

St. Louis Labor.

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Editorial Announcements:
Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter, in December, 1916.

THE CAMPAIGN BEFORE US.

The campaign which will be formally opened for the Socialist movement of St. Louis at the Exposition Music Hall, on Saturday evening, will be the most important battle in which the Socialists of this city have engaged for many years. The obligations resting upon us are greater than they have ever been. Conditions prevailing at this time have never prevailed before. The entire labor movement of the city is being stirred from center to circumference with a wave of political revolt. This political revolt is not altogether blind but as a result of constant Socialist agitation in the ranks of the trades unions has a fair idea of the object to be attained and when hurled against the breastworks of capitalism will shake it to its foundation.

The attitude of the old parties makes them objects to be loathed by those workers who have awakened to a consciousness of their true situation. The political-dickering and railroad pass conventions of the Allied Third Party and the Public Ownership Party have eliminated them from consideration and the battle is clearly drawn between the forces of capital and labor. In a battle of this sort no workman should hesitate in deciding upon which side his efforts belong. In a contest such as the present conditions promise no party member should hesitate in throwing himself into the service of the movement and doing all in his power to roll up a splendid vote.

Let us remember these things, the workman who hopes for freedom from police outrages, militia and injunctions should vote the ticket of his class, the Socialist ticket. The Socialist who wishes to see victory perch upon the banners of labor's banner should do all in his power to make such a victory possible. To both we address this editorial and hope to find one doing his duty on election day and endeavoring to see that his fellows do their duty; the other we hope to see in the thick of the fight until the smoke of the battle shall have lifted from a victorious field.

TO OUR NEW READERS.

To those who read our columns for the first time with this issue we wish to say a word. That word is "Organize." Labor has never accomplished anything without organization. Labor throughout history has borne the hardships and the toll of the world; it has always labored for the enjoyment of others. It has been enslaved by those who controlled the means of life. This condition has a constant tendency to become worse and worse. Those who make use of our labor, have ever sought to wring from us a larger and ever larger part of the product of that labor.

This state of affairs bore its natural fruit. Labor soon learned that acting singly it could not hope to benefit conditions and organization was found necessary. At first in the face of countless persecutions, but finally after many years attaining a certain respect in society.

The master then organized and pitted against each other we today see a vast army of organized wage workers and a comparatively small number of capitalists, each side contending for a larger share of the products of labor. After years of struggle labor has been able to wring better conditions from its opponents and now stands upon a much higher plane than ever before. Through organization alone was it accomplished.

These same wage workers now see the necessity for still further organization. They seek to use their vast leverage for the purpose of destroying wage slavery entirely. It is

Political organization has therefore become necessary. The foundation of the present order, which requires the constant vigilance of the organized workers to prevent a return to their old conditions, lies in the private ownership of the means of life, the machinery and tools of production.

As long as the capitalists own these things they own us for the reason that we cannot live unless we are given an opportunity to use them. In other words, through their power to say whether we shall work or shall not work they are able to dictate the terms upon which we shall live. Organization alone will in any way offset it. Through trades union organization we can prevent our being ground down to the lowest level, through political organization we can ourselves become possessed of the machines and thus control our conditions of employment and the wealth created by our labor. It is for the purpose of building up this economical and political organization of labor that this paper is issued and if you have not yet aligned yourself with these organizations we call upon you to take your place with your class; lend your powers to the battle with the capitalists on the 364 days of the year and use your ballot on the other day.

A TIMELY STATEMENT.

In our last week's issue we published a statement of the party's position with reference to the present conflict between the newly organized American Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor.

We believe the statement was timely, properly expressed the position of the party, and was entirely necessary in order to prevent any misunderstanding. Especially is this true when it is remembered that some of the prominent members of the party have been active in the work of the new federation since its inception. Unfortunately we have not yet gone beyond that stage where the mass of the people look upon the actions of those prominent in any movement as indicating the position of the movement itself.

This situation confronted the party at this time and it was believed by many that the Socialist Party was working with the American Labor Union in its fight against the American Federation of Labor. Such an union was natural on the part of many in view of the fact that the A. L. U. had declared for the Socialist Party and had determined to carry its declaration into effect.

Fortunately, however, the Socialist movement of America has had a bitter experience in this regard. It one time in its history it conceived the idea of founding a Socialist trades unionism and with much enthusiasm organized the so-called Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. Time has proved the fallacy upon which it was organized, time has proved that there is such a thing as a labor movement outside of theory, that the struggle of our conservative brothers in the trades union movement really furnishes the basis of the whole labor movement and as such the basis of the Socialist movement. We have learned that the defeats and victories of this conservative army of labor were our victories and defeats. We have learned that the labor movement is not on political party machine, and with that knowledge we have seen the necessity of at all times discouraging any break in the ranks of organized labor, even though one of the contending factions may have Socialism for its slogan.

We trust that the matter will be thoroughly discussed by the comrades throughout the country and by the party press. It is only by discussion that we progress.

We believe that the issuance of the statement by the National Committee from the Socialist Party from the entraining meshes of another organization which, whether its promoters wish it or not, cannot help but assume the role at one time occupied by the moribund Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance.

MEETING IN TENTH DISTRICT.

Owing to the press of work incident to the Music Hall meeting and the absence of a great many comrades engaged in that work, the parade in the Tenth Congressional District was called off on last Saturday evening and only the street meeting held.

Comrades James S. Roche and M. Ballard Dunn were the speakers of the occasion, the meeting being held at Broadway and Chippewa street. A large number of comrades from the district were present, taking part in the meeting and lending their assistance to its success.

The audience, while not very large, was much interested and stayed throughout the two hours of the meeting. Comrade Roche was the first speaker and he handled the subject completely, showing the absolute necessity for political action as a class in the part of the workers. Comrade Dunn followed, elaborating on the arguments and bringing them home to the listeners. Many a word of approbation gave signs of new converts to the political army of labor and the next election will gather in the harvest.

HEADACHE
25 Dimes 25c

CENTRAL TRADES.

Business of Importance Transacted—Coal Miners Receive Donation—Labor Day Marshals Urged to Attend All Meetings.

Much business of importance was transacted by the Central Trades and Labor Union at its session Sunday.

Upon the recommendation of Secretary Krejling the boycott on the Mound City Hack and Cab Company was endorsed. The Hack and Cab Drivers' Union will now push their complaint against the company and are hopeful of bringing them to terms. The Mound City company had discharged several men in their employ for belonging to the union.

