats and Republicans alike voted for a change in the primary election laws, with the object of checking, or killing, the Socialist Party as a political factor.

But the old party politicians shall be badly deceived!

Socialists of Missouri, Comrades! Prepare now for the 1910 campaign. In every congressional district our party should have its ticket in the field. Make up your mind to have a most lively and energetic campaign.

Neither Taft nor Bryan, nor their corrupt press and political hirelings can prevent the onward march of the Socialist Party. Our party—the party of labor—will progress and triumph.

Socialists of Missouri, to the front! Proudly and fearlessly we shall rally to the standard of Socialism and the emancipation of labor from wage slavery.

## The Secret of Success

By Robert Hunter.

The New York Evening World is publishing some articles by distinguished capitalists upon the Secret of Success.

They tell use to have industry, perseverance, truth, sobriety and economy.

A salaried editorial writer on the Morning World suggests that the great capitalists have overlooked at least one secret and observes quite rightly that all successful capitalists "work for themselves."

Labor receives wages and works for others; capital receives profits and works others. Do you see the difference?

Had the first of the Vanderbilts been old Adam himself and worked at a salary of \$30,000 a year and saved all his money, bequeathing it from son to son the money accumulated would not at this day amount to the fortune left by William H. Vanderbilt.

Yet there are many American capitalists of the passing generation who will leave more money to their descendants than even Mr.

Vanderbilt. These vast millions were acquired by making the nation work for them.

Had these men worked for themselves as miners, farmers or stock raisers they could not at best have made more than a few thousand dollars. What they did was to make others work to produce wealth for them. That is the secret of success.

Nearly all rich men have cunning. That is the common characteristic of all great capitalists. The shrewd Carnegie, sly old John, fox-like Harriman, stealthy Uncle Russell, tricky Lawson, these are the terms used to describe our most successful men.

The man of greatest cunning is he who is able to get the largest number of men to work for him. When his cunning enables him not only to master the labor of millions, but also to have the legislatures, the courts and the government work for him, he becomes a Rockefeller.

The man who buys a city lot gets a city to work for him.

The man protected by the tariff gets the law to work for him.

The man who buys a street railway gets straphangers to work for him.

The man who acquires a monopoly puts a nation in bondage to him.

The man who owns the factories and tools which the workman must use forces the workmen to work for him.

A man who owns a railroad gets the nation to work for him.

The farmer who cultivates a little bit of land works for himself, for the man who holds his mortgage, for the companies that insure his barns, for the harvester company which sells him tools, for the commission merchants who sell his produce and the railroad which transports his produce.

The worker works for himself and for the profit of his boss. In spending his wages he works for the Coal Trust, the Gas Trust, the Beef Trust and the Land Trust.

As a matter of fact there are just two classes of men in this country. One class is made up of those who own capital and through the power of capital make others work for them and buy from them; and the lords who own land and make others rent from them. The other class neither owns land to rent nor capital from which to profit.

Many wildly extravagant men have become rich. Many drunk- en, lying men have become rich. Many men without either perseverance or industry have become rich.

Had any of them sought employment at wages, most of them would have died paupers. Had any of them worked for themselves, that is to say, tried to produce with their own hands their own wealth, most of them would have died paupers.

But those who own land and capital must become rich because the rest of mankind must work for them. Those who are prudent, industrious and persevering will become richer than other capitalists and lords who are lazy, shiftless and drunken. That's all there is to that.

But those who neither own land nor capital never become millionaires no matter how hard they work, how persevering they may be, or how sober their habits. As a class they must remain in bondage to the others, slaving and producing for the others profit. They can no more climb out of their abyss by working for wages than could the slaves of the past climb out of their abyss by working as slaves.

Those wage workers who are sober, industrious and persevering will be better off than the others who are drunken, lazy and shiftless.

A few may rise out of the lower class and ascend into the upper class, but they can do so **only by refusing to work longer for wages.**

For the workers of the world there is only one hope. They must as a class do what the captains of industry have done as individuals. They must refuse to work for wages, that is, refuse to produce two dollars of wealth in return for one dollar in wages.

In other words, they must as a class abolish the wage system, which is the cunningest, shrewdest scheme ever devised for the robbery and enslavement of the mass of mankind.

The secret of success will not be revealed to you by what the great capitalists tell you. It will be revealed to you by doing what the great capitalists have done.

You must decline longer to be robbed and exploited and demand for yourselves as a class the ownership of lands and the tools of production to be used for your own profit.

Friends, when you get this **secret** into your head, we shall write a new Emancipation Proclamation.

Not only are the workers at a natural disadvantage in this guerilla warfare against the owners of the machinery of wealth production, but the employers have adopted a more scientific method of fighting which can not be matched by strikes or boycotts. They have seized the machinery of government in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial, to fight the workers. The executive and judicial powers especially have been suborned by these purposes. Laws proposed in the interests of the workers are fought in the legislative halls and defeated wherever possible. When it is found to be impossible to do this, and laws favorable to labor are enacted, the judicial powers are resorted to for the purpose of defeating the intentions of the legislators by declaring the laws unconstitutional. The prevailing rate of wages law in New York, in 1901, the eight-hour law in Ohio, in 1902, and the ten-hour law as applied to bakeshops in New York, in 1905, are notable instances of what generally happens. It is nowadays regarded as being fairly certain that any law which may be passed favorable to the workers in their struggle will be declared unconstitutional.

### Important Advice.

Local St. Louis, through its Executive Board, calls upon the ward clubs to insist that the foreign-born comrades become promptly naturalized. Neglect in this respect will react on the movement sooner or later, and the comrades in question may regret very much not securing their "citizen's papers" in time.

## Observations

Who Can Tell Us How Much the Present Taft Circus Tour will cost? And who will pay for it?

Taft, Cook and Peary Furnish Sufficient Sensational Rot to satisfy the average newspaper reader.

Germany's Socialist and Trade Union Movement Sent Over One million marks to Stockholm in support of the Swedish strikers. Wonder where the "European paupers" get all this money from? Splendid proof of Proletarian Solidarity!

Take Note of This Fact: Every One of the St. Louis Daily paper, Dem. and Rep. aliye, refused to publish a line of the notice announcing last Tuesday's Druid's Hall meeting in behalf of the general strike in Sweden. Remember this, too!

Don't Overlook the \$10,000,000 Cathedral Communication in "From Our Readers" column. Suffice it to say that the writer is not a subscriber to St. Louis Labor. We may soon find out who the good man is. At any rate, the communication is dictated from people higher up.

The Fact That the Electrical Workers' Unions Were Unseated in the local central body will not mean that the local labor movement will play into the hands of the Kinloch and Bell telephone monopolies. At least, we hope not. An act of this kind would find general condemnation, and justly so.

The A. F. of L. Executive Council Revoked the Charter of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. What do "great men" care about a central body of 50,000 members that is entitled to but one delegate to the convention? One vote can't help to re-elect the machine! In this unpleasant situation the unseating of the Electrical Workers was perhaps the only way to save the local movement from disruption.

### The Individual Versus the Class.

Because the class struggle is a direct result of those economic divisions which are naturally developed in the course of social evolution, it follows that individuals are not responsible for their part in that struggle in any great degree. The Socialist is often represented as a narrow, bitter, intolerant fanatic who believes that all capitalists are wicked and inhuman, and that only workingmen are good. What the Socialist really does believe is that the class struggle is not a question of ethics at all, or only indirectly and incidentally so, and that, generally speaking, if the workers and the capitalists could change places each class would act in just the same manner as the other now does. When, therefore, a great industrial war takes place, the Socialist does not talk about the "wicked capitalists," nor about the "good workingmen." He simply sees in the war a natural result of conditions for which neither side is directly responsible.

