

Workingmen
of all
Countries, Unite

LABOR.

You Have Nothing to Lose but your chains, and a World to Gain.

SIXTEEN PAGES:

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VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, SEPT. 5, 1903.

NO. 135.

WANTED==20,000 Wage Workers to hear EUGENE V. DEBS speak at GROSS' PARK, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1903. Bring your families and friends along, and enjoy yourselves at the Socialist Party Picnic. Let us make it a Great Demonstration.

LABOR DAY IN ST. LOUIS.

Two Separate Parades and Two Picnics to be Held.



The Central Trades and Labor Union Prepares for a Monster Parade.

The Central Trades and Labor Union will celebrate Labor Day with an estimated turnout of fully 30,000 workingmen. John Hoppenjon, who was grand marshal last year, will head the big parade. His aides have not yet been named. The marchers will form in line along streets in the vicinity of Twelfth and Market streets, the line of march being almost the same as that of last year. The annual picnic will be held at Lemp's Concordia park. Marshals of the various unions connected with the C. T. L. U. have already been named, and hold meetings every Sunday morning at Walahalla hall, perfecting details of the turnout.

BUILDING TRADES TURNOUT.

The Building Trades Council, with an estimated strength of 10,000, will turn out in full strength in honor of Labor Day. Louis Tepfer, of the Carpenters' District Council, will be the grand marshal. The labor committee consists of Mr. Tepfer, W. S. Paris, Joseph P. Dwyer, J. W. Gilreath and John Duffy.

to-day are but the promise of the time when the idle exploiting class of the world will present a solid phalanx of oppressing power toward the creators of wealth.

As the battle line lengthens and the struggle grows fiercer the forces of organized plunder seek ever for new weapons with which to meet the gathering armies of workers. Ten years ago the injunction was seldom used in conflicts between capitalist and laborer. To-day the judge has taken his place next to the scab as the main dependence of the exploiting class when in conflict with its slaves.

The "Taff Vale" decision of England is little more than a year old, but legal precedent moves on winged feet to serve a rulling class, however much it may linger when labor calls for its aid, and to-day that decision has been accepted as a rule of practice in the courts of a dozen American states. From now on trade union funds and the possessions of union men are the legitimate prey of union crushers. To ask a master for better conditions of life is to give him the legal right to take any little surplus you may have been able to save in days gone by.

The "Dick military bill" makes of every man a military butcher, whether he wishes or not, and places the control of the armed forces of the country in the hands of the central government, of whose allegiance to capitalism there can never raise a suspicion. Meanwhile riot bullets are distributed to the arsenals and military maps are made of the cities, telling all too plainly who are to be the victims of this new military organization.

On the other hand, while employers are gathering to their hands all the powers of government and are using them for the purpose of defending their ill-gotten gains against the rightful owners, the laborers are slowly, but surely, learning that they too must gain and use political power. At first they forget the lessons which the long painful struggle for each little advance on the industrial field should have taught them—that laborers secure nothing that their strength is unable to take. Forgetting this lesson, which the long battle in mine, workshop and factory should have taught them, they send lobbies to the government of the master class to beg and whine for favors. They hope to see the capitalist yield a portion of his plunder in the legislative field in response to appeals to justice and mercy, forgetting that every shortening of hours, every increase of wages, every child that has been taken from the factory and sent to the school, every right of laborers to stand together as brothers has been secured only when those who asked these things had the strength and the will and a knowledge of the means to enforce their demands.

Now that the struggle is being transferred to the political field, now that it is a question of injunction judges, militia rule, police outrages and class legislation, labor must learn once more to stand alone and conquer by virtue of its own inherent strength. Here, however, it is fighting, not alone

its own battles, but the battle of the whole human race. It is fighting on the side of progress, of human advance, in an effort to realize for itself and for posterity the fruits of the mechanical and industrial triumphs of modern society.

No one else can wage this battle. The men of the colleges can not do it. They are bound too closely to the dead past. They have, with a few non-exceptions, chosen on which side they will stand in this great conflict. From them comes adulation of the scab, denunciations of the unions, and hymns of praise for the concentrated wealth that is capable of granting rich endowments. The wealthy and the privileged can not lead in this great struggle for it is against the ill-gotten wealth of to-day and unjust privileges of the present social order that the battle of labor is waged.

The nineteenth century belonged to the capitalist. The tasks it accomplished, the order it brought forth, the society it established were all in accord with the interests of a ruling capitalist class. We must at once admit that however terrible the evils it created and problems it left behind that century did greater things for human progress than all the centuries that have rolled before. It took the simple tools with which man had so long battled against his environment in a painful effort to transform it to his use, and it transformed those tools and made slaves of wind, water, steam, air and electricity, until man could at last proclaim the victory over nature. But meantime a class arose who stole to themselves the fruits of that victory without having shared in the labor of conquest.

The twentieth century belongs to the laborers.

Long has been the preparation of the laborers for this task. For this they were driven by greed into crowded cities and drawn by brotherhood into trade unions, organized by the avarice seeking skill of their masters into industrial armies, and gathered in obedience to their intelligence into political parties of their own class. They have learned to work together, act together, think together, in the workshop and the union.

They must now carry that class solidarity in the political field. They must capture government, not to make of it a taskmaster, a policeman, or a class tyrant, but to transform it into a servant that shall perform the collective tasks of all the workers. Only in this way can end the struggle between the owners and the users of the instruments of wealth creation. The long class struggle between capitalists and laborers by the collective body of laborers, and when the laborers' task of creating wealth shall be shared by all the members of society.

SAVAGERY, BARBARISM, FEUDALISM, CAPITALISM—these were the great race steps upward in the past. The next step—SOCIALISM, lies before us. It is for the workers to decide when we shall take it and enter into the reward that it will bring to mankind.

THE RISE OF LABOR.

By A. M. SIMONS.

Never on any previous Labor day was organized labor confronted by such tremendous tasks as loom before it as the present moment. It is equally true that never before was labor organizations so strong, so compact, so resourceful and aggressive.

In the days that are yet to come the new tasks must develop new tools and new methods of working. There must be new methods of fighting, new weapons of warfare, new means of offense and defense. "New occasions teach new duties." The problems of the future will not be the problems of the present nor of the past. Neither can they be met with the old methods.

The consolidators of capital, the prophecy of which caused the Socialists of a half century or even of a decade ago to be looked upon as crazy fanatics, are to-day accomplished facts. The great trusts have leaped over national boundaries a power beside which that of the military conqueror of former ages is insignificant.

It is not alone that these individual owners have grown monstrous great in their industrial rulership. They have made alliances with their brother monarchs of industry, until bound by a fellowship of greed they hold the world enthralled. The manufacturers' associations and similar organizations of

Too Old--God Save the Man!

By EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

Too old, too old! Too old, too old!
 God! how heart turned deathly cold
 And mind refused the rueful task
 Of facing future—he to ask,
 To beg, to plead for place and wage
 When once discharged because of age!

"Too old," they said; but well he knew
 Will, strength and skill were his, to do.
 "Too old, too old!" within his brain
 There rang remorseless this refrain:
 "Too old, too old. Too old, too old!"
 For that was all the foreman told.

God! What an awful blunder's here,
 That you deferred the restful bier
 Of workers till three-score and ten!
 At five-and-forty, faithful men
 Are turned away, discharged and told:

"We want young blood—you are too old!"
 God save the man that faces this!
 Oh, leap aside when serpents hiss;
 Oh, guard against th' assassin's steel;
 Oh, fend the life for future weal!
 That future: Kind were serpent's sting,
 And kind th' assassin, swift should bring

To workers' death while in their prime,
 Preventing thus this Pure-Man's crime
 That dooms to death and worse, the years
 When willing worker faces sneers,
 Rebuffs, cold hearts and hungry child,
 Whose pleading tones drives parents wild.

God save the man who faces this!
 Kind, kind is death that brings his bliss;
 Prevention of that cruel, cold,
 Fair-future-slaying word "TOO OLD!"

The American Cigar Trust.

The American Tobacco company (American Cigar trust) employs about 10,728 people, mostly poorly paid men, women and children, in the following cities:

Binghamton, N. Y., about.....	900
Cincinnati, O., about.....	1,000
Chicago, about.....	275
Cleveland, O., about.....	70 to 100
Detroit, Mich., about.....	1,070
Louisville, Ky., about.....	320
Dayton, O., about.....	32
Philadelphia, Pa., about.....	1,000
Camden, N. J., about.....	300
Kingston, N. Y., about.....	1,400
New York City, about.....	1,300
New Orleans, La., about.....	900
Trenton, N. J., about.....	280
Middletown, N. Y., about.....	200
Tampa, Fla., about.....	1,000
Key West, Fla., about.....	125
Greensboro, N. C.....	60
Newark, N. J.....	100
Perth Amboy, N. J.....	125
Total.....	10,728

The principal brands of scab cigars manufactured by this Cigar trust are:

Crema, Feodora, La Preferencia, Fontella, Carmencita, Evangeline, Detroit Free Press, George W. Childs, Cubanola, Little Perfecto, Chief Battle, El Trillo, St. Julian, Lillian Russell, La Gloria, Duke of York, La Justice, Union League Club, Queen de King West, El Belmont, Premios, Jackson Square, Florodora, Cuban Lillys, Old Virginia Cheroots, Pansy, La Flor d'Emilo, Justice Fuller, La Superior, La Patricia, King's Favorite, Henry George, The Owl, La Internacional, etc.

From New York comes the information that the "United Cigar Manufacturers," composed of Kerbes, Wertheim & Schiffer and Hirschborn & Mack, are negotiating to join the American Tobacco company.

The "United Cigar Manufacturers" operate four factories in New York city. The factory numbers are 13, 1116, 1987 and 11, Third Revenue District of New York. The principal brands are: General Arthur, The Owl, Capadura, Tom Moore, Henry George and Robert Burns.