The entertainment committee, having charge of the Labor Day demonstration, reported that the Metal Trades Council had offered to take part in the parade, assume their proportion of the expense provided they were given a proportionate share in the proceeds. The committee recommended that in view of the fact that the C. T. and L. U. had already assumed the entire expense it would be impossible to accept the proposals of the council mentioned.

This recommendation was concurred in. An invitation to send delegates to a convention of employer and employee to be held in Minneapolis, was ordered filed.

On motion eighty dollars was voted to the striking coal miners and a proposition discussed to donate one fourth of the Labor Day proceeds to the same cause, which will doubtless be done if the condition at that time requires it.

The question of having police at the head of the Labor Day parade was discussed and finally decided as a matter of necessity that the same custom be followed as has heretofore prevailed.

Upon resolution from the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union it was decided to require union made carriages and wagons in the Labor Day parade wherever possible.

Upon motion the old campaign committee was discharged and a new one elected. The members of the new committee are James S. Roche, John Godeker, E. D. Emme, Julius Rudolph and M. Ballard Dunn.

Grand Marshal Hoppenjon announced that meetings of the various marshals of the Labor Day parade would be held at Waltham Hall every Sunday morning from now until Labor Day, including Sunday, August 31. It is very important that these meetings should be attended as the whole work of the parade arrangement rests upon those selected as Marshals.

TAILORS UNION.

Proceedings of the Last Meeting

Tailors' Union No. 11 held its regular meeting Monday, August 4, at Druid's Hall. A communication from the Grand Marshal of the Labor Day celebration inviting this body to participate in the Labor Day parade was read and on motion Mr. Louis Hennig was elected as Marshal of the Tailors' Union to make all further arrangements for a good turn out.

It was decided that the Union hold its regular meeting Monday, September 1, at 9 a. m. instead of in the evening, as that will insure better attendance for the parade following. All members not participating in the parade will be fined \$1.

The Union adopted the constitution of the Labor Press Council and voted in favor of the 1c per capita tax for a period of three months.

As some talk has been going around that there are still two custom tailor locals in St. Louis the Secretary was authorized to make it known to the public and organized labor in general that there is only one Custom Tailors' Union in St. Louis and that is Local No. 11, of the Journeymen-Tailors' Union of America.

Organized labor is requested to ask for the Custom Tailors' Union label whenever getting a suit of clothes made, as it is the only guarantee of first class workmanship and union wages.

Union men, we appeal to your judgment; when you help us you help yourselves. Ask for the label. United we stand, divided we fall.

All Tailors are requested to join. Meeting first and third Monday at Druid's Hall.

Respectfully,
LEONHARD STOLL,
Sec'y and Business Agent Local No. 11.

BOYCOTT:

Sessinghaus Milling Company, Ninth and North Market Streets.

To Organize Labor:
Don't patronize this firm, because they are unfair to Coopers' Local Union No. 37, of Coopers' International Union.

They are buying their barrels from a scab firm, Chas. Wunderlich Coopers Co., which firm is also boycotted by C. T. and L. U. of St. Louis.

Their principal brand of flour is Four S. S. S.

By order of Committee of COOPERS' UNION NO. 37.

THE GARMENT WORKER'S STRIKE

(An Object Lesson.)

The Policeman's "Billy" Has Taken the Place of the Slave Drivers Cat O' Nine Tails.



THE "MODERN SIMON LEGREE."

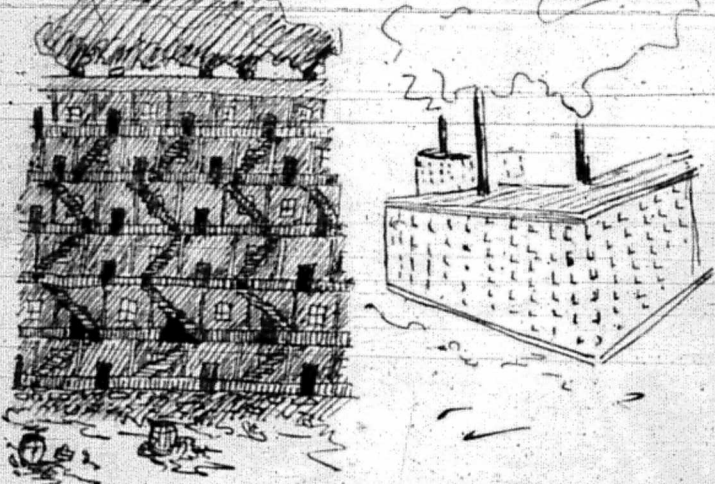
The cat o' nine tails used by Simon Legree on "Uncle Tom" has been succeeded in America by a policeman's billy.

Under the modern order of wage slavery it is found necessary by the master class to have a blue-coated and brassy Simon Legree with his handy billy within convenient distance of every slave pen. During the recent strike of the Garment Workers in St. Louis, Miss Emma Jones, one of the pickets, was beaten, cursed, clubbed, knocked down and kicked by a policeman, one of the uniformed slave drivers of the capitalist class.

While Miss Jones lay prostrate Mrs. Robinson (another garment worker) came to help her. She lifted Miss Jones's head and was about to minister necessary attention when she was arrested for interference with an officer.

Edwin Strauss, an officer of the union who protested, was cursed and threatened with arrest. When the patrol wagon came the police lined the girls up, refusing to assist them into the wagon.

"Get in there, you dogs!" they said; "that's where you belong."



WHERE HIS VICTIM LIVES AND TOILS.

One of the main causes of the Garment Workers' strike was sweatshops—those hell holes of human sacrifice, reeking with the torture of men, women and children. The union, all praise to it, demanded their abolition, and finally succeeded, but not until the lash of starvation and the policeman's club proved ineffective. Notwithstanding the strike has been won; that the Garment Workers will grind their bodies henceforth in factories instead of sweatshops; yet when the day's work is over, most of them will carry tired bodies and dreary souls to so-called homes not much superior to sweatshops—for such are the homes of the working class. It is the level of living to which they are condemned by the rate of wage they are paid.



WHERE HER MASTER LIVES IN LUXURY.

What are wages? Merely a small portion that the worker is given of that which the workers has produced. The capitalists take the lion's share. He has, therefore, the power to do this.

The machinery is owned by the capitalist class. They own the government, which is the lash in their hands. The workers outnumber capitalists by tens of millions. What prevents the workers from seizing possession of the machinery for their own collective good? Answer—The government, which, bear in mind, is owned by the owner of the machines, and the capitalist not alone uses the government to protect him in the private ownership of machinery, but in the operation of said machinery on the most profitable terms.