Strange as it may seem, the Socialists are forever seeking to end this class conflict, which they deplore as much as any of their critics. Even when to a superficial observer they seem to be doing their best to increase the intensity of the strife by calling upon the workers to more vigorous warfare, they are in reality aiming at the ending of the struggle once and for all. At present the struggle is being waged upon the industrial field. There are large, well-equipped organizations of employers and employed constantly fighting each other. If the workers in a factory or mine are dissatisfied with their conditions, either because their pay is too little, their hours of labor too many, or their surroundings unpleasant or unsafe, they realize that as individuals they have no power to enforce any demands they may make for better conditions, and that if they make such demands they are liable to dismissal. They make their demands, therefore, collectively, through the unions which they have formed as a result of their recognition of this individual helplessness. Now, it is not always a question of goodwill with employers whether or not they will grant the demands of their employees. The maintenance of their business at what they consider to be a fair rate of profit may preclude them from paying higher wages, lessening the hours of employment, or investing capital in improvements of their factories. In competitive industries, and especially when wages figure as the principal item in the total cost of production, the individual employer who has to pay higher wages than his competitors is not infrequently ruined. In addition, there is always the fact that employers have a natural class interest in resisting the demands of the workers.

### Condition of the Workers.

Bearing in mind that the workers are the producers of all wealth, that every vestige of our national prosperity and greatness is born of their labor of hand and brain, let us turn for a moment to the condition of the working class. According to the United States census of 1900, of the 16,187,715 families in the United States only 31.8 per cent own their own homes. No less than 68.2 per cent of the total number of families live in homes that are either hired by the week or the month or mortgaged. It is safe and conservative to say that at least 80 per cent of all the wage earners of America—and at least 90 per cent of those who live in the cities—have no homes except those that are hired by the week or the month. As they hire their homes so they themselves are hired by the day or by the week, and are without security of employment. An employer's whim, the introduction of a new industrial process, or an improved machine, the success of a rival firm, a political change in some foreign land—causes as impersonal as these will throw the average wage worker into the ranks of the unemployed without an hour's warning. With wages barely sufficient to provide the actual necessities of life, a month's sickness suffices to reduce tens of thousands of the wage-earning class to destitution and pauperism. A prolonged sickness, or an accident, brings even the most favored and prudent of the workers to that deplorable condition. When, exhausted by excessive toil and the fierce struggle for existence, they are no longer able to keep pace with younger, more virile competitors, and are cast aside as so much industrial waste, few are the workers who are able to rest in peaceful security upon the savings of their working years.

In Europe it has been found that 90 per cent of the working-class families in which the breadwinners are injured need charitable relief, and though, as Mr. Robert Hunter suggests, the proportion would probably be less in this country, there can be no doubt whatever that industrial accidents are responsible for a tremendous amount of poverty. There is no reliable record of the number of such accidents in the United States year by year, but Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman of the Prudential Insurance Company has estimated that at least 1,664,000 persons are annually killed or more or less seriously injured in the United States. That the great majority of these accidents occur among members of the wage-earning class, and consequently involve hardship and poverty to those dependent on their earnings, is indisputable.

### THE EASIEST WAY

To get subscribers is to send them some sample copies first. Mail us the addresses on a postal card and sample copies will be sent. Try some of the three months' sub. cards. Keep your paper in mind during the week and get subscribers wherever you can.

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



# Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

## WHY TRADE UNIONISTS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

By Ernest L. Reguin.

The seventh paragraph of the Declaration of Purposes of the San Francisco Labor Council reads as follows:

"To secure the enactment of laws or aid to establish such system of government as will secure to the producers the full product of their labor."

In that paragraph is contained the very essence of all Socialism. Government ownership of various industries is advocated by the Socialist only because he believes that is the best and surest way of securing to the producer the full product of his toil. The justice of the ideal of such a complete reward of the laborer is beyond dispute. No one will dare claim that anyone else but the laborer has a real right to the product of that labor's toil. The very essence of slavery has always been to take the product away from the workman.

The great mass of industrial wealth of this country is now in the hands of a few large corporations. There is a concentrated control of industry in the United States never before known in the history of the world. A mere handful of men have greater power over the lives and fortunes of larger numbers of workmen today than any Emperor or Czar has ever dared to wield. Our steel kings and coal barons and oil czars get more wealth out of the laborer, deprive him of more of the product of his labor, than any feudal lord ever attempted to secure. The census figures of nearly ten years ago showed that the laborer got only one-half of the wholesale value of his product, and as he had to buy at retail, it is easily reckoned that his purchasing power was reduced to one-quarter of the value of his product. Who will deny that it is even worse today?

The "masters of the bread" is what Bellamy termed the capitalists. They own the land from which all the raw materials are taken that we make up into articles of wealth. They own all the means of transportation by which these raw materials are brought to the factories for manufacture, and by which afterwards the finished products are sent to the consumer. They own the factories and workshops where the raw materials are transformed into articles of use and beauty. They own the storehouses and shops where the articles are stored or displayed for sale. Throughout the whole round of industrial life we find the capitalists sitting in possession of the means of production and exchange. He is encamped at every point of vantage on the great highway of industry, and with the weapon of starvation he bids the laborer stand and deliver a part of his product as tribute before he can proceed with the rest. You can not work unless the capitalist employs you, for he owns all the means of fruitful work. He will not employ you unless you produce a profit for him, that is, unless he gets a good proportion of the product of your labor for his own enjoyment.

When we find out why the capitalists are able to grind us into dollars, to coin their millions out of our sweat and blood, it ought to be a very short distance to the discovery of the method of stopping the wrong. Our ancestors thought they had abolished tyranny when they told King George that taxation without representation was no longer endurable in America. In those days it was possible for practically every journeyman to ultimately become a master and employ journeymen in his turn. The tools of industry were simple and cheap and within the reach of all. It was not difficult for a man to become his own boss. Today it is very different. The machinery of industry is vast and expensive, and needs hundreds and thousands of operatives. We today can not secure our freedom, the control of our own destinies, by individually owning the tools with which we work, the machines and factories and stores. There are vast concerns requiring the co-operation of great numbers, and the only possible way of solving the problem is to do as we have already done with our political machinery—democratize it.

Thousands of years ago there were no huge nations as we know them today. The country was all split up into little settlements, inhabited by clans and tribes. These had their leaders, but there was little power exercised by one tribesman over another. Gradually leaders became chieftains or kings, as they called them in Ireland. These had greater power than the former leaders, and had a more extensive dominion. They enjoyed all the blessings of free competition in the king business, and some survived and some did not. This weeding out of the unfit went on until the John D. Rockefeller of the king business appeared like Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne and Napoleon. They consolidated and combined and benevolently assimilated until they had nearly as much of a monopoly of the right to plunder the people of their money as the Standard Oil has today—nearly, not quite. When the people got tired of being mere working mules producing wealth for the few nobles and kings to spend, they decided they would take over the whole business of government into their own hands and run it in their own interest.

Industry has gone through a very similar development, and today to preserve our economic liberty, we Socialists demand a social democracy—an industrial republic. We say that it is necessary for the protection of the workingmen that the industries which they operate collectively must be owned in common by the nation. To the trade unionist there is nothing new in the idea of united, collective action. We combine and offer to sell our labor to the bosses for certain prices. By this combination, by this attempt to monopolize the labor market, we are able to get better terms than if we dickered with the boss individually. But do as well as we can, we are still forced to pay the boss his profits, we are still plundered of a large part of the products of our labor.