The foregoing information is taken from the Cigar Makers' Official Journal. The same capitalist law of concentration in every branch of industry! Let every Socialist and true union man stand by the Cigar Makers' International Union. The cigar makers have always been true to the cause of Organized Labor, and the percentage of Socialists among them is growing encouragingly.

The blue union label on the box is the guarantee that the cigars contained therein were made by union men and members of the international union. Smoke none but blue label cigars. All the Trust brands above named are scab cigars. Remember this!

Mr. Skinner, president of the carpenters' union, thinks that this country ought to pass some stringent laws restricting the poor of Europe and other countries from landing on our shores and flooding our labor market. I respectfully suggest to Mr. Skinner that the danger to our civilization is not on account of the poor, but in reality from the rich, especially those who are using their wealth to monopolize certain trades and business channels. Train your guns in some other direction, Mr. Skinner. Find the cause of extreme poverty in the midst of extreme riches, and see if there is not a natural remedy for all of our social evils. And this gentleman holds on to the old foggy idea of "America for Americans"—a direct denial of natural rights. If Mr. Skinner had been born in Africa he would probably be shouting "Africa for the Hottentots." There is nothing in nationality when the matter is properly considered. "The republic of these United States" is a title dear and near to the hearts of all of us, but the "Republic of the World" would be far better and nobler as a title.—Youngstown Labor Advocate.



National Headquarters,
 Socialist Party,
 Omaha, Neb., Aug. 29, 1903.

SOCIALIST NOTES.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party,
 Omaha, Neb., Aug. 29, 1903.

Special Organizing Fund.
 The following contributions have been made to the special organizing fund since last report:

Central branch, local, Seattle, Wash.....	\$ 2 00
David Mahoney, Chicago, Ill.....	1 00
Wm. L. Hamilton, Chicago, Ill.....	1 00
Edward Kirby, Fairmount, W. Va.....	15
Wm. Kirby, Fairmount, W. Va.....	10
C. Kessler, Kansas City, Mo.....	5 00
Sam Eiges, New York city.....	5 00
Local, New Bedford, Mass.....	5 00
Total to noon, August 29.....	19 25
Previously reported.....	937 77
Total.....	\$957 02

The Socialists of Washington county, Maryland, have nominated a county ticket at Hagerstown for the first time, and will make a special fight against the iniquitous ballot laws of Maryland.

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts will be held at Paine Memorial hall, Boston, Monday, September 28, 10:30 a. m., to nominate a full ticket for the November election.

George H. Goebel will be in Tennessee until September 9, after which he will fill dates crossing Arkansas to Texas in time to enter the latter state before October 1.

Harry M. McKee will soon commence work in Arizona, under the direction of the territorial secretary, Albert Ryan, Jerome.

Ben Hanford will fill the following dates in Ohio after his Labor day ad-

dress at Cleveland: September 8, Elyria; 9, Toledo; 10, Findlay; 12, Fremont; 13, Fostoria; 14, Springfield; 16, Cincinnati; 17, Hamilton. Hanford will enter Indiana on September 18, his dates in that state being under the direction of State Secretary James Oneal, 422 Ohio street, Terre Haute.

STATE COMMITTEE OF MISSOURI.

Liberal, Mo., Aug. 23, 1903.

Eleventh meeting of the quorum of the Socialist Party was held at headquarters, with Jones, Benson, Mellor and Wilcox present, with M. M. Jones in the chair. Blake absent, without excuse.

Charters were granted to Warrenton, with eight members; Moberly, with seven members, and Mexico, with five members. Application of F. W. Knoche, of Kansas City, for membership at large was referred to Jackson County club.

Quorum decided to continue Comrade Slanker until he reaches Butler county, when further action will be taken. He held good meetings at all points between Kansas City and St. Louis, and organized clubs at three points. Adjourned.

M. M. JONES, Chairman.
 CALEB LIPSCOMB, Secretary.

PARTY SUPPLIES—PRICE LIST.

National platforms, 25 cents per hundred.
National constitutions, 20 cents per hundred.
Membership applications, 25 cents per hundred.
How to organize, no charge.
Why Socialists pay dues, no charge
Membership due cards, 75 cents per hundred.
Party buttons, 30 cents per dozen.
Send orders to Caleb Lipscomb, Sec-treas., Liberal, Mo.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS NOTES.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Balance on hand, August 17.....	\$12 54
RECEIPTS.	
Campaign fund.....	\$ 6 45
Dues.....	7 95
Telephone fund.....	75
Supplies.....	10
Total.....	\$27 79

DISBURSEMENTS.

State organizer.....	\$5 00
Dues.....	6 00
Car fare.....	35
Postage.....	66
Secretary's salary.....	3 00
Total.....	\$12 78

ST. LOUIS SPECIAL ORGANIZING FUND.

Amount last report.....	\$73 40
Sam Bernstein.....	25
J. A. Necker.....	25
O. F. M.....	25
P. Doelcher.....	25
E. Digg.....	25
Otto C. Doeumer.....	25
Chas. Kassel.....	25
Carl Schack.....	50
Crouch's collections.....	1 60
Kaemmer's collections.....	1 20
Allan's collections.....	1 90
Total.....	\$80 35

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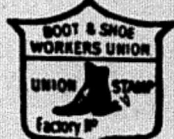
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\$4.00.



FORWARD OR BACKWARD.

By CHAS. DOBBS, Louisville, Ky.

Nature abhors stagnation as it does a vacuum and there can be no such thing in life as standing still. Individuals and institutions must either go forward or backward. There is such a thing as "mocking time" for the moment, but the man or body of men deluded with the idea that this can be kept up indefinitely is certain to receive a rough awakening. There is a forward movement which can not be checked and we must go with it or ahead of it if we wish to escape being crushed under foot.

These are mere truisms, but they must be seriously taken into account by those who desire not only to maintain the advantage of the moment, but to win new victories in the future. With particular force does this apply to the trades unions, which do not have to be told that life is a struggle—that they get nothing they do not fight for. Having learned the lesson in the bitter school of experience the trades unions by this time should have no delusions on the subject. No one is going to give them anything as a free-will offering however much concessions extorted by fear are paraded in the philanthropic garb of "voluntary" increases in wages or reductions in hours of labor. Trades unionists must know, or stand convicted of unutterable stupidity—that they are always confronted by an able, resourceful and often unreasonable enemy in the shops of the employing class. This being true the unions dare not overlook any legitimate means whereby they may secure for their members the means to satisfy the needs and natural aspirations of human beings.

For years the Socialists, while loyally fighting labor's battles on the economic field, have pointed out the insufficiency of the "pure and simple" trade union policy. They have been reviled and persecuted for opinion's sake—often by the very people they have sought to help—but the wisdom of their words is every day becoming more and more apparent. The trade union itself was not organized until the cruel force of circumstances compelled organization and the same force of circumstances must show many that labor must look to other weapons than the strike and boycott if it is to go forward and not be trampled under foot. It is unfortunate that a blow from a club is necessary to make some men see even a star of hope, but certainly the blows have fallen fast enough in the past few years to make labor see whole constellations. With the signs daily multiplying to show how desperate is labor's condition, with every day poisoned by the fear that to-morrow may bring idleness and want, it is suicidal for the unions longer to ignore the Socialist's bugle call to the political field. The strike and the boycott are good old weapons, and arbitration has its good points, but unless labor is using the finest and best weapon of all—the ballot—it is as helpless as a band of Filipino Igorotes, with bows and arrows, against American soldiers with machine guns and repeating rifles.

The trades unions are essentially democratic in that the rank and file possesses the ultimate authority and this rank and file can not with safety transfer its authority to officers and delegates. Of course, these functionaries are necessary to do a delegated work, but they must at frequent intervals render an account of their stewardship. It is when these accounts are rendered that the rank and file must make itself felt. If the labor leaders persist in fighting with bows and arrows the rank and file must see that they are represented by men who have a clearer conception of modern conditions. These modern conditions make the political wing of the labor movement as important as the encom-

ic wing and the common instinct of self-preservation, if not common sense, must force the acceptance of this truth. This political wing of the labor movement, the Socialist Party, as truly represents the working class interests as the trades union, and its ultimate impotence of the "pure and simple" union to guarantee employment is demonstrated.

What are the rank and file of the trades unions going to do about it? Forward with votes for the Socialist Party or backward to repeated defeat, idleness and want?

JUDGE ROGERS' DECISION.

The Right to Blacklist and the Right to Be Blacklisted.

Judge Rogers, at St. Louis, has handed down a decision, which reads that the Western Union Telegraph Co., or any other corporation, has a legal right to discharge employes for belonging to unions, or to discharge them for no reason at all, and that a corporation is within the law when it places the names of discharged men on the blacklist and furnishes the list to others for their information.

From this we get a true picture of the "equality before the law" over which so much spread-eagle oratory has been used. The capitalist class has the right to blacklist and the workers the right to be blacklisted; a right to discharge for no reason, and the right

to be discharged for no reason; the right to shoot, and the right to be shot; the right to rob, and the right to be robbed; the right to rule and the right to submit. Nor can it be otherwise as long as classes with conflicting economic interests exist. Either one or the other must submit to the other. As a faithful representative of the class that employs him, Judge Rogers and all of his ilk must hand down such decisions as that quoted above, says The Toller. He himself, as an employe of that class, knows that the decision he has given determining the legal status of employes, holds as good for himself in that capacity as of any wage worker. Should he refuse to assent to the above analysis of "rights," and thus antagonize his employers, he would be subject to discharge "for no reason" at all, or even be the victim of the blacklist. His relation to the ruling class is the same as that of the wage worker. He depends on them for employment, for the class that owns the opportunities of employment of the workers also control government upon which depends Judge Rogers' existence.