Every instrument, from a federal injunction to a policeman's billy, is used (when ordered by the capitalists) to force multitudes of men, women and children to accept their terms or submit to starvation. What is the result of this system of society? The capitalist lives like a king on his profits. These profits are actually the unpaid labor of the workers. The workers—how do they live on wages? The answer is—they exist and bring more slaves into the world.



THE WORKINGMAN WHO VOTES TO CONTINUE THE CONDITIONS.

What is the remedy? Factories are merely vast slave pens or prisons with workers on parole over night. The principal business of government today is to protect capital. It is natural for the capitalists who own the government to use it to protect the interests of their class. These interests consist in the private ownership of the tools of production. The class who own the machines, are maintaining themselves by force as masters of the class who work at the machines.

The force which they use is the government. And they use this government brutally, whether it be a federal injunction or a policeman's club. Violent resistance is worse than useless—and even peaceable protest (as hereinbefore shown)—at your own risk; likewise striking, picketing, boycotting, etc. This is the sort of government that the men of the Garment Workers Union voted for without knowing it, and they got it—that is, the girls did, and as a consequence, socialist speakers are now popular in the Garment Workers Unions of St. Louis.

Why are socialist speakers popular? Because they offer the remedy. They propose that the workers shall organize into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist class; shall put workmen into public office from President to policeman; use the government in the interest of the working class, and bring about as rapidly as possible the public ownership of the tools of production, administered co-operatively by the workers themselves. This is the programme of the Socialist Party. The remedy is through the ballot box. Will you vote in the interest of the capitalist class of the working class? Mr. Garment-Worker, it is up to you at any rate. We know what your answer will be on election day.



New Union Factory on Randolph near Jefferson.

HAMILTON, BROWN SHOE Company.

NEW UNION FACTORY

Our Four Thousand employees spend their wages in St. Louis stores. St. Louis stores will increase St. Louis workmen's wages and their own business by selling our shoes.



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MANUFACTURED HERE IN ST. LOUIS

AND

F. R. Rice's **"305"** 5c Cigar

Be sure to call for them, and assist Union Labor

F. R. RICE MERCANTILE CIGAR FACTORY, 306 N. FOURTH STREET

Don't accept an INSURANCE POLICY unless this Label is on it.

Color of Label—Blue.

HEYDTS SUPERIOR BREAD

UNION MADE.

DRINK ONLY UNION BEER!

This label is pasted on every barrel and box as a guarantee that the contents are the product of Union Labor.

A. KEAN, Agent for Life Insurance And Sewing Machines.

WE SELL THE BEST \$3 HAT MADE

Wm. H. ROTTER-Hat Co., 518 Pine Street.

DR. L. H. DAVIS, Office and Residence 1025 Park Avenue

Office Hours From 7:30 to 8:30 a. m. 12:30 to 1:30 p. m. 7 to 9 p. m.

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SEDALIA NOMINATES.
COUNTY TICKET SELECTED THROUGH PRIMARY.
 The comrades of Sedalia have completed their nominations for the county offices to be filled this fall. The party is on the official ballot and the comrades will put forth their energies in the campaign and expect to poll a good vote.
 The following is the ticket nominated:
 Representative—P. S. Jamerson, cigar maker.
 Recorder—Fred Lueking, cigar maker.
 Circuit Clerk—James Knau, car maker.
 County Clerk—J. F. Riley, railroad worker.
 Probate Judge—J. L. Parish, locomotive engineer.
 Collector—O. H. P. Wells, farmer.
 Sheriff—Chris. Kuhn, boiler maker's helper.
 Treasurer—John O. Fisher, cigar maker.
 Prosecuting Attorney—J. C. Clark, clerk.
 Presiding Judge—J. H. Ferguson, farmer.
 Eastern District—J. H. Allison, farmer.
 Western District—John W. Grand, farmer.
 Coroner—David Lindsay, laborer.
 Constable (Sedalia Township)—W. McNulty, car man.
 Justices of the Peace (Sedalia Township)—W. R. Warner, teamster; H. Sherman, machinist; G. W. Duncan, wood worker.

ST. LOUIS CAMPAIGN FUND.
ST. LOUIS CAMPAIGN FUND.
 Reported week ending July 26, \$120.30
 Employees of H. F. B. Wm. Cronch 2.00
 Joseph S. Schmoll50
 F. Pledge, St. H. J. Steiger 25
 Total two weeks ending Aug. 31st \$123.05
ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
 City Secretary.

Mauber Bros'
DRY GOODS
CLOTHING;
Hats' Furnishings,
HATS and SHOES,
332 N. Broadway
Corner Gano avenue.

Spreen Y Cigar Store,
 Manufacturer Union Cigars.
 and Switchback Five Cent Brands.
 La Flor De Spreen 10c brand.
303 North Broadway.

COLUMBIA BOX COMPANY,
 19th and N. Market sts.
BOXES OF ALL KINDS.
UNION LABEL BOXES.

Union Made Clothing
 go to
Walter & Schumann,
CLOTHIERS.
Hatters and Furnishers.
2812 South Broadway.

SLIKERMAN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
 1015-16 Chemical Building.
 Cor. 8th and Olive Streets
 Telephone: Kinloch, B 69.

L. YAHLEM.
Groceries,
 Full line of Granite, Fl., China and Glassware.
Franklin Ave. St. Louis.

AS. SPECHT,
 Manufacturer of UNION CIGARS.
 "My Motto," "Town Talk," and "Flor de Merit." They bear the BLUE LABEL
308 Chouteau Ave.

THE MEANING OF A MASSACRE.

Why We Are Shut Down When We Ask For More Wages—Our Murdered Brothers Call Upon Us to Beware of Our Own Safety.

We here see the picture of one of many massacres. Massacres are numerous in America now—even more numerous than when the painted savage was engaged in the business.