Long hours of hard work, barely enough wages to provide for our families, the ever-present fear of absolute destitution in old age, this is the lot of the workingman. We see wealth piled up by our labor in quantities never before dreamed of, yet our children suffer and are denied a decent chance at play or school. And then when we have glutted the storehouses with the goods of our making, when we have filled the granaries to the bursting point, when we have erected row after row of fine dwellings, we are told that we are no longer needed. Our bosses do not wish us to produce more of these things because they can not sell them. We are turned adrift then. No wages, we can not pay rent, and go homeless in the full view of the houses we have built. We can not buy the food we have harvested, and go hungrily by the bursting granaries. We can not buy the clothing we have made, and we go ragged through the streets where the great emporiums of trade are standing. Homeless, hungry and ragged because we have produced too much! Was there ever a more monstrous and tragic situation? It would be a joke were it not so terrible.

In the very midst of prosperity appears the vast army of the unemployed. They must live. They begin to work under the scale. They cease to pay their dues to their union. They menace its very existence by the possibility of their flooding the market with non-unionists. They are driven to it by the imperious dictates of the law of self-preservation, by the look in the eyes of their wives and children. Thus the very plunder taken from the workingman is turned into a weapon to further enslave him, for upon this plunder the capitalist lives, while slow starvation brings the workman to his knees in search of any old job at any old wage.

The capitalists with their wealth dominate the government. Governors and presidents are their puppets, their political business managers. Legislatures and Congress are composed almost entirely of their paid attorneys. The courts are building up an impregnable line of decisions and law to secure them the right to handle their property and your product as suits their interest, and regardless of the workman's merely human rights. Mammon has been enthroned over manhood, and the whole nation is money-mad. Against the whole enslaving scheme the Socialist raises his protest. We are revolutionists. We seek to overthrow absolutely and finally the right and power of the capitalists to plunder the workers of the product

of their labor. We seek to erect a great brotherhood of workers. We seek to establish a nation of co-operative workers employed on the means of production which the collectively own through their common representative, the states and the nation. In such a nation no one can plunder another of the product of his toil, for no one will own the means whereby another must live, no one will have the power to compel another to submit to profit-taking or starvation. As each man will get the full value of his product, there can be no enforced idleness accompanied by want and misery. Overproduction would only mean leisure time while the producers and capitalists consumed the surplus. Competition and its wars, its hatreds and enmities, would be gone. Co-operation would bring peace in its train. Plenty and equality would promote good feeling and true brotherhood. The face of the world would be transformed, and civilization would leap forward to heights that are unknown.

### Open Your Eyes, Wage Worker!

Laborers, these things are for you to do. No one else can do them. No one else has so much to gain from them. Your class is the class that today have the skill and training to operate industry, you have the common interests upon which to build a firm society, and you alone have the numbers with which to gain the victory at the polls.

You have long been tied helpless slaves to the machines at which you toil. They have crushed your children, your family, your lives beneath their ceaseless advance. They have been the means of your enslavement. They should be the means of your liberation. Are you men enough to seize your opportunity? Will you in these closing years of this most-donderful century, when the long battle of man with Nature is at last over and man, through the machine, has conquered at every point—will you now permit that the very instrument of conquest shall be held by another class and used to crush its creators? Will you forever meekly follow false leaders to your political slaughter and economic bondage? Will you continue through all time to bind yourself into ever-recurring slavery by voting for the puppet parties of your masters? Or will you at last dare to do your own thinking, and casting aside forever the slave-befitting ideas your masters have so carefully implanted in your minds, unite with your fellow-workmen of the world, and press forward to victory upon the platform of clear-cut, uncompromising SOCIALISM? It is for you to choose. Which will you do? Will the marvelous powers of production which have conquered nature and are incarnate in the almost living, thinking machine of today prove to be the triumphal chariot upon which you will advance into the new century, or will it be, as in the past, the Car of Juggernaut that you painfully tug onward over the bodies, minds and souls of the helpless members of your class? Will the laborer of the future be upon or beneath the machine? You, the workers of America and of the world, can alone decide, and because I have infinite faith in you and your class I know that the red glow that is seen around the coming days is not that of a social conflagration nor yet the reflection from the blood-stained society of today, but is the first glimmering of the dawn of the better time that is to be.

### MISSOURI FEDERATION OF LABOR ELECTS OFFICERS.

Joplin, Mo., Sept. 23.—Officers for the next year for the Missouri State Federation of Labor were this afternoon chosen as follows:

Owen Miller, St. Louis, defeated E. T. Behrens, Sedalia, and Walter Stotts, Kansas City, for president; C. B. Dysart, Moberly, re-elected first vice-president; W. C. Bauer, Joplin, defeating J. W. Le Fever, St. Louis, for second vice-president; J. W. Le Fever, St. Louis, elected third vice-president; John T. Smith, Kansas City, re-elected secretary-treasurer; J. F. W. Altherde, St. Louis, statistician.

The Legislative Committee was elected as follows: William Holman, St. Louis; Walter Stotts, Kansas City; Oliver P. Wheatley, Kansas City. Charles W. Fear of Joplin was defeated for a member of this committee.

George Manuel of Moberly defeated Harry S. Sharpe of St. Louis for delegate to the American Federation of Labor. Mrs. Anne Crane was elected fraternal delegate to Kansas. Jefferson City was chosen as the 1910 meeting place over St. Joseph.

The convention revoked the privilege of The St. Joseph Union to pose as the official organ of the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

### Co-operation Is Essential and Beneficial.

What can we do, separately, to advance the mental capacity of our people in regard to politics; to advance our ability to be citizens of a Democracy? Here we find the limits of the individual. There are many things in this world which are not to be done by the individual separately; they can only be done collectively. Women need more than anything else to be brought up abreast of civilization, to have the capacity for organization developed. Getting a common purpose helps to develop that power. And the sooner they can get a common purpose, the sooner they will develop their capacity for citizenship. Similarly with children. Suppose children get together to elect a committee to give a Christmas present; they work together for this common thing. This helps develop a simple, essential, basic capacity for citizenship. And, just as fast as they grow to it, larger interests and ambitions develop.

Women's clubs and women's federated societies have done much in these lines all over the country.

### ELECTRICAL WORKERS' UNIONS UNSEATED.

After a six hours' hot discussion last Sunday's meeting of the C. T. and L. U. unseated the delegates of Electrical Workers' Unions Nos. 1 and 2. This was the longest meeting of the central body during the last year.

The A. F. of L. Executive Council in Washington had already revoked the Central Trades and Labor Union's charter. With the organization or reorganization of a new central body the entire local movement would have been disrupted. Thus the C. T. and L. U. was between the devil and the deep sea, and forced to an action which the majority of delegates hated to take.

Out side of the Electricians' case no other business was transacted. For this reason a special meeting will be held tomorrow, Sunday morning, at 9 o'clock, to elect a delegate to the A. F. of L. convention.

### 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.

## UNION FRIENDS ATTENTION!

The Douglas Shoes Do Not Bear the Stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Hence they Are Non-Union and Will Remain Such Until Such Time as the Douglas Shoe Co. Will Recognize the Union and Again Use the Union Stamp Do Not Buy Douglas Shoes!

## THE OPEN SHOP

By Clarence S. Darrow

It will not do to say that employers are too wise and too humane, they are employers and are victims of the markets in which they buy and sell. The market is not patterned from the best employer, but is as stupid and brutal as its worst.