In determining the economic and legal status of wage workers the judge only confesses his own. The judge is not above law. He is only the medium through which the ruling class express their power, and, should he at any time prove "unsafe," he will be as readily "discharged for no reason at all" as the wage worker who may still dream of the "harmony between labor and capital."

It would be interesting to see others, who believe otherwise, juggle with the above decision in an attempt to prove the sweet reasonableness of the "harmony" that exists between two hostile classes.

Defenders of the present system of robbery and despotism are robbers and despots, or expect to be.

There is no last resort for the workingman under capitalism, after he has passed his forty-fifth birthday.

The victims of capitalism suffer longer and more intensely than the victims of cannibalism.

NATIONAL PLATFORM

—OF THE—

Socialist Party of the United States.

The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means and production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists, and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. This once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by

constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the state of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication, and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION



Ben Hanford to Visit St. Louis.

Ben. Hanford, of New York, begins a long-deferred western tour, under the direction of the National Lecture bureau of the Socialist Party, in Pennsylvania during the last week of August. Hanford is one of the most popular and best-known Socialists in the eastern states, and a prominent member of the Typographical union of New York city, better known as "Big Six."

He has been a trade unionist over twenty years and a Socialist over ten. Three times has been chosen as Socialist candidate for governor of New York, in 1898 by the Socialist Labor Party and 1900 and 1902 by the Social Democratic Party, which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state. In 1902 the vote for Hanford for governor was increased from 12,069 to 23,400, putting the party from fifth to third place on the ballot.

When the trade unionists of Yonkers, N. Y., were looking for a man to answer the 16 questions recently put to them by John C. Havemeyer, the Sugar trust magnate, they selected Hanford as their spokesman, and his speech at the great mass meeting held for that purpose in Yonkers, and at which Mr. Havemeyer was present, created a profound impression and attracted wide attention.

Speaking of Ben Hanford's qualities

as a speaker, Algernon Lee, editor of The Worker, New York, says: "Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct of language, so that no hearer can fail to understand."

"More than this, he is a workingman, a class conscious workingman in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class; thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all its soul, and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called "success." Thus he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

Hanford will be the speaker on Labor day for the United Trades and Labor Council at Cleveland, O. His tour to the west will take him through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska and Colorado, in the order named. For dates, terms and other information, address national secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

THE PRESENTS FOR THE RAFFLE

Hundreds of Them Have Been Received in the Last Five Days.

The presents for our grand raffle at the Gross' park picnic, Sunday, September 13, are coming in by the hundreds. About three hundred presents for prizes have been received within the last four days. The list published below contains those presents only that had been received up to Wednesday afternoon. The list of names will be continued in next issue of our papers, LAOR and ARBEITER ZEITUNG.

All the presents should be delivered at the office of LABOR or at the homes of the members of the Socialist Women's club. The following is a list of presents received from August 28 to September 2:

Rist & Lembach, a beautiful picture frame, 78 by 20 inches.
Stark Hardware Co., ice cream freezer.
Fred Wedel, one dozen fine picture frames.
Mrs. Otto Fischer, fancy flower pot,

work-basket and shaving mug.

Mrs. Peter Beisel, decorated china-ware and fancy vases.

Mrs. Sarosky, one dozen towels, butter dish and picture.

Mrs. Ida Pazmany, one pair vases.
Mrs. Gus. Goeckeler, 1½ dozen fancy pillows.

Mrs. F. Abrell, handsome fruit dish.
Mrs. Phil. Mueller, ½ dozen decorated china cups, fruit dish, fancy jug and bric-a-brac in great variety.

Brandt & Stahl, one box fine Havana cigars.

Minnie L. Hoehn, two vari-colored silk woven frames with Debs' picture.

Julia Balars, pin cushion.

Unknown, two pairs fancy baby shoes.

Mrs. Nic. Becker, aprons and other white goods articles.

Henry Lang, volume I, II, and III, of his poems, "Feld und Weisenblumen" (German).

Comrade, one copy each "The American Farmer," by Simons, "Social Revolution," by Kantsky.

Mrs. Cody, two fancy aprons.

T. C. Stephens, one yearly subscription to Wilshires' Magazine.

Wm. Voegel, 75 books and pamphlets

by Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Debs, Hitchcock, McGrady, Blatchford, Hyndman, Seidel, Liebknecht, Eisner, Bebel, Heron, Vail, Jacoby, Ecarius, Goehre, Bracke and others.

Fred Wedel, cash, \$1.

Social Democratic Woman's club:

One dozen fancy balls.

One dozen dolls.

One dozen pen and pencil holder boxes.

One-half dozen necklaces.

One dozen mouth harps.

One dozen surprise boxes.

One dozen ivory shell purses.

One dozen glass lanterns.

One dozen ornaments.

One dozen sets children's knife, fork and spoon.

One dozen metal toy furniture sets.

One dozen spades and buckets for children.

One dozen drawing slates.

Master Frederick Hilderbrand, one boys' rubber stamp outfit.

Mrs. Shea, a beautiful colored knitted center table cover.

Mrs. Elizabeth Voegel:

Twenty fine pieces of graniteware.

One dozen fine cups and plates.

Six beautiful porcelain flower vases.

Four colored glass flower vases.

Eight splendid fruit plates.

Six beautiful porcelain flower vases.

Three pitchers.

One fancy lamp and a number of other useful articles.

Ernest Kies, a fancy ink stand.

Mrs. H., one-half dozen aprons and one-half dozen fancy cushions.

Louis Kober, one nicely-bound copy of Marx' "Capital."

From members of arrangement committee:

Three dozen harps.

One dozen toy watches.

One dozen turtle toys.

One dozen butterfly toys.

One dozen caliope whistles.

One dozen coo coo whistles.

One dozen cigar fans.

Two dozen bead bracelets.

One dozen shell scarf pins.

One dozen bug scarf pins.

One dozen gymnasts.

One dozen match safes.

One dozen sooner dogs.

One dozen sooner eggs.

One dozen wine glasses.

One dozen gem banks.

One dozen medallions.

This list will be continued in next week's edition.

THE COMMITTEE.

Trades Unions and Socialism.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares:

"The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalistic production, and represents the economic side of the working-class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades, and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is

"Weo trades-unionists to the act that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades-union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery, and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Pertinent Paragraphs.

BY W. W. BAKER.

The children should have equal opportunities.

* * *

The children of to-day will be the men and women of the future.

* * *

The children's right to the pleasures of childhood must be restored and protected.

* * *

Some men are so cheap they sell their right to liberay for the promise of a promise.

* * *

"Money is the root of all evil." A system based on "service for service" (co-operation) will eliminate the "root."

* * *

As it is much more difficult to unlearn than to learn, we should be certain a statement is true before accepting it.

* * *

It is indeed a fortunate workingman who can save \$1 per day. At this rate it would require nearly 2,740 years to acquire a million dollars.

* * *

The workingman's indifference to the church may be due to a belief that Baer, Rockefeller et al. have a monopoly of the only kind of prayers worthy of an answer.

* * *

The workers engaged in preparing and putting coal oil into the hands of consumers receive a little less than three cents per gallon as wages. The Standard Oil company gets the balance as dividends.

* * *

Even the grave will not conceal the ineffaceable shame of the men who misrepresent Socialism. They may retard slightly the establishment of truth and justice, but their advantage can only be temporary.

Those who argue that Socialism is a foreign idea and is consequently out of place in this country, evidently fail to comprehend that Christianity is of foreign origin. The excuses offered by hypnotized victims of capitalism for not investigating would be ludicrous if they were not so pitiful.

PUSH LABOR.

Our Duties Towards the Socialist Press.

Every comrade, every advocate of Socialism and every supporter of the general labor movement should at once take hold of the task of introducing our new 16-page LABOR to their fellow workers. Men and women, boys and girls, can all contribute their efforts. The best results will be obtained by personal solicitation. Come to the office, or send for as many copies at two cents per copy as you can afford, and canvas your fellow working men and women for subscriptions. Don't be disappointed if you approach many who will refuse to subscribe the first time you mention LABOR to them. Leave a copy with them anyway, with a promise to return within a week, and if you don't secure their subscription then remember that you have helped the cause by introducing LABOR to a stranger. Don't forget this "stranger" and try him again next month with another copy. Another plan which some comrades have adopted is to pay for sending LABOR to a list of their fellow workers and friends for one month through the mail and have comrades from the office call on them to solicit their subscription. Try either one of these two plans and keep as large a list going as you can afford. Let us make a supreme effort and a united pull to push LABOR up to a position of influence from which it will be of great service and a great power to the working class in its coming critical struggle against organized capitalism, in the trade union battles as well as the political battles of the wage earners against capitalism.

Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

LABOR DAY.

The Toiler.

Labor day is again at hand, and indications point to a larger celebration of the day than ever before. During the past year great strides have been taken in the work of organization, but, at the same time, other developments in the industrial world have taken place, which is not calculated to delude workingmen in the belief that "all is well."

Probably in no other year has more hostile demonstrations against the labor movement taken place, and all the talk of "harmony" has been of no avail in checking them. The injunction has been called into use so often that it has become a regular feature of the news columns of the large dailies, while the use of the militia is so frequent that it only arouses the impatient rage of workingmen and as quickly subsides. The courts have been particularly faithful in disposing of "dangerous" labor bills which, for good reasons, were allowed to pass equally faithful legislatures. Child labor has developed to such an extent that even the capitalist press is forced to give space to it and "deplore" what is to them an insoluble mystery.

The trust question is ever assuming larger proportions, and every political quack has appeared on the stage with his special nostrum, only to return to "innocuous desuetude."