PROFITS ARE ENDANGERED, WORKINGMEN MUST DIE.
 Those who do the massacring now are more powerful and more cunning than were the redskins, and their victims are more unsuspecting and unprepared for the attack.
 A massacre is, in these times, one of the features of every serious strike. When several thousand workingmen become very, very stubborn and refuse to work except on the concession of their demands, then there is only about one way to compel submission—KILL A FEW.
 Brutal? Humph! On which side of the ledger is brutality entered? Would you expect to find sentiment in a sausage machine? Then, why do you look for it in business? Sentiment is the disease germ most deadly to business. No, business (capitalism) is a matter of dollars and cents, and human life cannot outweigh gold on a pair of commercial scales.
 A modern massacre is a murdering party, generally given at the expense of workingmen, by some governor or president at the invitation of some capitalist. The workmen of St. Louis heard of Coeur d'Alene, of Hazelton land. But the earth revolved on its axis and St. Louis met the inevitable. Her labor massacre came—wanton, brutal, cowardly—and her streets were stained with the blood of martyrs.
 It was nothing unusual, merely a repetition of what had occurred time and again in other cities. A strike, stubbornly fought and standing fair to win, a cloak of authority for the preservation of law and order—an excuse to shoot—dead strikers—verdict, "defied the law."
 The Transit Company capitalists did not shoot down our brothers for the love of murder; they did not take their lives merely to see the flow of blood. Neither does any other massacring capitalist.
 Their profits were endangered, the strikers had a chance to win and winning meant less profits for the capitalist. It was to protect these profits that Washington avenue was drenched with blood; it was to prevent the workers from receiving more of the product of their labor that three of our brothers now lie in death.
 And their blood cries out to us from the cobble-stones, cries out to us to beware, beware for our turn is coming. It only needs another attack upon profits, and the galling gun will be again wheeled into action, the posse committees will again march the streets and fire their riot guns into our bodies.
 Massacres can be stopped.
 They are possible only because the capitalist controls the machinery of government. He can have the militia ordered out when he desires.
 The Socialist Party is a political organization of wage workers to fight the battles of their class. When it is in power there will be no more shooting of workingmen. The Socialist Party will PUT A STOP TO MASSACRES by taking from the capitalist his power to rob labor of its wealth.
 The Socialist Party comes again before the working class of St. Louis; it again lays before them the conditions, which have only too often been told; it urges again upon the toiling thousands the necessity for action. The Socialist Party calls upon the workers to place themselves behind the guns (instead of remaining in front of them). To do this requires action on your part; you must act; you must vote. It is the power of your ballot which will place the representatives of your class into the offices of government.
 Massacres will cease if you but say the word. Will you do it, or DO YOU LIKE TO BE SHOT?

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.
 The workingmen of this country are credited with great intelligence. They will have an opportunity to display it at the ballot box in November and that will be the real test of their intelligence.
 We hear a great deal about philanthropy. It just occurred to me that the working men must be the greatest philanthropists that ever existed. They produce all the wealth of the world and hand over the lion's share to the capitalist. That is philanthropy with a vengeance.
 By the way did you ever try to rob a bee hive and meet with a warm reception. If the working class were only as class conscious as the little bees, the capitalists would have hell right on earth. I hope they will become as good Socialists as the bees.
LOUIS MEYER

BOYCOTT Welle-Beettler's and McKinney's Bread.
 It is Made by Non-Union Labor.
 Only Bread bearing this label is Union made.
BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS UNION NO. 18.
Padberg Mercantile Co.,
GASH GROCERS,
 Flour, Feed, Wines, Liquors.
3901 S. Broadway.
 Phone—Kinloch B-313.

UNION SHOE REPAIR SHOP.

Custom Shoemakers' Union of Local Union No. 245 B. & S. W. U. of A.
 Following is the list of Union shops in St. Louis and vicinity, Frank Ujka, with Douglas Shoe Co., 620 Olive st.
 W. Denuhardt, 716 Chouteau ave.
 J. Adler, 3529 S. Broadway.
 H. Höppman, 2714 S. Broadway.
 A. Sturm, 2914 Minnesota ave.
 D. Laferty, 2303 Franklin ave.
 E. Moseley, 1116 N. High st.
 Otto Winkler, 1521 Park ave.
 Jacob Heller, 2116 Cherokee st.
 M. Stober (with Heitzmann), Cherokee and Broadway.
 Louis Boulter, 1718 Franklin ave.
 H. H. Jobe, 1208 Park ave.
 Paul Schwartz, 3324 Lemp ave.
 Geo. Hirsch, 906 Arsenal st.
 John Schnappauf, 3608 S. Broadway.
 Geo. Roth, 2854 South Seventh.
 Paul Stutko, 1727 N. 9th st.
 Nick Berlingen, with W. Beyersdorfer, 2017 E. Grand ave.
 Wm. Blyer, 1932 Gravois ave.
 H. A. Broekmann, 2894 N. Grand av.
 W. R. Sanders, 1928 Arsenal st.
 A. M. Stoddard, 1502 Arlington ave.

Ben-Curvant, 415 Collinsville ave., East St. Louis, Ill.
 Members of Organized Labor are requested to have their repairing done in strictly union shops.
MEETING NIGHTS OF B. & S. M. Joint Council, No. 13, meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., 907 North 22d street. F. C. Pinta, business agent and corresponding secretary.
 Local 25 meets at 907 North 22d street every Friday, 8 p. m. Ed. F. Lane, Secretary, 2943 Division street.
 Local 126 meets at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin avenue, every Tuesday 8 p. m. Geo. Galloway, Secretary, 2951 Clark avenue.
 Local 221 meets at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin avenue, every Friday at 8 p. m. P. H. Adams, Secretary, 1909 Biddle street.
 Locals 242 and 245 have consolidated with Local 25.

50,000 UNION MEN IN ST. LOUIS.

For Years This Vast Army of Workers Have Put Their Enemies Into Power—They Can Control the Government in their Own Interest if They But Vote With Their Class.

There are over 50,000 union men in St. Louis. In the past most of these workmen called themselves Republicans or Democrats and they voted these tickets because their fathers and grandfathers had voted the same way.
 If these 50,000 union men had a little common sense they could be in absolute control of our city government; they could elect the representatives of organized labor into every legislative branch of our municipal, state and national governments; they could elect the executive and judiciary. Instead of constituting the voting cattle of the political party machines of Capitalism they could become the ruling power in our political life and in the management of our public affairs.

Workingmen of St. Louis, have you ever thought of this? Your place is not in the ranks of the Capitalist party. By voting the Republican party ticket you are misrepresenting your own class interests as working men. By voting the Democratic party ticket you are misrepresenting your own class interests as working men.
 Why? Because the Republican and Democratic parties are but the two wings of the same bird of prey that is feeding on the life blood of the working class.
 Each and every law enacted by these two political machines is for the benefit of your capitalist masters and against the interests of Labor, and the few so-called labor laws that are on our statute books have been enacted simply for the purpose of deceiving the working people, of preventing the independent political action of Labor, and with a view of catching the workingmen's votes.

Intelligent workmen who have the welfare of their families and their fellow workers at heart will no longer allow themselves to be used as the political slaves of Capitalism, driven about on election days by the hired Republican and Democratic politicians like so many cattle.
 Intelligent union men will consider it their duty to work and vote for their own party—the SOCIALIST PARTY.
 The man who misrepresents his class interest during a strike by taking the place of his striking brother is called a scab. He deserves this name.
 The workman who misrepresents his class interests on election day by casting his vote for the capitalist parties is, consciously or unconsciously, doing much greater injury to the working people than the man who scabs during the strike.