They prevent trades unionism from being conquered in detail; to save its members from being thrown out of the open door to make room for the servile and weak; to maintain in shop and mill the best conditions that unionism has won, and to look forward to others better still; to save the workman from his once long hours of toil and to provide a day shorter yet, needs every effort of every union man, and without the right to protect themselves by refusing to work with those whose weakness or stupidity makes them recreant and unfaithful to their class, trade unionism can neither hold that which it has won nor look forward to greater victories still.

But aside from the constant aggressions of the employing class trade unionism can not be true to its own members without the right to demand the closed shop. The expenses and burdens of the union are no small item to the member who receives but little pay for the work he does. As a price for the protection of the union the members must give up their earning to support the organization; they must be ready and willing to contribute to any brother on a strike or in need of help; they must be ready at a minute's notice and at whatever inconvenience and sacrifice to self and family to lay down their tools and go out on a strike—a strike always doubtful, dangerous and uncertain; a strike which may be for some one else, and over no grievances of his own; a strike and unfaithful to their class, trades union which may bring victory, and again may mean not only failure to accomplish the desired result, but loss of his job, his means of life. It may mean even the blacklist that shall send him branded up and down the land, with no chance to earn his bread.

All these chances and dangers, not less than those of a soldier on the field, the trade unionist assumes for his devotion to his cause and his faith that united action and unbounded loyalty is the due of every member of his craft. That his devotion through all the years has brought labor to mean reward, and through labor and the humanizing condition for which trade unionism has ever stood brought strength and greatness to the race, is as much an established fact as the effect and influence of a religion or any other social movement of the race.

The dangers that the unionists have encountered, too, have come ever from the non-union workman, who not only refuses to unite with him, but joins the enemy at the most critical time and gives his energy and his labor to defeat his class. And the hard-won victories of unionism have been won, not only in open contest with the employer, who might be supposed to be on the other side, but have been won against the cowardice and treason of these non-union men.

But, however, the non-union man may join the enemy to defeat shorter hours and better wages, when he has lost his fight and the unions have triumphed, he is always the first man to demand the rewards of another's efforts and to profit by the courage and devotion of the men he did his best to defeat and to betray, and the employer, too, realizing that this man has given all the aid he could, is ever ready to pay him for his disloyalty to his class. In the heat of the contest the employer gladly gives this workman more than the union demands, and when the fight is over, of course, places him on at least equal terms.

If the man who not only refused to help, but joined the enemy in time of war, shall be allowed, without danger or cost, to reap the fruits of the unions' victory, then few men will be found who will assume the danger and the cost. If the rewards of victory can come to him who made no efforts and took no risk, but profits from the privation and suffering of his fellows, then most men will prefer to take that course. To say that the fruits of victory should come without effort, nay, as a reward for cowardice and disloyalty, is neither right in the realm of ethics nor in the practical work-a-day world.

The reward is for the men who have borne the heat and burden of the day, and unless it shall be reserved for them and those whom they wish to aid, there can be no reason for sacrifice and no reward for fidelity. Men may willingly, even cheerfully work for the weak and humble, for those not able to protect themselves, but it is asking too much of human nature to require that they shall brave disaster and defeat for the enemies who seek to undermine and destroy their cause.

No one claims that all trades unionists are wise or even honest, much less that they have not made endless mistakes in the past and will continue to err while time shall last. Neither is trade unionism an ideal institution. It was developed to serve a purpose and to perform a duty in the upward march of the human race. It was made to fit a condition of society divided into the employing class and the serving class. Its mission is to protect the weak against the strong. In the great industrial strife that has come down through the ages and which will prevail until the capitalist and the laborer are one, trade unionism has fought the battles of the workman. And in fighting for the wage earner it has fought for greater liberty to man. War and strife are not ideal states, but they have been ever present with the human race, and so long as the war of classes shall continue, the weak and helpless must ever look to trade unionism as its chief champion and its most powerful defender. But when its work is done, and class struggles are at an end, Trade Unionism will be no more. Then all men will be brothers and the highest good of all will be the fond desire of each.

### Work for the Success of the Many.

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. While 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.

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



# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## THE SOCIALISTS

### WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR.

By John Spargo.

Finally, the organizations of the workers, the labor unions, have been attacked in a vital part—their treasuries. When the members of a British trade union, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, were compelled by the courts to pay to the Taff Vale Railroad Co., against which members of the society had waged a strike in the usual regular manner, \$115,000 to compensate the company for losses sustained through the strike, it was not long before similar actions were begun in various parts of this country. The members of the local lodge of the machinists' union in Rutland, Vermont, were ordered to pay \$2,500 to an employer against whom they had conducted a strike, upon precisely the same grounds as the English union had to pay. Since then there have been many similar decisions given in various parts of the country. Under these conditions it is practically impossible for a union either to strike or to possess any funds. It is, manifestly, of little use for workers to strike if they are to be compelled to pay those against whom they strike for any damages they may inflict upon them by striking.

When the foregoing conditions is added the use of the police powers—policemen and state and federal troops—against them in almost every industrial dispute, regardless of the merits of the struggle, the forces arrayed against the workers, the odds against which they are fighting, seem insurmountable. Disadvantaged economically at the very start, they have to contend against the gigantic political odds consequent upon the control of the agencies of government being in the hands of their enemies.

#### XII.

#### To End Class Warfare.

To end this class warfare is the conscious aim of the Socialist movement. Socialists are not aiming, as many people suppose, to overthrow the rule of the master class, merely to set up the rule of another class in its place. It is not a question of changing the position of the classes, but of destroying class rule once and for all. That is the ultimate aim, the goal, of the Socialist movement of the world. Socialists believe that the present guerilla warfare, which injures most of all the workers and their families, should give place to other and saner methods. They believe that we should aim at the permanent solution of the issue upon which the classes divide in the only way that is possible, namely, the removal of the fundamental cause of the division and struggle. Aha, as we have seen, is the system of private ownership in the means of production and exchange and their use for profit. This system of capitalism has played its part—an important part—in the development of society. Now it is no longer necessary nor adapted to the needs of social development. Moreover, it is plainly and rapidly disintegrating, and it is, Socialists believe, possible to end it without bringing upon society any of the lamentable evils which follow upon attempts to abrogate, or interfere with, the great universal laws of evolution.

The Socialist, then, advocates the organization of the workers politically for this purpose. The organization may be, and most Socialists think, should be, economic as well as political. But the political organization is imperative. The strike and boycott need not be repudiated as weapons. They may be used in conjunction with the political weapon. They may still be mainly depended on for the immediate economic struggle, or they may be used to supplement the political attack. We may yet have mass strikes of the workers engaged in the staple industries for political purposes. Nor must the mistake be made of supposing that this Socialist view of the position of the workers in the great class struggle affords no immediate hope to them, promising nothing now but everything ultimately through the solution of the whole problem of economic inequality and class divisions. Such political organization as the Socialists advocate must inevitably bring great immediate advantages to the workers. It is easy to see, for instance, that the control of the legislature would make it possible for them to enact legislation for their immediate advantage. Even a partial control, the possession of a strong minority party in the legislature, would enable them to demand effectively important concessions as well as to prevent many of the outrageous abuses to which they are at present subjected. If they destroyed the capitalist control of judiciary they would be able to safeguard their organizations against injunctions, damage suits, and other insidious forms of capitalist aggression which are now rendering them impotent.

There can be no question as to the political power of the working class whenever its members choose to exert it. Their votes far outnumber the combined votes of the great so-called middle class and the small plutocratic class.