These are but a few of the events of almost daily occurrence during the past year, and indicates the tendency of power to become more centralized in the hands of the "masters of the bread." The celebration of Labor day will certainly be a misnomer if those who participate in it do not survey the past, note its promises of hope or disaster and prepare and marshal their forces accordingly.

All things are possible with the Giant Labor. Their vast multitudes give them a power which, if directed properly and along intelligent lines, make them the masters of their lives, and they can if they will build a civilization wherein the evils enumerated above will be unknown.

LABOR DAY IN ST. LOUIS.

In St. Louis two parades and two picnics are to be held Labor day, Monday, September 7. One of the parades, and likewise a picnic, will be under the direction of the Central Trades & Labor Union, the other under the auspices of the Building Trades Council. The C. T. & L. U. picnic will be held at Lemp's Park, the other at the Forest Park Highlands. At least 30,000 men will take part in the C. T. & L. U. parade, and perhaps 12,000 in the parade of the B. T. C.

The unions affiliated with the Central Trades & Labor Union will form on Twelfth and Market streets. Grand marshal is John G. Hoppenjon; this parade starts at 9:30 o'clock.

The Building Trades Council parade will form on Fourth and Market streets. The men will parade in four divisions, under the leadership of Grand Marshal L. Tepfer.

In order to guard against possible confusion on Washington avenue, which thoroughfare both bodies have planned to use at about the same time, it has been so arranged that the building trade council parade will use the north side of the street and the other marchers the south side.

Street Car Strikers Victorious.

WATERSBURG, CONN., Aug. 31.—While the street car company denies that it made any "concessions" or "recognized" the union, the fact is that unionism has gained a great victory. The company agrees to reinstate the strikers, and the strikers retain their union. When General Manager Sewell was told that the union men had accepted his proposition for reinstatement, without insisting on including the two men over whom the difficulty first began, he sent two cars to the center of the city, where the entire body of returning strikers boarded them. The superintendent of the line took the controller handles from the non-union motormen of the two cars and turned them over to President Murnane of the Trolleyman's union and Cornelius Morgan, of the strikers' executive committee. Amid a cheer from 5,000 people gathered in the square these two men took charge of the cars, and with all the union men on board started on a tour of the city. They traveled on every line. Every street which the cars passed was lined with cheering crowds and the enthusiasm was intense. With the exception of the riot which marked the early days of the strike, such excitement has never been known in the streets of Waterbury.

Will President Parry Answer?

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., Sept. 1.—D. M. Parry, president of the National Manufacturers' association, has been asked by President Barry of the Central Labor union of Indianapolis to answer the following questions:

"What is your idea of the legitimate purpose of a labor union?"

"Would you permit the formation of a perfect union in your plant?"

"Is your plant conducted along political lines?"

"Do you believe that our laws are such as to foster special privileges and restrict the opportunity to labor?"

"Is it not a fact that wages are higher in communities using union labor and the community thereby benefited?"

"Ought the welfare of the many be placed in the hands of the few?"

"Ought not the laborer be on an equal footing with the employer when it comes to settling the wage question?"

"Is it within the power of law to suppress the labor unions?"

"Have you not adopted an institution similar in scope and nature to the boycott?"

"Is it necessary to have laws regulating child labor?"

"What actuates your opposition to labor unions?"

Mr. Parry said to-day: "While I have not yet given these question more than a casual reading and have not the time right now to give any formal answers to them, yet I will say that Mr. Barry's position is expressed in his questions, and, which, by the way, is necessarily the position of every union leader, and is based on several false premises."

Six Hundred Miners Strike.

KANSAS CITY, Sept. 1.—Six hundred coal miners in the Novinger district, in northeastern Missouri, refused to go to work to-day, violating the agreement made between the operators and John Mitchell, national president of the United Mine Workers, at Chicago, last week, that the men remain

at work until the end of the Kansas City conference, to meet here on September 10. This conference is to discuss differences affecting the 10,000 miners in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and the Indian territory.

Miners Ordered Back to Work.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Sep. 2.—A peremptory order was issued from the headquarters of the United mine workers here today to the miners of the Novinger (Mo.) district to return to work immediately or quit the United Mine Workers' organization. The latter, through its officers, made an agreement with the Missouri operators, but the Novinger miners refused to abide by it and yesterday quit work.

Secretary Wilson issued the order. "We keep our agreements," he said.

Socialist Speakers on Labor Day.

WHERE SOCIALISTS WILL SPEAK LABOR DAY.

The national secretary has compiled the following list of engagements made by Socialist speakers for Labor day. The list is arranged alphabetically and as nearly complete as it was possible to make it. If any names are omitted it is simply because the national office has not been notified. Announcements in the party press furnished the information in many cases.

The list is sufficiently long to be significant of the growing demand for Socialist speakers by labor organizations, and Socialists can be assured that their doctrine will receive a wider hearing through larger audiences than ever before:

J. Mahlon Barnes, Latimer, Pa., commemorating the Hazelton massacre.
Clyde Barry, Washington, Ind.
George Bigelow, Wichita, Kas.
Wm. M. Brandt, Staunton, Ill.
James H. Brower, Dubuque, Ia.
John W. Brown, Lowell, Mass.
James F. Carey, North Adams, Mass.
John C. Chase, Rochester, N. Y.
D. C. Coates, Park City, Utah.
Eugene V. Debs, Madison, Wis.
Phillip R. East, Lebanon, Pa.
A. S. Edwards, Shawnee, Okla.
W. E. Farmer, Ardmore, I. T.
H. A. Gibbs, Claremont, N. Y.
Geo. H. Goebel, Nashville, Tenn.
T. J. Hagerty, Milwaukee, Wis.
Ben Hanford, Cleveland, O.
Geo. D. Herron, Haverhill, Mass.
G. A. Hoehn, Staunton, Ill.
H. L. Hughes, Anaconda, Mont.
Mother Jones, Clinton, Ia.
Frank Jordan, Telluride, Col.
John W. Kelley, Garrett, Ind.
Nicholas Klein, Kinmundy, Ill.
Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, Jasonville, Ind.
Algernon Lee, Barre, Vt.
William Mahoney, Clinton, Ind.
William Mailly, Sheboygan, Wis.

L. D. Mayes, Mystic, Conn.
Bernard McCaffrey, Plattsmouth, Neb.

Harry M. McKee, Williams, Ariz.
Walter Thomas Mills, Kansas City, Mo.

James Oneal (September 8), Jasonville, Ind.

John M. Ray, Pfafftown, N. C.
S. H. Reynolds, Jasonville, Ind.
A. W. Ricker, Wilburton, I. T.
Frank A. Sievergan, Berlin, Ont.
A. M. Simons, Janesville, Ill.
John W. Slayton, Reading, Pa.
John Spargo, Connellsville, Pa.
Seymour, Stedman, Mason City, Ia.
Clinton Simonton, Elkhart, Ind.
Fred J. Strickland, Moline, Ill.
John F. Taylor, Pittsburg, Pa.
Joshua Wanhope, Erie, Pa.
Geo. Warde, Warren, Pa.
Dan A. White, Westfield, Mass.
M. W. Wilkins, Washington state.
John M. Work, Keb, Neb.

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We take great pleasure in announcing to our many friends and stockholders belonging to labor organizations that we will be

Open for Business September 15th

In order that you may see what progress we have made, **Our Building Will Be Open for Your Inspection on Labor Day**, when we will be pleased to answer all questions and (if you so desire) take your subscription for stock.

The M. J. Healy
Co-operative Furniture & Carpet Co.

Per M. J. Healy, President

MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

By CLAUDE TILLIER.

Translated from the French by Benjamin R. Tucker, with a
Sketch of the Author's Life and Works,
By LUDWIG PFAU.

CHAPTER III.

[Continued.]

My uncle would sooner have passed by a tavern without stopping than by this man. Halting on the side of the road, he said:

"Comrade, that's a bad breakfast you have there."

"I have eaten many a worse one," but Fontenoy and I have good appetites."

"Who is Fontenoy?"

"My dog, that poodle you see there."

"The devil! but that is a fine name for a dog. But then, glory is a good thing for kings; why shouldn't it be for poodle dogs?"

"That's his fighting name," continued the sergeant; "his family name is Azor."

"Well, why do you call him Fontenoy?"

"Because at the battle of Fontenoy he made an English captain prisoner."

"Hey, how is that?" exclaimed my uncle, greatly astonished.

"In a very simple way, by hanging to one of the skirts of his coat until I could lay my hand on his shoulder. Fontenoy, just as he is, has been made a member of the order of the army, and has had the honor to be presented to Louis XV., who condescended to say to me: 'Sergeant Drunaton, you have a fine dog there.'"

"Well, that was a king who was very sociable with quadrupeds: I am astonished that he did not issue a patent of nobility to your poodle. How does it happen that you have abandoned the service of so good a king?"

"Because they have done me a wrong," said the sergeant, his eyes glaring and his nostrils swelling with anger; "I have had these golden rags on my arms for ten years; I have been through all the campaigns of Maurice de Saxe, and I have more scars on my body than would be required for two periods of service. They have promised me the epaulette; but to make a weaver's son an officer would have been a scandal calculated to horrify all the pigeon wings of France and of Navarre. They promoted over my body a sort of little knight just hatched from his page's shell. He will find a way to get himself killed, of course; for they are brave, there is no denying that. But he does not know how to say: 'Eyes, . . . right!'"

At this drill command, strongly accented by the sergeant, the poodle turned his eyes to the right in a truly military fashion.

"Very fine, Fontenoy," said his master, "you forget that we have retired from the service." And he continued: "I could not forgive the very Christian king for that; I have been out with him ever since, and I asked him for my furlough, which he graciously granted."