Union men, this is an important question! You may say: "I AM A FREE CITIZEN AND I'LL VOTE AS I PLEASE."
 You might continue in the same strain, put yourself into the position of the scab and say: "I AM A FREE CITIZEN AND I WORK FOR ANY SCAB WAGES I PLEASE!"
 Today we are in the midst of the most serious universal class struggle the world has ever seen. It is the struggle between the forces of Capitalism and Labor. It is a struggle for class interests. The working class is up in arms against the exploiting capitalist class.
 This class struggle is also a political struggle. Class legislation is the order of the day; it is the general rule. By means of the political power the capitalist class is keeping the working class in the cesspool of misery and slavery. The legislatures, executive, judiciary and military forces are the means whereby the working people are subjugated.
 "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working people themselves!"
 This is the sound advice of the Socialist Party.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ST. LOUIS.
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.
 The Republican Party was in power for a number of years. Under Walbridge and Ziegenhein the city of St. Louis enjoyed all the horrors of boodle politics. It is this Republican machine that produced the most corrupt politicians, nay, that brought forth the public thieves and robbers such as Charles Kratz, the ex-councilman who is now safe in Old Mexico; Meysenburg, the councilman, sentenced to three years in the penitentiary; Julius Lehmann, sentenced to two years in the penitentiary; Murrell, the fugitive et al. It is this Republican party that brought the city to the verge of bankruptcy, that was the willing tool of the Transit Co. during the great street car strike, that organized the Posse Comitatus and is responsible for the Washington avenue massacre of June 10th.
 The present leaders of the Republican party are the old bosom friends of the convicted boodlers, Kratz, Lehmann, Meysenburg, Murrell & Co. We challenge the Housers of the Globe-Democrat, the Nathan Franks of the Star, the Pretorius of the Westliche Post, and all the leading politicians including Congressman Bartholdt and Joy, to show cause why they should not be classified with the above named boodlers. While Kratz & Co. were caught in the act the others were slick enough to cover their criminal corruption by playing the contemptible roll of the "indignant citizen."
 Richard Bartholdt—the "workingmen's friend"—what has he done for Organized Labor? Bartholdt—the bosom friend of Kratz, Meysenburg, Lehmann & Co.—is well known to the United Brewery Workmen. When some years ago the Boss Brewers attempted to organize scab unions for the purpose of breaking up the National Union of United Brewery Workmen, Congressman Bartholdt appeared before the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, and together with ex-Glass-blower Mike Gill, tried to secure charters for the scab unions organized by order and with the money of the Boss Brewers.
 Workingmen of St. Louis, are you not ashamed of yourselves to vote for the Republican party? Only a short time ago the Republican state militia in Pennsylvania was called out to assist in breaking the miners' strike. Also remember Homestead and Coeur d'Alene, where Republican soldiers were marching against striking union men.
 The Globe-Democrat says: "As fast as one boodling combine in the house of delegates breaks up another of the same kind is formed. The house is unquestionably a curse upon the city."
 We ask: How about the council? The Kratz-Meyenburg gang is not one iota better than the "boodling combine" in the house. The Globe-Democrat is aware of this fact. The Globe-Democrat helped to get the boodlers into office. Are the Republican boodlers, Kratz, Meysenburg, Lehmann, et al., any better than the Cronin gang in the house?
 "The Republic" says: "The 'combine' in the house of delegates, maintained through successive terms, has caused a loss of millions of dollars in the city. Its members apparently take a pride in its malodorous reputation. How long will the voters of St. Louis be content to leave the making of municipal laws in the hands of such a crowd?"
 Why the Republic, like the Globe-Democrat, helped to get the boodlers into office and at the next election the same boodling game will be repeated.
 The Westliche Post also denounces the corruption, while this same paper is the official organ of both the Republican and the Democratic boodlers. It is Republican in the morning edition and Democratic in the afternoon edition. Other papers are more or less responsible for the corruption in the City Hall.
 Chief Briber Agent Philip Stock, as state witness in the boodle cases, said on the witness stand that it was simply an impossibility to get any law passed without boodle. As an experienced hand in his prinary profession his statement may be accepted as correct.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
 Workingmen of St. Louis, you know the Democratic Party. It is the same party whose police force was at the service of the St. Louis Transit Co. during the street car strike. The Democratic Party is the party of capitalist peanut-politicians and its very success depends on fusion with and confusing the working people and reform elements. The Democratic Party is a contradiction in itself. While publicly denouncing the corporations and trusts, its leaders are the obedient servants of these trusts. The Democratic politicians in Jefferson City and the Republican politicians in this city have made the St. Louis Street Railway monopoly possible. The Democratic state legislature is doing all in its power to promote capitalist interests. Mr. Dockery is a good governor—indeed, the best governor the capitalist corporations have ever had in this state.
 The Democratic party is a danger to Organized Labor. In every campaign it is making every effort to corrupt the movement by buying some of the would-be leaders. If it had not been for the hard work of the Socialists in the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union would today be a branch of the Jefferson Club instead of a progressive central body of Organized Labor. Political jobs were provided for traitors to the cause of Organized Labor.
 Thanks to Socialist activity in behalf of the bona fide labor movement these boodle-politicians' influence has been broken.
 Workingmen of St. Louis are you not ashamed of yourselves to vote the Democratic ticket? Think of the police outrages during the Garment Workers and other local strikes.
 In national politics both the Republican and Democratic parties are the devoted tools of King Capital. Our U. S. Congress has been busily engaged making laws for said corporations against the interests of the working people. The Federal troops were sent to Chicago by the Democratic president, Cleveland, to assist in breaking the Pullman strike. The Federal troops were sent to the Coeur d'Alene mining district by the Republican president, McKinley, to assist in breaking the miners' strike and inaugurating the historical hell hole horrors where hundreds of poor miners were imprisoned for months.
 The national issues of Protective Tariff and free trade, gold standard or free silver, imperialism or anti-imperialism are fake issues as far as the working people are concerned. It is immaterial which side wins, the workingman jumps from the frying pan into the fire.