## How to Provide For the Unemployed

D. Douglas Wilson in Machinists Monthly Journal.

How to provide for the unemployed has always been one of the principal objects, if not always the chief aim, of beneficent trade unionism. Even although the workers are not responsible or accountable in any way for the lack of employment, they have taken the responsibility upon themselves and endeavor in every way possible to care for those who are unable to provide for themselves when out of work. The cause of the unemployment is not taken into consideration; it does not matter whether it is caused by strike, or lockout, or sickness, incapacity through accident or old age, or anything else likely to prevent the earning of a living, the trade union endeavors to provide the wherewith at least to support life. It often happens that the lazy, the dissolute and the profligate are also cared for because of the difficulty of discriminating between the worthy and the unworthy and the danger that must always exist of doing an injury to some one whom appearances and incidents had placed in a false light.

The necessity of caring for the unemployed came into existence with the advent of the present system of capitalistic production. Under the earlier systems of social development there was no problem of the unemployed and therefore no necessity for a solution.

Unemployment under a system of bondage or slavery would be an impossibility, and even under serfdom it would be equally unthinkable, for the thrall, although forced to work three days a week for his lord without recompense, had the remainder of the week with free access to the means of production for himself, to do as he pleased and as he saw fit. Being out of work under these conditions brought neither want nor suffering and had therefore not to be taken into consideration. When the worker owned the tools with which he produced the wherewith that brought him a livelihood, and had sufficient land at his disposal to augment the living he produced with his tools, being out of work brought no terrors with it, for he produced all he required and as he required it. It was not until the possession of the tools passed out of the keeping that the awful problem of unemployment became a reality. As soon as he lost possession of the tools he became at the mercy of the man who owned them and was only permitted to use them when his labor brought profit to the owner. When it was not profitable to keep the machinery of production in motion the worker was thrown into idleness, and as a consequence suffered for lack of the necessities of life, for even when he was fully employed he could only earn a

bare subsistence. The selfish desire on the part of the owner of the tools to sacrifice everything for profit, to suppress every humane emotion or thought for the welfare of the worker, is the direct cause of the curse of enforced idleness, hence the worker is in no way responsible for the problem, although he has assumed the responsibility of its solution.

From the beginning of the present industrial system the owners of the tools of production have bitterly resisted every attempt of the worker to change the conditions and escape from the new form of slavery under which they found themselves. Every attempt to escape from it by legal enactment has been strenuously resisted, and all efforts to reduce the number of the hours of labor and other means to this end have been fought most bitterly. The tool-owning class, secure in their position and able to dictate under what conditions the worker should be employed, declared that work and wages were subject to economic law and were as inexorable and changeless as gravity itself. Taking their keynote from Ricardo and others of that economic school, they declared that labor was subject to the law of supply and demand, that there must be periods of depression and disemployment from which there could be no escape and, above all other things, that wages could never rise above subsistence point. In the name of political economy and with an effrontery that is scarcely believable, they have done everything that their imagination could devise to prove the validity of their claims, to keep the workers in subjection and to preserve their monopoly of the complete profit of all that labor produces. That all these claims are unsound and not in accord with economic law has now been clearly proven by trade unionism, for this form of combination on the part of the workers has shown that wages can be kept up during a period of depression and that when work is scarce the number of hours of labor a day can be reduced, so that all can have an equal chance and an equal share of employment.

Trade unionism having taken the initiative in providing for the unemployed and showing that such a course was only morally and economically sound, but that it was eminently practicable and desirable from a sociological standpoint, government has now taken up the matter. In France, Germany, England and other European countries the example set by the trade unions has been followed and the different governments are now taking steps to provide against unemployment and to care for the workers who may be temporarily in need of assistance. To this end labor exchanges have been established, so that surplus labor from congested districts can be sent to points where there is a demand for workmen, both skilled and unskilled, and so far this has been of great assistance in reducing the evil caused by unemployment. In France, for instance, the labor exchanges now number 134 and receive a municipal and state aid of \$90,000 annually. In 1906, 62,324 situations were filled by these exchanges and the number has been undoubtedly increased since then, as the machinery of the establishment is being constantly perfected. With these exchanges are affiliated 2,586 trade unions, representing a membership of 455,790.

In 1904 Germany had 136 labor exchanges. The Berlin Public Employment Bureau, which is under the supervision of the municipality and receives support from the city and from united societies, has found places for 67,000 applicants in the course of a year.

In Switzerland, where so far the federal government has not taken a hand in the unemployed problem, the municipal authorities in the cities of Berne, Basle, Geneva and Lausanne have for fifteen years past given aid to the unemployed. This varies in amount according to location, but the amount given in Berne, the capital, is a fair example of what is given elsewhere. In this city workmen who have contributed an annual assessment to the municipal out-of-work fund amounting to one dollar and seventy cents are entitled to a weekly benefit of two francs if married and a franc and a half if single during the period of his disemployment. The municipalities also provide work, such as cutting wood, road building and draining during periods of depression, which has done a great deal toward minimizing the out-of-work evil.

In Great Britain at present there is a Labor Exchanges bill before Parliament which contemplates dealing with the question of unemployment on a plan far more ambitious and far-reaching than any that has been attempted by any other nation. The bill provides for the creation of labor bureaus in cities at which there will be separate accommodations for men and women and refreshment rooms for applicants. The exchanges are to be under the direction of an advisory committee of workmen, employers and citizens and are empowered to deal with labor disputes. Grants of money to workmen for traveling expenses are permitted and the cost of administration and the purchase of buildings is estimated at one million dollars annually.

The president of the Board of Trade in the Parliamentary debate on the bill characterized it as an attempt by the government to effect an economic gain through the more regular and even distribution of employment.

In advocating a broader policy and a wider measure of relief for labor, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave an opinion upon the subject that is worthy of quotation, as it shows that he has scientifically studied the question and found that all the claims put forth for it by the trade unions are sound in every respect:

When Bismarck was strengthening the foundations of the New German Empire one of the first tasks he undertook was the organization of a scheme which insured the German workmen and their families against the worst evils which ensue from the common accidents of life. And a superb scheme it is. It has saved an incalculable amount of misery to hundreds of thousands, and possibly millions of people, who never deserved it. Wherever I went in Germany, north or south, and whoever I met, whether it was an employer or a workman, a Conservative or Liberal, or a Socialist or a trade union leader, all of one accord spoke in the most laudatory terms of the excellent effects which have been achieved by this great system. . . . All we have now left to do in order to put ourselves on a level with Germany—and I hope our competition with Germany will not be limited to armaments—is to make some further provision for the sick, for the invalidated, for the widows and orphans of the broken down soldiers of industry.

(Bismarck was driven to introduce this workmen's accident insurance by the energetic movement of the Socialists.—Editor St. Louis Labor.)

It is to provide for the soldier of industry when he is out of work that the trade union has fought and struggled, to provide for the bread-winner when he is incapacitated through accident, business depression, industrial dispute, or when sickness and disease lays its fell hand upon him. The trade union will continue to do this in this and other countries until the workers are wise enough to elect lawmakers who will enact laws that will taken the burden from their shoulders and make it a national obligation to care for every citizen in sickness or in health, in youth or old age, whose necessities are such that provision has to be made for them. Although we have not stepped very far in this direction yet, still a beginning has been made and the example set by the workers of other countries and the splendid progress they have made can not fail to attract our emulation. When we do our full duty as they have done, the spectre of unemployment will disappear with the causes that brought it into existence. It is coming.