"You have done well, brave man," cried Benjamin, slapping the old soldier on the shoulder, an imprudent gesture that came very near causing the poodle to devour him. "If my approval is of any value to you, I give it to you without reserve; the nobles have never stood in the way of my advancement, but that does not prevent me from hating them with all my heart."

"In that case it is a purely platonic hatred," interrupted my grandfather.

Say rather a purely philosophical hatred, Machecourt. Nobility is the most absurd of all things. It is a flagrant revolt of despotism against the Creator. Did God make the grasses of

the prairie higher one than the other? Did He engrave escutcheons upon the wings of birds and the skins of wild beasts? What signify these superior men which a king makes by letters patent, as he makes an exciseman or a huckster? Dating from to-day, you will recognize Mr. So-and-So as a superior man. Signed Louis XVI., and lower down Choiseul. Oh, that's a fine way to establish superiority.

"A villain is made a count by Henri IV., because he has served that majesty with a nice goose; if he had served a capon with the goose, he would have been made a marquis; it would have taken no more ink or parchment. Now the descendants of these men have the privilege of beating us, whose ancestors never had an opportunity of offering a fowl's wing to a king.

"And see on what a little thing greatness depends in this world! If the goose had been cooked a little more or a little less, if they had put in one more pinch of salt or one less pinch of pepper, if a little soot had fallen into the dripping-pan or a little cinder upon the slices of bread, or if the bird had been served a little sooner or a little later, there would have been one less noble family in France. And the people bow their heads before such greatness! Oh! I could wish, as Caligula wished of the Roman people, that France had but a single pair of cheeks that I might slap its face.

"But tell me, imbecile people, what value do you find then in the two letters that these people place before their names? Do they add an inch to their stature? Have they more iron than you in their blood, more cerebral marrow in the bony box of their heads? Could they handle a sword heavier than yours? Does this marvelous de cure scrofula? Does it preserve its possessor from the colic when he has dined too heavily, or from intoxication when he has drunk too much? Do you not see that all these counts, these barons, these marquises, are capital letters which, in spite of the place that they occupy in the line, are never of more importance than the small letters? If a duke and peer and a wood-cutter were together on an American prairie or in the middle of the great desert of Sahara, I should like to know which of the two would be the nobler.

"Their great - great - grandfathers welded the shield, and your father made cotton caps; what does that prove for them or against you? Do they come into the world with their ancestor's shield at their side? Have they his scars marked on their skin? What is this greatness that is transmitted from father to son, like a new candle which we light from a candle that is going out? Are the toadstools which arise from the ruins of a dead oak, oaks on that account?"

"When I learn that the king has created a noble family, it seems to me that I see a farmer planting in his field a big booby of a poppy, which will infect 20 furrows with its seed and yield every year only four big red leaves. Nevertheless, as long as there shall be kings, there will be nobles.

"The kings make counts, marquises, dukes, that admiration may rise to them by degrees. Nobles, relatively to them, are the bagatelles of the gate, the parade that gives the idlers a foretaste of the magnificence of the spectacle. A king without nobility would be salon without an ante-chamber; but this dainty pride

will cost them dear. It is impossible that twenty millions of men should consent forever to be nothing in the state that a few thousand courtiers may be something; who sows privileges will reap revolutions.

"The time is not far off perhaps when all these brilliant escutcheons will be dragged in the gutter, and when those who now adorn themselves with them will need the protection of their valets."

"What!" you say to me, "your uncle Benjamin said all that?"

"Why not?"

"All in one breath?"

"To be sure. What is there in that that is astonishing? My grandfather had a jug that held a pint and a half, and my uncle emptied it at one draught; he called that making tirades."

"And his words? How were they preserved?"

"My grandfather wrote them down."

"Then he had there, in the open air, all the necessary writing materials?"

"How stupid! Wasn't he a summons-server?"

"And the sergeant? Did he have anything more to say?"

"Certainly; it was very necessary that he should speak in order that my uncle might reply."

Now then, the sergeant said:

"I have been on the road for three months; I go from farm to farm, and I stay as long as they are willing to keep me. I play with the children, I tell the story of our campaigns to the men, and Fontenoy amuses the women with his frolics. I am in no hurry, for I don't exactly know where I am going. They send me back to my fireside, and I have no fireside. My father's stove was long ago staved in, and my arms are hollower and rustier than two old gun barrels. Nevertheless I think that I shall return to my village. Not that I expect to be better off there than anywhere else. The ground is as hard there as elsewhere, and they do not drink brandy in the roads. But what difference does it make? I shall go there just the same. It is a sort of a sick man's whim. I shall be the garrison of the neighborhood. If they do not wish to support the old soldier, they will have at least to bury him, and," he added, "they will certainly be kind enough to place upon my grave a little soup for Fontenoy, until he shall die of sorrow; for Fontenoy will not let me go away alone. When we are alone and he looks at me, he promises me that, this good Fontenoy."

"So that is the fate they have made for you?" answered Benjamin. "Truly, kings are the most selfish of all beings. If the serpents, of which our poets speak so ill, had a literature, they would make kings the symbol of ingratitude. I have read somewhere that, when God had made the heart of kings, a dog ran off with it, and that, not wishing to begin His work again, he put a stone in its place. That seems to me very likely. As for Capets, perhaps they have a lilly root in place of a heart; I defy anyone to prove the contrary."

"Because these people had a cross made on their foreheads with oil, their persons are august, they are majesties, they are WE instead of I; they can do no wrong; if their valet de chamber should scratch them in putting on their shirt, it would be a sacrilege. Their little ones are highnesses, these brats, which a woman carries in her hand, and whose cradle could be held in a hen coop; they are very lofty heights, most serene mountains. We would willingly gild their nurses' nipples. If such is the effect of a little oil, how much we ought to respect the anchovies that are pickled in oil till we eat them!"

"In the caste of sires, pride goes to the point of madness. They are compared to Jupiter holding a thunderbolt, and they do not consider themselves too highly honored by the comparison. Leave out the thunderbolt, and they would be offended. Nevertheless, Jupiter has the gout, and it takes two valets to lead him to his table or to bed. The rhymester Boileau has, by

his private authority, ordered the winds to be silent, inasmuch as he was about to speak of Louis XIV.:

'Et vous vents, faites silence,
Je vais parler de Louis.'

"And Louis XIV. looked on this as very natural; only it has never occurred to him to order the commanders of his vessels to speak of Louis in order to still the tempests."

"All these poor madmen believe that the space of earth over which they reign is theirs; that God has given it to them, soil and sub-soil, to be enjoyed, without disturbance or hindrance, by them and their descendants. Let a courteier tell them that God made the Seine expressly to supply the great basin of the Tuileries, and they will look on him as a man of wit. They regard these millions of men around them as their property, the title to whom can not be disputed on the penalty of hanging; some have come into the world to supply them with money; others to die in their quarrels; some, who have the clearest and reddest blood, to beget mistresses for them. All this evidently results from the cross which an old arch-bishop, with his withered hand, has laid upon their brows.

"They take a man in the strength of his youth, they put a gun in his hands and a knapsack on his back, they adorn his head with a cockade, and they say to him: 'My brother of Prussia has wronged me; you are to attack all his subjects. I have warned them by my process-server, whom I call a herald, that on the first of April next you will have the honor to present yourself at the frontier to strangle them, and that they should be ready to give you a warm welcome. Between monarchs these are considerations which we owe each other. You will think perhaps at first sight that our enemies are men; I warn you to the contrary; they are Prussians; you will distinguish them from the human race by the color of their uniform. Try to do your duty well, for I shall be there sitting on my throne to watch you. I you bring victory with you when you return to France, you will be led beneath the windows of my palace; I shall appear in full uniform, and say to you: 'Soldiers, I am content with you.' If you are one hundred thousand men, you will have for your share a hundred-thousandth of these six words. In case you should remain on the battlefield, which may very easily happen, I will send your death certificate to your family, that they may weep for you and that your brothers may inherit your property. If you lose an arm or a leg, I will pay what they are worth, but if you have the good or ill fortune, whichever you may think it, to escape the bullet, when you have no longer strength enough to carry your knapsack, I will give you your furlough, and you can go to die where you like; that will no longer concern me."

[To be Continued.]

MAKE THE WORLD BETTER.

All wage-workers should be union men. Their progress is limited only by them who hold aloof. Get together, agitate, educate and do.

Don't wait until to-morrow; to-morrow never comes.

Don't wait for someone else to start; start it yourself.

Don't hearken to the indifferent; wake them up.

Don't think it impossible; one million organized workers prove different.

Don't weaken; persistence wins.

Don't waste any time in trying to harmonize capitalism and labor; if you do you will try to unite fire and water, and in doing so you either extinguish the fire of enthusiasm or you will produce the steam that will burn the hands of the working people, while the capitalist politicians will smile contently knowing full well that the wage slaves have been deceived and fooled once more.

Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

By Thos. Elmer Will, Ph. D., President
American Socialist College,
Wichita, Kas.

"Socialism will destroy the home!" Will it? Let us see how the home is prospering now.

In the vast majority of cases the home now is rented; in a multitude of cases it is, in addition, a slave pen, a shack unfit for a dog kennel.

Mothers who should have opportunity to embellish and beautify their homes, train their children and develop their own minds and hearts are forced into shops and mines as bread-winners; children are worked to death in factories; fathers, as in the case of commercial travelers, soldiers and others, are compelled to absent themselves from home until their own children hardly know them, or they leave home in search of work and perhaps never return.

Paul speaks of "Forbidding to Marry." A large Chicago bank is said to forbid its clerks to marry until they have attained a specified salary.

What follows?

The young woman seeks the city to find employment. At last she is offered work, perhaps in a department store at a wage that will hardly pay her board. She explains that she "can not live on that." The manager then asks her if she has not a gentleman friend who can assist her. Thus by industrial conditions young girls as pure as snowflakes are forced to supplement the wages of their labor by the wages of sin.