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP PARTY.
 It is superfluous to say much of the Public Ownership party. The Public Ownership party demonstrated before its membership even knew what the party was organized for. It never was a labor party and it never will be one. It is the party of everybody and the party of nobody. In its recent state convention held at Uhrig's Cave the Public Ownership party decided to fuse with the Republican party by authorizing its executive committee to endorse the Republican nominees for judges. This suffices. It shows where the Public Ownership party stands. By pretending to represent the interests of everybody it has developed into a political machine of ex-Democratic and Republican politicians.
 Workingmen of St. Louis, can you conscientiously vote for such a party?

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.
 The Socialist Party does not pretend to represent the interests of everybody. It does not pretend to serve two masters. The Socialist Party represents the class interests of Labor. It is fighting the battles of Labor. It is teaching the fundamental truth: Labor creates all social wealth, consequently Labor is entitled to all it creates. It is entitled to own the world.
 The Socialist Party declares war on all the capitalist parties alike, be they Republican, Democratic or Public Ownership. The Socialist Party is the party of the trades unions, of the Labor movement. Its battle cry is: Workingmen of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, but you have a world to gain.
 Organized Labor, workingmen of St. Louis, it is for you to bring about a political revolution in the coming November elections.
 Concentrate your forces under the banner of the Socialist Party! Strike on election day! Strike for your own class interests, for your own families, for your own Socialist Party! Strike against Capitalism and wage slavery by working for and voting the Socialist Ticket.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.
 The Socialist Party ticket of St. Louis is a strictly Trade Union ticket. The men nominated on this ticket are well known in the labor movement and many of them belong to the pioneers of the St. Louis trades union movement. Take the Socialist congressional ticket, for instance:
 Tenth District: WM. M. BRANDT, the well-known worker of Cigar Makers' Union 44.
 Eleventh District: S. A. MACINTURFF, member of Machine Molders Union No. 59.
 Twelfth District: CHRIS ROCKER, the "old-time" member of Cigar-makers' Union, No. 44.
 G. A. HOFHN.

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The Boulevard Shirt.
 This is the label of INTERNATIONAL SHIRT, WAIST AND LAUNDRY WORKERS UNION, which can be found on all Shirts made in the celebrated Boulevard Shirt Factory, 616 N. Seventh Street; by the best skilled UNION LABOR, under fair conditions. If you cannot get them from your DEALER kindly call or write us and we will gladly make them for you.

The Boulevard Shirt Fct'y.
 616 NORTH SEVENTH STREET.
Steamboat Excursion
 of the
United Workingmen's Singing Societies.
 (Vorwärts, Herwegh and Freiheit.)

Sunday, August 17th, 1902
 TO
MONTESANO
 Per City of Providence.
 Boat leaves Olive Street at 9.30 a.m. Tickets, 25 C.

The Bartenders' Protective & Benevolent
 No. 51 A. F. OF L.
 Wishes to announce to the Trade that reliable and competent Bartenders be furnished on application for all occasions, Saloons or extra work. Send all orders to J. J. BAUER, Secretary and Business Manager, Market Street, Phone A 22.
 Don't patronize Saloons where the Union Bar Sign or Blue Label is not displayed.

Socialist Clubs of Missouri.

—What They Are Doing.

STATE SECRETARY'S REPORT.

At the last meeting of the local quorum the Secretary's report for July was approved and two local charters were granted. One to Madey with seven members, and one to Lingo with eleven members. The Poplar Bluff comrades are to be credited with the Lingo organization and Secretary Knecht says the prospects for growth at Lingo are very bright. I seem to have had considerable difficulty in making myself plain on the subject of our state petition. In a number of letters I have sent out I have requested the comrades to look up the law regarding nominations by petition. I am in receipt of letters complaining that the law should have been looked up in this office. While I am aware that such a procedure would have made it easier for the various local organizations, our idea of throwing the comrades on their own resources was that if they were required to attend to some of the details themselves it would result in greater interest on their part, and at the same time familiarize them with practical political methods.

While it is true that our movement is ethical in its inception, if we are to win we must win by practical political action.

Anything calculated to make a comrade work for the cause will foster a militant spirit, and at this time we need militant Socialists. I would like to see The Missouri Socialist a better State paper, and to that end would request the various locals to send to the paper notes on the progress of the movement from week to week. Remember the paper has no means of getting party news except through the party.

You are the party. This is a matter that cannot be delegated to others, therefore I would urge strongly that you make it a point to send something in to the paper each week. I dislike to have to assume the role of a begging parson, and repeatedly ask for what should come spontaneously. This is the 10th of the month, and thus far this office has received but \$10.40 in dues. Last month at this date I had received \$22, more than twice as much. It costs about \$2 to send a typewritten circular to all the locals in the State, and this is a luxury I want to indulge in as little as possible. I appreciate the difficulties the financial secretary experiences in the collection of dues, but as they are so small I would advise their collection in advance for three months whenever possible.

The Sedalia comrades are making good progress with their petition, and expect to secure more signers than were pledged at the Springfield convention. I gave a list of locals last week from which I have heard nothing since assuming this office.

I would request that you at least acknowledge receipt of communications from this office. This is but common business courtesy, and would greatly facilitate the conduct of the state business. Fraternally,

J. R. RATHBUN.

NOTICE TO LOCAL SECRETARIES.

Sedalia, Mo., August 7, 1902.
To all Local Secretaries.
Comrades:—After you have secured all the signers you can to petition for nomination of State ticket, please have the signatures acknowledged before a notary public in accordance with the form given herewith—State of Missouri.

County of _____
On this _____ day of _____, 1902, before me, a notary public within and for the County of _____, personally appeared _____ (here insert all the names of electors signed to the foregoing petition) to me known to be the persons described and who executed the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged that they executed the same as their free act and deed.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal at this office in _____ Missouri, the day and year first above written.

My term of office as a notary public will expire the _____ day of _____, 190____.

Notary Public.
(Seal.)
This is required by law. I have called attention to this matter before, but it seems that I have not made it clear to some of you. Do not delay this matter a moment longer than is absolutely necessary.

Our petition must be filed with the Secretary of State, not more than sixty days and not less than twenty days before the general election. It is of the utmost importance that we file our petition at the earliest possible moment.

This is your fight. I trust you will take this matter up and push it to completion without any further urging.

Mail your petitions so they will reach this office not later than August 20th.

Fraternally,
J. H. RATHBUN.

In St. Louis.

NOTICE:
All Socialists of the First Ward are requested to meet at Broadway and

OUR "INCENTIVE."

What The Capitalist Means When He Says That We Would Have Nothing To Make Us Work Under Socialism.

We are often told by the capitalists that if we had Socialism nobody would work. "Incentive," they say, is the great thing. Without incentive nothing would be done. Of course from such an argument we must believe that we have this incentive today. At least that is what the capitalist would have us believe.