## 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.)

## Bartenders' Union Local 51

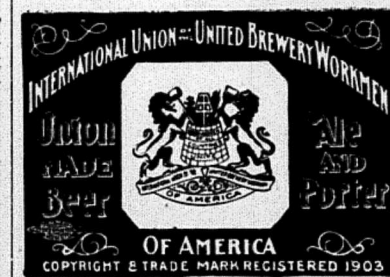
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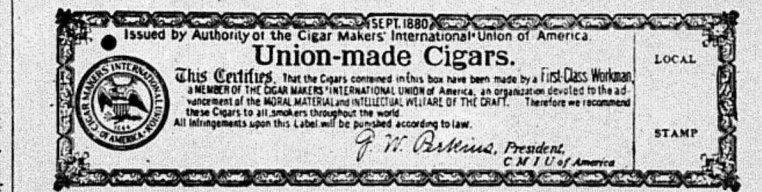
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# WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

## SUSAN B. ANTHONY

II.

Miss Anthony returned from her California trip tired and worn, but not a day did she allow herself for rest or recuperation; she plunged into the work that had accumulated during her absence. It was shortly after this, on the 19th of November, 1896, that she was the guest of the Political Equality Club of Rochester, which gave a brilliant banquet at the Livingston Hotel on that evening, in honor of Miss Anthony and Rev. Anna H. Shaw.

A little more than one year later, the women of Rochester, represented by the club women who inspired the movement, concluded it was time her home city gave some recognition of the life work of its famous townswoman and in a manner worthy of the woman. Thus a great reception to be held at Powers' Hotel was arranged in honor of Miss Anthony's 77th birthday, the 15th of February, 1897. The event is well remembered, not only by the prominent society women who received by Miss Anthony's side, but by many a social nonentity, both white and colored, who helped celebrate the great occasion with their presence, all eager to grasp the hand of the Grand Old Woman, who would not have considered the event a full tribute had they not been present.

In July, 1897, Miss Anthony visited her birthplace at Adams, Mass., where she went as the guest of the Historical and Scientific Society of Berkshire. She was accompanied by the officers of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and made her headquarters in the old Anthony homestead.

In May, 1899, Miss Anthony attended the International Council of Women in London, remaining about three months. Her visit was a continuous round of ovations from many of the most distinguished men and women of the British Empire. She was entertained by many of the proudest families in England, feted by the nobility and presented to her Majesty at Windsor.

At the thirty-second annual convention of the Woman Suffrage Association, held in Washington in 1900, Miss Anthony resigned the office of president, and Carrie Chapman Catt was elected to succeed her. It was with regret that Miss Anthony's resignation was accepted, but all felt that it was not right to insist upon her longer enduring the stress and strain of the work. Probably this was the most trying week of Miss Anthony's whole life, and though her friends guarded her and saved her in every possible way, great anxiety was felt for fear she would succumb to fatigue and break down before the events which marked the week were finished.

The afternoon exercises in the Lafayette Opera House, in celebration of her 80th birthday, the magnificent reception the same evening in the beautiful Corcoran Art Gallery, when thousands swept through and crowded in line past Miss Anthony, who remained smiling throughout the trying ordeal, are fresh in the memory of the reading public today, and will never be forgotten by those privileged to be present. Telegrams of congratulation poured in upon her all day from the utmost parts of the land.

Few women, probably none in this country, ever received more spontaneous honors and tokens of love and admiration than were heaped upon her at that time. Her presents in cash alone amounted to more than \$1,000, and every State Suffrage Association sent some token. White and black, high and low, the President and official Washington did her honor, and through it all she remained what she has always been, simple, gracious, affable, in generous.

There still remained one other great work for her to accomplish in the sunset of her life, and it was fitting and appropriate that this effort, which well might sap her remaining vitality, should be done in her home city for the girls and an institution which has always been her pride, the University of Rochester. When the question of co-education was hanging in the balance; when, in fact, others who had been working for the same cause for two years, had failed, at the eleventh hour it was Susan B. Anthony, who, with a spurt of the energy of former years and a return to her indomitable courage, came to the rescue and saved the day. It was she who drove about for two days in an endeavor to secure a pledge for the remaining \$8,000 needed to open the doors of that time-honored institution to girls.

On the evening that the young "co-eds" came to pay their respects to the woman who had unconsciously dedicated the close of her life to them, she utterly collapsed, and for a time her life was despaired of. She rallied in a remarkable manner, however.

In former years Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Gage and Miss Anthony had written and published three volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage, and now Miss Anthony, with Mrs. Harper, undertook the preparation of the fourth volume, which was published by Miss Anthony.

In the spring of 1904 Miss Anthony and her sister Mary went to Berlin to attend the international gathering of the Council of Women and a meeting of suffragists, at which was formed the International Suffrage Alliance, of which Miss Anthony was elected honorary president.

On the last day of the suffrage gathering the working women's clubs of Berlin conducted the meeting. Every time Miss Anthony's name was mentioned in the sessions the entire audience rose. On the opening night of the International Council meeting which followed that of the Suffrage Alliance, the vast assemblage rose and gave Miss Anthony such an ovation that it seemed it would never stop cheering. No one would sit until Miss Anthony had taken her chair.

In the way she was received by the Empress of Germany an honor was accorded to Miss Anthony almost without parallel in the experience of American women and unusual in any case outside of royalty—that of sitting in her Majesty's presence. The Empress received at the palace the national president of every association represented at the International Council. While going from one to another and exchanging words of greeting, she learned that Susan B. Anthony, like all other guests, was standing. The Empress sent word to Miss Anthony to sit down. Later in the reception when some one approached her and she rose to speak, the Empress sent a request to Miss Anthony to remain seated.

After the close of the council Miss Anthony, her sister Mary and others visited several points in Germany, at all of which Miss Anthony received many honors. From Germany the Anthonys went to Switzerland and visited for one week Rachel Foster Avery. In London Miss Anthony was entertained at a garden party given by Lady Frances Balfour, sister-in-law of the premier and president of the British Woman Suffrage Association.

While making a tour through England and Scotland Miss Anthony spoke at suffrage meetings in many places and never failed to keep an engagement because of illness or fatigue. She was also able to keep every social appointment. Receptions, luncheons, teas and dinners were given for her. In Manchester she visited a niece of John Stuart Mill.

In Scotland she was the guest of Priscilla Bright McLaren, sister of John Bright.

Miss Anthony's return voyage on the Minneapolis across the Atlantic was a pleasant one. She made friends with the passengers and kept in good health. When the ship cast anchor in New York harbor the customs officer came on board and said he had understood Miss Anthony was a passenger, and asked if he could assist her in any way. He gave instructions that her baggage be examined as promptly as possible, that she might be inconvenienced no more than was necessary.

In June of 1905 Susan and Mary Anthony crossed the continent to attend the national convention of the Woman Suffrage Association

held in Portland, Ore. In Chicago they attended an immense reception given for the prominent women who were en route to the convention. Committee meetings were held each day on the train between that city and Portland, and Miss Anthony was present at every one. Of all the sessions held in Portland she did not miss one, and she also attended a round of dinners, luncheons and receptions.

Early in February of this year the Anthony sisters went to Baltimore to attend another annual gathering of the National Woman Suffrage Association. There Miss Anthony was guest of Miss Mary Garrett.

Before leaving Rochester Miss Anthony contracted a cold, and suffered from neuralgia. She attended but few of the sessions of the convention, but participated in a number of social functions at Miss Garrett's home. She was present at the convention when the money for the year's work was pledged, and was the first to make a pledge, giving the \$86 in gold which the Rochester Political Equality Club had given her at her birthday celebration the night before she left home.

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# Walking Costumes



## TUNIC KEEPS ITS POPULARITY

Is Being Worn with Many of the Street Dresses—Some Possible Combinations.