The Ballad of the Shop Girl brings out this fearful fact:

"The wolf of poverty follows me on.
Through the dingy streets of the town;
So near to my side that his shaggy hide
Can almost touch my gown;
While after him the wolves of lust
Are coming to drag me down.
And many and fast the days whirl past
While early I work and late;
And along my path for the aftermath
The basilisk watchers wait;
And civilization bids me choose
The grave or the harlot's fate."

The destruction does not stop with the girl. The scene pictured in the seventh chapter of Proverbs is re-enacted countless times nightly in every great American city. The strange woman whose "house is the way to hell" and by whom many strong men

have been slain, draws into her net the "young man void of understanding;" he goeth after her as an ox goeth to the slaughter, or a fool to the correction of the stocks, till a dart strike through his liver, as a bird hasteneth to a snare and knoweth not that it is for his life."

Like the Minotaur of Crete capitalism is destroying the youths and maidens of civilized lands; thus it is destroying the homes.

Socialism comes to save the home.

Socialism will remove the druggery from the home. It will end the slavery of women and children, for the father can then easily support the family in comfort if not in elegance. If other capable members of the family enter the ranks of wealth-producers, their compensation will not, as now, reduce the income of the family head.

Home-owning will become the rule. Commodious, comfortable homes with carpeted floors, pictured walls, pianos, libraries and carriages will be within the reach of all. Leisure will be possible to all, and the home will be converted from a treadmill into a place for rest, recreation, study and rational enjoyment. Members of the family will find time to become acquainted with each other and, instead of gravitating from the home to the saloon and dance hall, will seek the home as the dearest spot on earth.

Under Socialism livings will be so easily made that early marriages will be possible, home building will flourish, and prostitution will vanish as an evil dream.

Again, Socialism will mean the economic emancipation of women. Woman will not, as too often now, be forced to marry for a living. Marriage will be a love union. Women preferring a single life can elect it without criticism.

Socialism brings to woman glad tidings of great joy, but it can not well force freedom upon slaves who hug their chains. She who would be free herself must strike the blow. Women must rally in their own defense. The nobler and more enlightened of men will gladly aid them.

If they would fight their battles successfully women must equip themselves for the struggle. They must understand the facts; economic determination, class struggle, exploitation and the rest, and they must learn the war of deliverance. The American Socialist college exists to teach these lessons to women as well as to men.

this prize.

Mr. Parrish gave a good talk Wednesday night. Mr. Beaird and Mr. Fry have great discussions here at times.

Messrs. Martin and Shaggs use the hall on Friday night. The colored people will hold a rally on September 13, at 7:30 p. m.

The Frisco boys are giving the gymnasium a thorough cleaning, and enjoy it as much as "boxing."

The Newsboys' union, No. 10414, meets next Wednesday night.

Application blanks for association membership are to be had here, and the secretary is on hand every day in the week, and at 3 p. m. each Sunday, to register those who wish to join us.

The secretary has hundreds of "little reformers," sent by A. G. Beecher & Co., of Philadelphia, which might be distributed at street meetings. Wages, Land Monopoly, Mary's Little Lot, Pa's Puzzles, etc., are some of the titles. If needed, kindly apply for them.

Mr. How is still in Massachusetts, but will probably come back when the leaves begin to change their colors. The friends will welcome him.

ELLA C. KELLY, Secretary.

Labor must control the law.

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People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

When Pat and wife agreed on a division of household interests, the wily Irishman settled that he "would be taking the inside," while his better half could be content with the outside of the establishment.

So, like the good woman who, evidently, owed Pat no allegiance, the secretary will take herself outside the "library committee," where she was in fact, and leave President Allan and Treasurer Rober to manage the book buying, selling, reporting, etc.

She, however, wishes some of those books to be used for the good cause, September 13, and Comrade Rober has agreed with her on that point, and Mr. Allan, too.

A continuation of the subject, "The Coming of Christ," will take place at brotherhood meeting, 7 p. m., Sunday. Mr. Maschmeyer has the book of Job for class study at 3 p. m., Sunday.

Mr. Adylatt, who came like a fresh

breeze from "moonshine" Tennessee, bade us good-by to-day. I am told he made a splendid Socialist talk on Thirteenth and Franklin avenue, Tuesday. Well, he made a few in Welfare hall—and friends, too.

The secretary does not wish to advertise any firm, but would like the Newsboys' union, 10414, to benefit in the \$1,000 given by the Model for the largest number of votes cast. It is in the interest of "union label" goods, and ought to get a patronage—so "vote for union label."

Mr. W. Jordan, a member of the association, is slowly recovering from an attack of fever.

The "house committee" is getting housecleaning done, and, as secretary, trusts the ladies will make a visit when the office has been decorated.

A "flood refugee" is also to be properly clothed for the 13th, and the secretary hopes some little maid will win

Workingmen
of all
Countries, Unite

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Our Labor Day Sermon.

LABOR DAY, 1903. In St. Louis 50,000 union men will parade through the streets, while thousands of their relatives and friends will join them at the park to enjoy themselves, singing, dancing, drinking beer, etc.

It is customary to speak of the nobility, the glorious power and strength of Organized Labor. On Labor day every capitalist paper will flatter the labor movement. We shall not do likewise. For the interest of the working class we will speak of the weakness of Organized Labor and the dangers confronting our movement.

Fifty thousand men and citizens will parade. If these 50,000 union men would do their duty as American citizens St. Louis would not be at the mercy of a horde of political pirates and boodlers.

If these 50,000 union men would vote on election day as they march on Labor day St. Louis would have a working class administration.

If these 50,000 men would be true to their own class interests, true to their fellow wageworkers, true to their families, true to themselves, they would elect their own representatives on their own working class party platform.

If these 50,000 union men would study the origin, mission, aims and object of the modern labor movement they would soon come to the conclusion that Socialism is the salvation of the working class and that the Socialist Party political movement will be the natural outgrowth and result of the present labor movement with all its strikes and boycotts, its injunctions and struggles.

Labor creates all values. Every union man understands this. Socialism teaches us: If Labor creates all values, why should not those who perform all useful labor enjoy these values? Nature's gifts are free to all. Labor alone transforms these gifts of nature into useful products. It is Labor that builds the palace and the hut, the Pullman car and the wheelbarrow, the silk robe and the cheapest cotton, the pleasure resorts of the rich and the human rat holes of the poor in our city alleys; it is Labor that plows and sows; it is Labor that makes social life possible. Without Labor this old mother earth would be a wilderness—like this great American continent before its discovery by Columbus.

It is the collective labor of the working class that has produced the wealth of this and other countries. It is the working people—the nation—that shall own all of this wealth collectively by excluding all parasites that endeavor to live at the expense of those that perform useful labor.

This is Socialism. This is the true programme of the modern labor movement. It is the programme of every progressive trade union. It is the programme of the Socialist Party.

How in the world can any true union man any longer follow the banner of the capitalist political parties? Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties are the political business agencies of capitalism. Any working man who votes either of these capitalist party tickets is unconsciously assisting in the assassination of the working class.

Union men, you have voted the Dem. and Rep. tickets, but you did not know that you were strengthening the power of capitalism by doing so. You would brand as a scab and a traitor any union man who would join Parry's National Manufacturers' Association or any other capitalist organization, but you find it quite in order for union men to join the political parties of the Parrys, Morgans, Rockefellers, and Hannas. You vote the tickets that are nominated by these capitalist exploiters and enemies of Organized Labor.

The time has come when this political scab work of Organized Labor must be stopped. It won't do to elect the capitalist party politicians to make laws for the benefit of their masters and then petition those same political tools to make laws for labor's protection.

Elect your own representatives from the party of Organized Labor, which is the Socialist Party.

Ye 50,000 St. Louis union men, do you know what your masters think of you? They think there are 50,000 fools—people who know how to march on Labor day, but who have not got sense enough to vote together for their own class interests on election day.

The time will come when the majority of those 50,000 union men will no longer be Democrats and Republicans, but Socialists. When that day comes Labor day will be of great significance, because it will show the real power of Labor. To-day Labor day has become a day for exhibiting the political insignificance and weakness of Organized Labor.

This may not be a pleasant Labor day sermon, but it is true. And the truth must be told.

The labor problem can not be solved by parading, beer drinking or dancing. Study the labor question and the science of Socialism.

The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man has been talked about for centuries, and mankind is just beginning to recognize the fact that a human brotherhood can be established whenever the masses are ready for it, and gradually they are organizing to accept it.—Grander Age.

God Save the Turk!

HAIL, COLUMBIA! Our American warships have been ordered into Turkish waters for the purpose of protecting "American interests." Now, Almighty may help the Turk! Our rough rider in Oyster Bay and his gang of capitalist speculators are playing the old role of deceiving the people. On Friday, August 28, the daily press published a telegram from Washington to the world that the Turks had assassinated the American vice-consul, Magelssen, in Beirut. Immediately the general superintendent of American capitalism, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, ordered the American squadron in European waters to Beirut. On Saturday morning the same capitalist press announced that Vice-Consul Magelssen was not assassinated, not even wounded.

Nevertheless, the rough rider of Oyster Bay did not see fit to change his order to the squadron in Europe, and the warships proceeded to Beirut.

On Sunday morning cablegrams from European cities inform us that our Vice-Consul Magelssen is a bachelor, that some four weeks ago he got into trouble with four men on account of a woman, and this seemed to be all the trouble.

In other words: The American vice-consul in Beirut got into some everyday saloon row. In order to revenge the "American honor" and "American interests" Teddy of Oyster Bay orders the warships to the Orient. And this is all our capitalist speculators and conspirators were after. They tried to find some pretext to get the American fleet into Turkish waters. They were anxious to be among the "powers that rob" the nations of the earth, and Roosevelt satisfied their desires.