We must admit that something is necessary to induce us to work, otherwise we would lay around and do nothing. But what is it that induces us to work today? Let us take a look at the situation and find this out for ourselves.

Do we work for the pleasure of it? Do we work because we hope to enjoy what our labor creates? Do we work for the love of humanity? Or rather isn't it for the fear of starvation?

Far from working for pleasure. Our labor is not merely work. It is toil, hard, unrelenting toil, a misery instead of a pleasure. We begin from the day we are able to do anything. As children we slave in the shops and factories, never knowing what childhood is, deprived of all those things which nature places at our hand. Our lives are blighted and our hopes smothered in order that profits might flow into the coffers of the capitalist.

As grown men and women we continue the never ceasing rounds, toiling day in and day out, without hope of anything better. The wheels turn ceaselessly and with them moves our hands and feet, keeping time to their speed until finally worn out with such never ending toil, old men and women at 45, we are told that we are no longer required. Our places are filled with babies who, like us, will go through the same slavery. And we spend our days in the poorhouse, and rest our bones in the potter's field.

What has been our reward? Barely enough to live upon. Our wages have bought us cheap meals, cheap clothing and cheap shelter.

The rest has gone to the capitalist, he who owned the whirring machine to which we have been strapped.

—Hunger, grim and awful, stands over us from the day of our birth until death shall release us from our misery.



WHY WE WORK.

Hunger is our incentive. It is that which makes us work. Those who grind our faces have another "incentive." They do not work from fear of hunger. In fact they do not work at all.

They merely work the workers. They work us, and out of their workings come profit. It is for profit that they work. As we are ground harder, toil longer and work faster, their profits grow larger.

The wealth which our labor has created they enjoy. We have made the pleasures of the seashore possible. Do we enjoy them? We have made the palace car, the ocean steamer and all that makes them attractive. Do we ever make use of them?

Have we ever ridden in a palace car? Have we ever inhaled the pure air of the ocean? None of them. Hunger, our incentive, has kept us at our machines, toiling in the hot factories and sweltering in the stifling alleys we call home.



WHY THE CAPITALISTS WORK US.

It is the capitalist who enjoys these things. His incentive, profits, does not require him to toil. With the surplus wealth which he wrings from us the seashore, the palace car and the ocean steamer are at his command.

Our misery is coined into his luxury. Our hunger makes his profits possible. Our labor has made the pleasures of life, to be enjoyed by those who have never labored.

Thousands of us are as yet unconscious of the cause of our conditions, and we listen to the "incentive" story of those who profit by such conditions.

Socialism promises to every one who works the full product of his labor. Would such a condition cause us to cease work?

Would we become lazy merely because we no longer kept an idle class in luxury?

If we listen to the arguments of this class we will ever be as we are. It is only by looking the matter squarely in the fact and taking our fortunes in our own hands that we will better our conditions.

The Socialist Party is composed of men and women who have resolved on this course. They have determined to fight the capitalist every day in the year. They have linked political action with their trades union and now stand opposed to capitalism at every point. They fight not only for increased wages but for the abolition of the wage system.

Will you be with them?

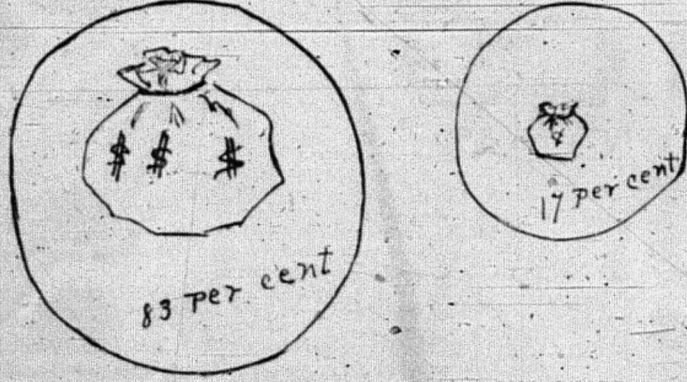
WHAT ARE WAGES ?

Labor, the Creator of All Wealth, Lives in the Meanest Fashion in Order to Furnish Luxury to the Controllers of the Law.

If every workman knew the answer to this question they would elect to office men from their own number to represent their interests.

To make it simple, wages is what is left after the capitalist gets his profit, so that when you are paid on Saturday night you have received the difference between what you have created and what the capitalist has taken for himself.

According to the United States Labor Commissioner, Carroll D. Wright, the wealth which the workers create is divided into two parts, so as to give the capitalist as his profit 83 per cent and the worker as his wages 17 per cent, which when set aside in piles looks about as follows:



THE CAPITALIST SHARE

OUR SHARE.

This may look rather bad, but it is nevertheless true and certainly calls for some reading and study on the part of those who while creating all have received only a fraction.

Especially does it look bad when it is shown by the same Labor Commissioner that there are ten times as many working men as capitalists.

Wages then is only seventeen per cent of all and it is divided among ten times as many as the other eighty-three per cent profit.

The capitalist in order to increase his portion is constantly seeking to reduce the wages of the worker, the worker on the other hand in order to increase his wages is constantly seeking to reduce the profit of the capitalist.

This struggle between the capitalist and the worker requires that each in their efforts against the other shall act as a class, the capitalist has learned this and uses his knowledge to grind down his employees. The worker is beginning to understand it, the proof of which lies in his trade union, but the

capitalist still controls the powers of government and with them he calls out the militia and issues injunctions. We see him below with his little law book. He makes the law, construes the law and enforces the law, all in his own interest.



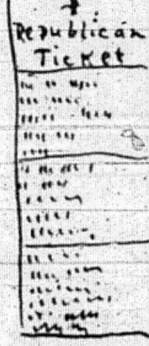
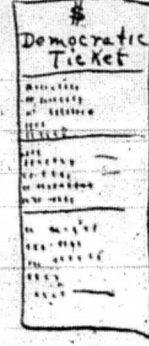
THE CAPITALIST MAKES, CONSTRUES AND ENFORCES THE LAW.

As long as the workers permit him to do this they will have to bear its burdens. With their numbers, however, they can get possession of the law book and it is this which they must do.

In doing it they must act as a class. They must support their class political party as they now support their class trades union.

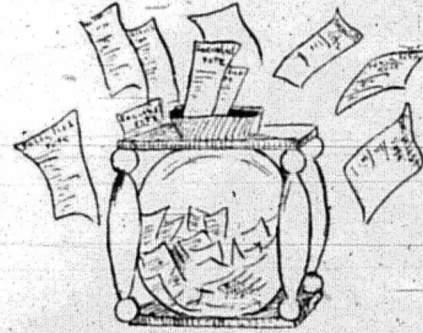
For years have the workers entrusted their government to the capitalists. For years have they fought the capitalist 364 days in the year and voted for him or his candidates on the 365th day.