The tunic has diminished not one whit in popularity in spite of the fact that the moyen-age and the panier are pressing it closely. Even some of the street dresses of cloth are being worn with tunics of net or mousseline, and one of the most striking gowns of the year was a white frock of lingerie type with a black tunic of wide-mesh net. This took at once; and it may be taken for granted that mousseline will play a large part in the gowns to come, for it veils the supple, glossy materials and tones them down so that they may be more universally used.

It is even said that the evening coats of the later season will be lined with satin draped with mousseline, and such an idea brings with it many possibilities. One might have a pale-green coat, for instance, lined with shrimp pink covered with green mousseline. The effect would be opalescent and very beautiful, besides being novel. Orchid colorings, too, may be procured, and yellow may be used in so many perfect combinations. Red may be used more than usual, for when it is veiled with some darker and less conspicuous color the effect is of extreme richness with no touch of gaudiness.

These combinations will require the eye of an artist, but when well done they will be surpassingly lovely.

### Dainty Collarettes.

The latest of the one-piece dresses are finished with lingerie collars, though not of the Dutch or Priscilla variety. The new ones are merely bits of fine embroidery, worn around the line of the guimpe, particularly if it is pointed in front and round at the back. Many of these appear upon linen and foulard frocks, and when the collar is deep it looks very much like a berth or a fichu.

Of course, these tiny things are quite unnecessary, but when they are immaculately clean and fresh they give a dark frock a daintiness that it cannot of itself possess.

### Latest in Petticoats.

Petticoats of to-day are entirely of lingerie, which has taken the place of the silk in all its forms. The new petticoats are not worn on the streets under dark coat suits, as they soil too easily, but they are worn under everything else, especially the evening dress. They are made of thin cotton and muslin, handsomely trimmed with lace when they are for house wear. The best model for the street or for everyday wear, under very light frocks has a deep ruffle, finished with a scalloped edge, heavily buttonholed.

### Frills Return.

So long have we worshipped lines and folds that it is a belief to turn to the fluffy, frilly effects that Paris is taking up now. All the new frocks are breaking out into a riot of frills, some plaited, some gathered in the old-fashioned way. Skirts show several narrow ruffles in graduated widths. Tiny ruffles are placed on bodices down the edges of panels and outlining the front closing. This epidemic of frills is the advance warning of the Louis mode, which is surely on the way.

### Little Thoughts.

Grace is easier to acquire than awkwardness.

Practice sitting, standing, and walking in front of your mirror.

Watch other women, and adopt a good poise of the head, good carriage, and modulation of voice.

These things do not come naturally. One must learn to be graceful and charming.

### A Violet Craze.

There is a craze for all tones of violet from deep purple to palest shades of pink mauve and lavender blue.

## ORNAMENTS FOR COIFFURE

Should Be Selected with the Idea of Giving Air of Individuality to the Wearer.

While the summer style of hair-dressing is less elaborate than the coiffures affected in the winter, there are, nevertheless, many charming ways of arranging the hair and attractive ornaments to be worn in the braids and coils.

A gold and jeweled Scandinavian dagger and a high Spanish comb are effective, and lend an air of individuality to the wearer.

Aigrettes caught with a full tulle rosette are pretty and quite coquettish, and a band of black velvet ribbon with gold or jeweled slides and buckles forms a becoming headdress.

The empire comb is also becoming, whether worn across the head in front or confining the curls at the back. These are of shell, and are beautifully ornamented with filigree work in gold and set with semi-precious and precious stones.

The Greek fillet is becoming to a young girl in the majority of cases, whether in metal or shell, and ribbons of all kinds are worn twisted and threaded in the hair.

Soft tulle ribbons in colors, to harmonize with the frock, metallic ribbon strands of pearl or coral beads with tassel ends and quaint cabochon ornaments, are all picturesque and effective.

## GIRL'S PINAFORE DRESS



A pinafore bodice to match a skirt of linen or, in fact, any material, always looks well, and it is cut with kit to vary the costume.

Our model is made to a skirt of butcher-blue linen; it is cut with kimono sleeves, the edges of which, like the neck, are trimmed with embroidery insertion; the under-slip is of embroidery.

Materials required for the pinafore bodice: 3/4 yard of 40-inch wide, 2 yards insertion.

### Dipping Lace.

One who always dips her own laces says that she does not use tea or coffee as so many do. She prefers a powder. She gets the powdered ochre and mixes it with rice flour until it is the desired shade. The lace is put into a bowl with the powder, and rubbed in until it is perfectly even as to tone. Then the powder is shaken off. The dye is most effectual. Of course, one must wear gloves when treating the lace this way.

### Sleeves.

Long sleeves are worn on all tailored waists, but many of the soft, fluffy, afternoon frocks have short sleeves.

### Lapis Lazuli in Vogue.

Lapis lazuli is having a decided vogue in the province of art jewelry.



## Missouri Socialist Party

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

National Referendum "C," having to do with the manner of electing the National Executive Committee and National Secretary, has been mailed to all locals in good standing, that is, with dues paid for July. Locals failing to receive same should notify this office at once. The vote of locals must be returned to the State Office not later than Nov. 2.

For the benefit of a number of new locals and secretaries without experience in conducting referendums the following directions are given: Each member with dues paid for July or later is entitled to vote. The vote of all members should then be tabulated or summed up. Take a blank ballot and write the total vote of the local in the spaces marked "Yes" and "No," sign it as secretary, stating which local it is, and return this ballot containing the total vote to the State office not later than Nov. 2. The individual ballots on which the various members voted should be kept by the local. It is not necessary to send them to this office.

Thomas A. Hickey.

On Oct. 1 and 2 Comrade T. A. Hickey will speak in Monett and give the local comrades a vigorous boost.

Owing to a change of plans he did not fill any dates on his way up to St. Louis, where he spoke four times on the street to constantly growing crowds and performed work of the most effective character. His use of a blackboard to illustrate his argument and drive home a particular point is a splendid idea. None but a stupid "bone head" can fail to grasp the idea that receives both a verbal and an ocular demonstration. The intense interest displayed and the manner in which the crowds stuck prove that Comrade Hickey is the right man in the right place. On his way back to Texas he spoke at Springfield and Aurora, winding up at Monett.

Back in Line Again.

Locals Windsor, Rich Hill and Harrisonville were reorganized by Comrade Drake on his recent trip across the state and prospects are good for future work. Windsor comrades are very much alive and will take another speaker in the near future. At Rich Hill a local judge was given permission to state the case for things as they are now. He said he had read Socialist books, but did not understand how the Socialists would get control of the various industries. Comrade Drake did his best to clear up that point and the judge bought some literature and is thinking the matter over.

Socialists of Joplin, Attention!

The Socialists of Joplin are hereby notified that the Socialist Party of Joplin is to meet regularly once a week, beginning with Sunday afternoon, Oct. 3, at 2:30 p. m., at Labor Headquarters, 609 Main street.

The Socialist Party is planning to carry on a rousing and systematic campaign this fall and winter and build up one of the strongest movements in the state. All Socialists are urged to join the party and to do their best in building up this great and wonderful movement. If you are a Socialist in reality there is no excuse for you not being a member of the party. Where do you stand? Show your colors! Glenn Thurston, 1915 Penn avenue, City Secretary-Treasurer, Socialist Party.

The American Magazine for October has a powerful article on Mexican conditions. Buy this number. It will insure the appearance of the balance of the articles.

John Lundgren, delegate from the strikers in Sweden, spoke in St. Louis on Sept. 28. His remarks on the great uprising in Sweden were of the greatest interest.

W. A. Ward is having fine meetings at the Elvins Christian Church. The house is crowded every night. He was sick and could not speak at the County Celebration at Elvins, but the crowd enjoyed themselves in spite of the cold weather.