"We" benevolently assimilated Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine islands. Perhaps there is a chance of making Constantinople an American seaport and every unspeakable Turk an American citizen—in the well-known Filipino style. Several "sultanos" have already been placed under our "protection." Let us add to our menagerie of statesmen the "sick man" from the Bosphorus.

Carpetbag Administration in the Philippines.

The American superintendent of schools at Manila established a sort of censorship to keep the American people in ignorance of carpet-bag government in the land of Aguinaldo. This loyal superintendent had addressed a circular letter to the teaching force in the Philippines. His letter should be read with thoughtful care. Here it is in full:

"Circular to Division Superintendents and Teachers—Dear Sir: Because of our great distance from the States and the prevailing conditions here being different from conditions there, it is very difficult for home people to correctly understand many things that we may be disposed to say to them in letters. They get a wrong impression, talk matters over very freely, and frequently allow letters to be published, thus multiplying the wrong impressions many times. Recently I had my attention called to two cases of this kind, which have resulted in great embarrassment to the authors of the letters and considerable annoyance to the civil commission and this office. Teachers are requested to exercise such care as the situation demands, both in their statements and by special direction to correspondents, and all private communications shall be treated as such. Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it.—E. B. Bryan, General Superintendent."

Observe the last sentence, says The Public: "Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it." What does that mean? Simply this: If teachers in the Philippines write home the truth about the carpetbag administration there, and the persons who receive these letters publish them, the teachers so writing will be punished. Discreet suppression appears to be one of the characteristics of benevolent assimilation.

Chas. M. Schwab—the Merchant Tailor.

Charles M. Schwab, the ex-president of the Steel trust, is going to join the "United Tailors," i. e., he is trying to unite the custom tailors of the country. A telegram from New York gives the following information:

"New York, Aug. 15.—Charles M. Schwab's millions are behind a scheme to unite the custom tailoring trade on the same lines as are the united cigar stores of the country. The headquarters of the new concern will be at 8 Union square. Five branch stores already have been leased in various parts of Manhattan, and the projectors say that within 30 days their stores will be in operation in large cities all over the country. The facts came out when P. A. Schwab, an uncle of the former Steel trust president, and David J. Welch, for many years prominent in the woolen industry, began closing contracts on a mammoth scale. The branch stores already leased will be open and ready for business simultaneously with the Union square headquarters on August 22. It is intended to increase the number of stores in Greater New York to 100 as fast as the property can be leased and equipped, and to extend the business as quickly as possible to every city in the union of 25,000 or more inhabitants. In two years the trust expects to have a chain of stores that will give employment to half a million men. As soon as possible it will own its own mills for the manufacture of cloth, both here and abroad. At present it has contracted for the output of one mill in Massachusetts and is negotiating for more."

These are fine prospects for our merchant tailors. Mr. Schwab has the capital and he will invest it profitably somewhere. By monopolizing the merchant tailoring trade he will drive thousands of people into bankruptcy. Many a small employer will have to accept a common, everyday job as wage worker. He may then think about the labor problem, may listen to radical speeches and read Socialist literature.

It is capitalism that plays havoc with the middle class. The Socialists simply state these facts. Business man to-day—wage worker to-morrow and forever!

Mr. Merchant Tailor, please read the platform of the Socialist Party. It is a social looking glass that will show you the development of modern capitalism and the coming of the Socialist state of society.

What Is Socialism?

We are often met with the question: What is Socialism?

The answers are varied as the temperments, conceptions and aims of the different speakers who are interrogated.

Some give the funny definitions given by the different dictionaries, some

general government ownership, etc. But it is rarely that we find one of our agitators who makes plain the fact that Socialism aims to abolish the wage system from which springs the present class struggle.

This conflict expresses itself in the contest between the individual or corporate capitalist on one side and the groups of workers employed by them on the other side. The prize striven for by the employes is that more of the wealth they create should accrue to them. On the side of the capitalist the effort is always to maintain his power by denying the workers the right to organize, for they regard organization dangerous to their position as masters of the bread.

This the class struggle.

The Socialists, viewing this struggle and analyzing the circumstances that surround him, know that the workers' struggles are in reality an effort to secure the possibilities of life—that is the complete enfranchisement economically of the working class, so that results of the laborers' efforts shall be to the workers the full social value of their labor. To accomplish this the capitalist state and government that are based on the rights of property must be abolished, and the co-operative commonwealth substituted in its place. At this time when the struggles of the workers have taken such an acute form from the very hopelessness of the conditions that hamper them there is no more forceful means by which to win the workers to our ranks than the direct attack on the wage system itself, that will enable us to make clear to them that capitalist government ownership is not Socialism. Let the cry be: Down with wage slavery!—B. Berlyn.

Fighting the Socialist Movement.

Amerika, the German daily Catholic paper of St. Louis, in its issue of August 31, published the following news item:

"A 'Sociological Course for Priests and Educated Laymen' was held in Dubuque, Ia., from August 18 to August 21. Reverend Father P. J. Ming, of Prairie du Chien, Wis., delivered a series of lectures (seven in all) on the Social question and its solution, and above all on the question of fighting Socialism. In a thorough manner Father Ming explained the teachings on the Social question and the doctrines of Socialism, and he also spoke very thoroughly of the means to be employed in fighting Socialism. The lectures were of special interest, and the audience listened attentively. * * * Finally the means for fighting Socialism were discussed and practical hints in abundance were given. This first 'Sociological Course' was brought about by a number of priests and educated laymen of Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota and Wisconsin, who issued an appeal to all those that would positively attend such a 'course.' When 20 replies in the affirmative had been received the 'Sociological Course' was arranged. This is another earnest step in the right direction towards solving the social question."

We thank the Amerika for publishing the above information. This first "Sociological Course for Priests and Laymen" for educating anti-Socialist agitators stands on the same capitalist basis as Parry's Manufacturers' Association. The priests and "educated laymen" that take such great interest in this "Sociological Course" are true servants of God Mammon and care very little for the good teachings of Christ.

We shall watch these false "sociologists" and turn the light on whenever they attempt to lead the wage workers into darkness.

Editorial Notes and Comments.

Hanna and Hearst love the laboring man's vote equally well, and each will be equally slick in playing the gay deceiver to get it.

The capitalist press which charges Socialists with being bloody revolutionists is also eager to convey the impression that the Socialist programme would require a race of angels to carry it out. Have you wings or a bomb?—The Toiler.

Strikes, lockouts and injunctions are the surface indications of the disease that at this time is at work at the roots of our present industrial and political systems. They may be expected to continue until higher and better systems have been evolved.

The Grander Age, in Biloxi, Miss., one of the best-edited Socialist papers, is doing splendid propaganda work in "Darkest America." It is an encouraging sign of the times to see an outspoken Socialist make such a brave fight in the southern domains of American capitalism.

The people who labor with brain or with brawn, will have to use their brains to devise and their brawn to cast into the box a better ballot than they have been indorsing the past many years, if they expect to better the industrial conditions under which they now exist.

Imperialism in America has already reached the point where all men between the ages of 18 and 45 are soldiers—willing or unwilling—at the beck and call of the president. Has the czar more power than this? How can any more power be given? What think you will be the next great plutocratic move?

There is an old negro in St. Clair county, Missouri, whose claim to distinction lies in the fact that he fought during the civil war as a Confederate soldier. It may seem strange that a man would fight to remain a slave. A few years from now our children will be surprised when they discover that their fathers voted to remain slaves.—Coming Nation.

We call the attention of our readers to the article, "Our Labor Press," on another page of this paper. The article shows that the progressive trade unionists are fully appreciating the value and necessity of a bona fide labor press. We thank the editor of the Brewers' Journal for the kind remarks, and hope that his recommendations will be carefully considered by the brewery workers and all other members of Organized Labor.

When unions of laboring men boycott firms they deem unfair to them the courts award heavy damages against them, but when corporations blacklist laboring men so they can no longer get work at their chosen calling, the same good courts decide this to be perfectly legal and right. But the vote of the people can change this condition of affairs in a few years. And as the middle

class is rapidly falling into the ranks of labor, it will probably see things in a new light in time to help make the change.—Grander Age.

This is your country, you know, Mr. Voter. The capitalist politicians have told you so, so it must be so! But why did you order your government to give its soldiers riot cartridges to use against the workers and to pass a military law that gives the president despotic power at any time he chooses to use it? You didn't? Why, of course you did. You did it through your representatives whom you picked out at the polls to pass your laws for you. Don't try to shift the blame. That is cowardly.—Social Herald. (Dem.)

Harry E. Lowe, chief engineer of the Steel trust, lives in New York. His daughter was sick in Los Angeles. He receives wire that she is dying. He had a special train that carried him to her side in 80 hours—3,300 miles. It cost him \$4,000. The working people paid the bill by scant wages and the extra price of steel. If their daughter had been sick and dying they would not have been able to have a common coach to hurry them to the sick bedside, because what they have earned is in the hands of the millionaires. And still they vote the rich men's tickets.—Appeal to Reason.

The reactionary powers of Germany seem to be inconsolable over the victorious onward march of the Socialist movement. A cablegram from Chemnitz, Germany, dated August 29, gives the following humorous little story: "The proprietor of the Hotel German Kaiser was ordered to remove his sign and select another name for his hostelry because he had allowed the Socialists to hold a meeting there. The hotel keeper selected the name of 'The Red Rag,' whereupon the police got very much excited and announced that he must shut up shop if he did not choose a less provoking name."