Surely experience should teach us the lesson. Surely we can see how foolish we have been, and seeing it resolve to put an end to it. Remember that he who would be free must himself strike the blow. For years we have been voting these old tickets.



THOSE WHO VOTE THESE TICKETS, ARE RESPONSIBLE.

For years we have struggled in our poverty and misery, when we knew it was our labor which made it possible to live happy. For years we have elected either one or the other of these tickets and we still are in poverty and misery. We still are shot down if we protest.



THROUGH THIS MEANS WE CAN CONTROL THE LAW IN OUR INTEREST.

Let us strike the blow. Let us quit working for wages and enjoy the full fruits of our labor. Let us act as a class by voting our own emancipation.

THE SOCIALIST TICKET.

The Candidates For Whom the Working Class Is Urged to Vote.

- JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.
Jonathan W. Gibbons, Attorney, Galena.
James A. Slinker, Attorney, Joplin.
Frank P. O'Hare, Lecturer, Kansas City.
RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSIONERS.
Pearl Thompson, Section Hand, Liberal.
W. I. Phifer, Laborer, California.
SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.
A. H. Hull, Physician, Carthage.
JUDGE OF THE COURT OF APPEALS.
H. N. Smith, Engineer, Jefferson City. (Member Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.)

- CITY TICKET.
SHERIFF.
L. E. Hildebrand. (Member of Shoe Workers' Union 25 and Federal Labor Union 6482.)

- JUDGES OF THE CIRCUIT COURT.
Albert E. Sanderson, Clerk. (Member of Federal Labor Union 6482.)
John S. Lewis, Clerk. (Member of Federal Labor Union 6482.)
Paul Fromm, Brewery Worker. (Member of Brewers and Malsters' Union No. 6.)

- JUDGE OF THE COURT OF CRIMINAL CORRECTION.
John F. Berghem, Cigar maker. (Member of Cigarmakers' Union No. 44.)
JUDGE OF PROBATE COURT.
Wm. H. Holman, Railway Clerk. (Member of Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.)

- CLERK OF THE CIRCUIT COURT.
Phil H. Mueller, Cigar maker. (Member of Cigarmakers' Union No. 44.)
CLERK OF THE CRIMINAL COURT.
Leonard Stoll, Tailor. (Member of Tailors' Union No. 11.)
CLERK OF COURT OF CRIMINAL CORRECTION.
J. H. Butterell, Machinist. (Member of Machinists' Union.)

- CLERK OF PROBATE COURT.
W. T. Smith, Carpenter. (Member of Carpenters' Union No. 1011.)
PROSECUTING ATTORNEY.
Robert J. Beger, Garment Cutter. (Member Garment Workers' Union.)
ASSISTANT PROSECUTING ATTORNEY.
Otto Kaemmerer, Garment Worker. (Member of Garment Workers' Union.)

- CORONER.
F. J. Zeller, Physician.
RECORDER OF DEEDS.
David C. Ward.

- LICENSE COMMISSIONER.
Wm. C. Eggerman, Beer Bottler. (Member Beer Bottlers' Union No. 187.)
CONGRESSIONAL TICKET.
Tenth District—William M. Brandt, Cigar maker. (Member Cigarmakers' Union No. 44.)
Eleventh District—S. A. McSwirt, Moulder. (Member of Machine Moulders' Union No. 59.)
Twelfth District—Chris Roeker, Cigar maker. (Member of Cigarmakers' Union No. 44.)

- STATE SENATOR.
30th District—Fred Vierling, Agent.
32nd District—Wm. E. Lyons, Laborer.
34th District—Thomas L. Savage, Blue Printer.

- STATE REPRESENTATIVE.
First District—G. A. Hoehn, Journalist.
E. Val. Putnam, Attorney.
M. Ballard Dunn, Journalist.
Second District—Frank Sraft, Organizer.
Julius Rudolf, Beer Bottler.
Wm. Crouch, Cigar Maker.
Third District—F. H. Wehking, Laundry Worker.
S. S. Hunt, Laborer.

- Fourth District—Geo. C. Allen, Electrician.
Fifth District—Felix P. Lawrence, Draughtsman.
W. W. Baker, Printer.
Charles F. Gebelein, Woodworker.
Sixth District—L. M. Carter, Solicitor.
David Hendry, Blacksmith.
Seventh District—P. L. Yerby, Telegrapher.
C. A. Burton, Telegrapher.

- JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.
First District—A. Blaettler, Stableman.
Second District—Henry Struckhoff, Cigar Maker.
Third District—C. E. Arnold, Agent.

- Fourth District—Wm. Voegel, Baker.
Charles Roloff, Printer.
Fifth District—Ayman Keon, Agent.
Phil Hart.
Sixth District—George D. Houseman.
Seventh District—Charles Reikoecker, Cigar Maker.
Eighth District—John C. Lyons, Carpenter.
Ninth District—Wm. H. Scott, Millwright.

CONSTABLES.

- First District—L. P. Phillippi, Beer Bottler.
Second District—George J. Mellor, Beer Bottler.
Third District—Martin Bruegmann, Cigar Maker.
Fourth District—R. Ackermann.
Arnold Nebbenfeldt.

- Fifth District—F. Bick, Agent.
N. N. Yahlen, Clerk.
Sixth District—George Hird, Shoemaker.
Seventh District—Louis Laturay, Coremaker.
Eighth District—Charles Scheffler, Packer.
Ninth District—Gustav Eckhoff, Millman.

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Charles Vahrenhold, Moulding. 4201 N. Twentieth St. Phone Klondike 440.

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The Colwell Bar, Fine liquors and cigars. Andy's Place, 9th and Bell, Main 1923; Kinloch, A.

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2536 NORTH MARKET, 2d floor, 10.00
1426 N. EIGHTH, rear 2 large rooms, 1st floor 4.00
STORES AND LOFTS.
706 N. SEVENTH, 1/2 floor
1081 CLARK, cor. of 11th st., large store 25.00
1601 N. EIGHTEENTH, cor. of Mullamphy 15.00
793 WASHINGTON AVE., suitable for drug store
1700 LUCAS AVE., for grocery and butcher shop
STABLES.
1239 LUCAS, large stable 8.00

H. GOEDDE, HATTER, 1816 Franklin Ave.

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Local No. 8, N. L. of M.
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