W. W. McAllister speaks at Morehouse on Oct. 3-4-5; Piedmont, Oct. 6.

## Socialist News Review

Berger Off for Brussels.

Comrade Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee left for Europe last week to attend the session of the International Socialist Bureau. The Milwaukee comrades gave Berger a farewell festival.

From Rhode Island.

Comrade Fred Hurst, State Secretary of Rhode Island, reports: "The 'Monthly Circular' plan adopted in Rhode Island looks good to us at this time. The state organization supplies the branches with 30 circulars for each member. The branch secretary mails 30 to each member at a cost to the branch of 1c per member. A branch of twenty members receives 600 circulars, which it distributes at a cost of 30c in postage. We hope by this monthly call on each member to reduce the number of indifferent and poor-paying members."

Germany's Socialist Convention.

The Socialist Party convention of Germany was recently held at Leipzig and a healthy growth was shown in party membership within the year. The increase was from 587,336 to 633,309. This includes 62,259 women members. The percentage of the Socialist vote in all by-elections held during the year shows a considerable increase. Three new daily Socialist papers have been established, making the total number 74. Nearly every publication shows a good increase in the number of subscribers. The total income of the party was \$275,300, an increase of \$77,000 over the receipts for the previous year.

Virginia State Convention.

As a result of the state convention held in Richmond, Va., July 4, and the pending campaign for which a full Socialist ticket has been nominated, a Provisional State Committee has been organized with headquarters at Newport News, F. K. Gaff acting as secretary. The Provisional Committee is doing an extraordinary amount of detailed work, which is ably conducted by Comrade Gaff. The locals are active and have earnestly entered into the work, as shown by the following contributions to the state campaign fund: Manchester, \$6; Newport News, \$29.15; Norfolk, \$12; Richmond, \$36; Riverview, \$4; Gardner, \$2; East Radford, \$4; collection at state convention, \$8.55; total, \$101.70.

Comrade George H. Goebel, National Organizer, is at the service of the committee and he reports splendid interest shown all along the line, good prospects against election day and especially good prospects for further organization work.

YOUR COAL ORDER.

Comrade Nye got busy one day this week and secured coal orders among his neighbors and colleagues for over one thousand bushels. Comrades F. J. Kloth, Martin Belly and L. H. Schwarze sent in

orders reaching nearly forty tons. Many have expressed their appreciation to St. Louis Labor of the quality of the coal delivered and the service in general. It is safe to assume that the large number of orders handled will be a standing guarantee of the best possible service to every one favoring St. Louis Labor with your order. A postal to this office or phone to Kinloch Central 1577 will bring you full information. If you are under no special obligation to your former coal dealer, by all means send in your order to St. Louis Labor; it will help your paper over some of its financial trouble and doesn't cost you a cent.

## 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.

Says \$10,000,000 Cathedral Good Enough for Him.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

What have you got against the \$10,000,000 Cathedral? It is all being built by non-Union money. The Union men are too stingy to give anything to the Church. Besides, we did not ask you or any other Union man to come to the Cathedral or give us a cent and we never will. It is being built by non-Union money and non-Union labor is good enough for us. Unionism is anarchism and the few Catholics who are in the different Unions are in there against their will. The Union men only want to earn plenty of money, but are too stingy to give anything to their Church; they want everything themselves. But be that as it may, we Catholics are proud of our Cathedral.

Labor, Poverty and Society.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

A few months ago, while the John Smith checks were afloat, I had some cash on hand and also some invested or deposited in the trust company, but I felt somewhat squeamish about its safety, so I decided to draw it out. I noticed a small item in your paper about postal savings banks, and I decided that in order to have my money secure to buy postoffice money orders. In trying to get all my money cashed that I had deposited in the trust company I happened to disagree with the man behind the bars. He insisted on giving me only twenty-five dollars of my money, while I squealed for more. We couldn't agree on the amount, so he notified two horny and callous-handed men who were standing across the way to speak to me. We had a very enjoyable talk, but could not agree upon the amount, so I decided to act somewhat liberal, and volunteered to let them have the taint as long as I got the principal. The word taint made them shiver and squirm, and I noticed that I must have touched the spot. I then pointed out to them that the entire social system was not administered for the interest of the wealth-creator, but for the other class, which will continue to create panics every ten or fifteen years. They listened very attentively and concluded to give me every cent that was coming to me, but before doing so they glanced over my entrance or application card so as to find out some of my private affairs. They then started pumping, and the first question they asked me was whether I was born and raised in Mascoutah, Ill.? I answered it Yes, sir! The next question they asked was whether I was still working at the painter's trade? No, sir; was my answer. They then asked me what I was doing for a living. I stated that I was working in the postoffice. Oh! or Ah! Ha!—so you are one of those men? Yes, sir; I am. He handed me a card and asked me to sign my name, which I gladly did, as I had nothing to lose but my labor, and if I am deprived of that, then I am forced to become a pauper. What right had they, those brave and noble men, to poke their snouts into my private affairs? They handed me the cash, and when I had that hard and honestly earned money in my clutches I stuck to it and determined to have no more of that kind of experience. I carried it to the postoffice and invested it in postal money orders. Every cent that is deposited in the savings banks, trust companies, life insurance companies, etc., is again controlled by the big financiers, who are largely financing great undertakings for their own interest and intend to continue to rob the public. The system is so foul as to be a stench in the nostrils of millions of right-thinking people, and will go under in the advance of Socialism. Those who would keep the profit-making system going, but intend to "regulate it," would like for them to become a little more kind and considerate in their robbing methods. Under a just system a certain period of social labor time would be the unit of value and the work time necessary to produce any commodity would fix its value. Commodities would then be exchanged value for value, instead of at the highest price which deception can secure for them. Society should be so organized that all parasites would become producers of something useful, which would increase the producing army and greatly shorten the hours of work necessary for the production of all needed commodities. No man or set of men should have the right to thrive at the expense of others. Give labor the full social value of its toil, and all poverty will largely disappear, and along with it all vice, disease and crime which poverty produces. What prevents this being done today? The profit-making system, which extorts five dollars' worth of labor for one dollar of wages, and thus keeps the masses in poverty. Any poverty that existed would be voluntary if labor got its full earnings. Give this to labor as a matter of justice, and if there be any who then choose poverty or who become a menace to society they could be severely dealt with, as people can not now be treated under capitalism, which breeds poverty and forces people into it. Labor produces all values and to labor belongs all the wealth it creates. Yours sincerely,  
G. G.

The following comrades have assisted to increase the number of St. Louis Labor readers: P. Frank, 1; Hy. Schwarz, 3; F. H. Usinger, 1; Val. Spoetling, Illinois, 1; John Uttenweiler, 1; Fred Riedeman, 1; Fred Suss, 1; T. C. Haller, Missouri, 1; Wm. Biermann, 1; Wm. F. Crouch, 3; O. Pauls, 1; Obert Kaden, 1.

Renewals by out-of-town readers: Hugo Gellner, Washington; Krankenkasse, New York; Hy. Knop, Colorado; H. Knop, Colorado; Ed. Weber, Colorado; A. Baumgartner, Illinois; T. C. Haller, Missouri; Wm. Jansen, Ohio; Alb. Horn, Oregon; Val. Spoetling, Illinois; Hy. Huebner, Florida; H. Schmidt, Max Hahn, O. Dossin, Wm. Miffert, P. Schubach, B. Baesler, E. Loke, A. Hering, H. Klinke, W. Litta, Hy. Wied, A. Fritsche, Massachusetts; C. Schatzenhofer, California; Charles Radotinsky, Missouri.

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