If Socialism is a dream, then either of these pictures, which represent the hopes and aspirations of capitalism, is a nightmare. But neither is unreasonable if the working class are not aroused to a consciousness of their class interests and of their invincible power. They elect presidents, governors and lawmakers who are selected by their industrial masters, and then protest because the latter use the power given into their hands for their own benefit. There is not a condition of which workingmen complain that they could not remedy if they would but vote into power men of their own class, representing the interests of their class, and determined to serve those interests to the exclusion of all others.—The Exponent.

The money aristocracy of all countries is demoralizing and degenerating in the midst of luxury, while thousands of wage slaves are starving and dying in the cesspool of misery and poverty. Read the following special cablegram to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat:

"Paris, Aug. 29.—Deibler, the famous executioner, is giving receptions to all the society people, ladies and gentlemen, left in town at his workshops, Rue de la Folie Regnault, where he exhibits a new guillotine, manufactured for Algerians. The instrument of death cost 6,000 francs, and its efficiency is daily proved by the decapitation of mutton heads in the presence of large crowds. Society pays for the mutton."

W. Bourke Cochran, the New York Democratic politician, who has just returned from a European trip, announces that Ireland has a great future before her because of the new "land bill." Old wounds are to be healed and henceforth every Irishman is to be happy and loyal. The Socialist doubts these gorgeous expectations. It does not sound logical that a new landlord class succeeding the old aristocrats will materially improve the condition of the ordinary Irish worker. The small landlords will treat him no better than the old ones did. New manufacturing enterprises may afford employment to some thousands of wage-slaves. But ground as he will be between the upper and nether millstones of landlordship and industrialism, the mass of the Irish proletariat will be forced as of yore to accept service in the British army or emigrate. He can never own a home in his own country until the Socialist republic has been established. What he needs, but apparently does not want, is not a breed of new landlords, but no landlords at all, nor lords of any other kind.—Socialist Standard.

Don't Go Into Politics.

The following very timely editorial criticism comes from the Social Democratic Herald:

"The way of the striker and boycotter is getting harder every day. A fine kettle of fish is that reported in the following dispatch from Chicago:

"'Damage suits against labor unions and members of unions, aggregating \$86,000, were filed in Chicago courts to-day.

"'H. M. Stiles, painting contractor, who alleges that his business has been ruined by labor unions, sued the Painters' District council and unions affiliated in the building trades councils for \$50,000.

"'The American Anti-Boycott association is pushing the case for Stiles.

"'The Kellogg Switchboard and Supply company filed two suits, each for \$15,000, against unions involved in the strike which terrorized Chicago several weeks ago and is still on.

"'In addition to these cases six young women, employed by the Kellogg Switchboard and Supply company, have sued eight women who participated in the Kellogg strike for slander and libel, each case being for \$1,000 damages.'

"This is all very distressing to a certain class of unionists, but it will work out all right in the end. Damage suits may bag a little at the knees, but they have great virtue as eye-openers.

"The really admirable thing about these union suits is that they all have the union label on them. There is not a scab suit in the lot. Every one of them has been made to order in the industrial system supported by capitalist ballots cast by union labor.

"There are suits enough to go around. They have been duly voted for and are sure to be delivered.

"Don't go into politics!"

When will our Democratic and Republican wage slaves become true union men by learning a lesson from the last ten years of struggle in the American labor movement and by protecting the class interests of labor on election day by joining the labor party known as the Socialist Party? Stop the political scab work! Every vote for the Dem. or Rep. parties means a vote against the trades union movement.

Impossible! Impossible?

By HORACE TRAUBEL.

I hear what you say. But I think you are wrong. Why is it impossible? Why must you surrender without a fight? You have fought. Yes. But you have not fought enough. Why should you plead guilty? What have you been guilty of? Do you mean to say that the big fortunes scare you? They should not scare you. They should inspire you. You talk of the impossible. What is impossible to the soul? As long as the soul itself is possible anything is possible to the soul. Surrender is apology. Why should you apologize? Does Morgan seem too big for your soul? Nothing is too big for your soul. The smallest soul would outsize the biggest fortune. Come, now, out of your dumps. I know that you carry heavy burdens. I know that you are robbed and despised. But you have your soul left. And your soul is inviolable and invulnerable. I know that all Rockefeller's booty cannot save civilization. But I know that your soul can save civilization. I appeal to your soul.

Impossible. Was your mother impossible? If justice is impossible how did it happen that you were possible? Do you mean to tell me that when Parry talks the weapons drop out of your hands? Do you mean to tell me that when Carnegie gives away a library your pulse goes down? Do you mean to tell me that when Morgan buys a picture the face of your ideal is clouded? Are you deceived by Rockefeller's Bible class? Does Chicago University check the ardor of your advance? What do you mean when you speak of the impossible? Anything possible to a man with justice in his heart. The big personal fortunes were possible only because you have been impossible. But the instant you become possible the big personal fortunes will dissipate. The fortunes wait for your word of command. They know that you hold their fate absolutely within your will. So far your will has been humble. It has not taken a real account of stock. So far your will has deferred too much to the impossible. Let the impossible become the possible in the will of man. Then no fortune will be a menace. Then no fortune will be sworn to the welfare of the castes. The impossible destroys. The possible saves.

Impossible. What is possible if this is impossible? What have you got to do with the impossible, anyway? Your whole business is with the possible. It is your business to assume that anything, everything, is possible. Is life possible? Very well, then. Justice is possible. For justice is life. Justice is immortality. Are you to cringe and crawl? Are you to concede that theft is possible and that honesty is not possible? Are you to go back to your heart, to your soul, and concede the contention of the exploiter? You have soul enough to dream of justice. Have you not soul enough to live it? If one man may dream may not another man also dream? And when the dear dreams of men become the one dream of man what becomes of the impossible? You admit that injustice is possible. But you say that justice is impossible. Do you say that disease is possible and that health is impossible? You admit that property for the individual is possible. But you say that property for all is impossible. Do you say that an eclipse is possible and that the sun is impossible? You admit that work the egoist is possible. But you say that work the altruist is impossible. Do you say that the foliage of the tree is possible and that the root of the tree is impossible?

Impossible. Before the trade union the trade union was impossible. And now that you have the trade union the thing that is to come after the trade union is impossible. Why should you

say that the morning is impossible because the night is tired? Why should you toast your enemy as possible and set yourself aside as impossible? The impossible is burial. The possible is resurrection. Even if the impossible is the impossible you are not supposed to know it. The impossible builds no sinew. The impossible sets no table, smoothes no bed, raises no children. The impossible is blasphemy. The possible is reverence.

Impossible. Dare you look into the face of any forlorn child and admit that the remedy for that face is impossible? That child is civilization. You have got to take the weariness out of that young face. If you fail to do that you fail in everything. No amount of brilliant achievements can compensate for the failure to do this. You have got to do the thing that will clear up that clouded face. The bitter thing. The sweet thing. The thing that is necessary whatever that thing may be. Yes, the impossible thing. The world is always saying: Impossible. But why should you take your cue from the world and also say: Impossible? We are reducing the area of the impossible. We are every year surprising the protest of the world with new conquests. We explore the unexplored. We outtelescope the telescope. We see below the last reduction of the microscope. We revise the possible. The possible is always knocking at the door of the impossible and refusing to be refused.

Impossible? Do not believe it. The same power that makes private property possible is to make a better than private property possible. The same law that injustice invokes we invoke. It will not come until we invoke it right. But when we invoke it right nothing can prevent the enforcement of its decrees. You may work on while you are being served. You may work on while you are being robbed. But you will hope on, believe on, while you work. And you will see that to the man who works nothing is impossible. The impossible is opposed to gravitation. The impossible breaks the strings of your harp. The impossible shreds and patches your unstable virtues. The impossible is hell. The possible is heaven. The impossible is sterile. The possible is fertile. The impossible starves and leaves you for dead. The possible perpetually waters you at the root.

Impossible. What have you to do with the impossible? The impossible is treacherous. You have no right to believe that the things you believe to be true are impossible. Your dream of social readjustment is the first intimation of a new fact. The world is first introduced to new things in the discounted dreams of the outcast. But the dreamer who admits that a dream is impossible is not fit to dream. The humanist who admits that humanism is impossible is not fit for the humanities. In the immortal words of the political huckster, we are to claim everything and concede nothing. We are to bring all impossibilities within the procedure of the possible. Until we have done this we are not safe. We are liable to give our case away. We are subject to panic. We are likely to fly in the midst of battle if battles are fought. We are likely to turn back with our pilgrimage only half over.

Impossible? We are to look the universe straight in the eye and find the whole universe possible. For if justice in the universe is impossible how can you be sure of the universe? You are going to talk to the people about their welfare. But how can you talk to the people of the impossible? You who talk to the people of the impossible might as well say to the people that the universe is dead and that the universe has forgotten the people in its will.

OUR LABOR PRESS.

What the Brewery Workers' Official Organ Has to Say About It.

The Brauer-Zeitung (Brewers' Journal), the official organ of the United Brewery Workers' International union, in its issue of August 29, published the following article:

"HAIL TO THE LABOR PRESS!

Three weeks ago the central body of St. Louis ruled that all brewery workers' unions be suspended if the charters of brewery engineers and firemen were not revoked by the international executive board. This motion was brought in by the steam engineers, and only carried by taking the body by surprise, many being on the alert to knock the brewery workers a severe blow. Of course, difficulties could be anticipated as a result of this unwarranted action. Here it was then, where the great, weighty influence of a true labor press became conspicuous. In the St. Louis Arbeiter-Zeitung and St. Louis Labor, the English mouthpiece of the St. Louis Socialists, the case of the brewery workers was ably defended against the corrupt methods employed by the leaders of the steam engineers, and detailed history of the origin and causes for this recent aggression against the brewery workers was given. Judging from latest reports, the central body has already reconsidered its former action, and matters will be kept in abeyance. However, the brewery workers of St. Louis must give the St. Louis LABOR due credit and appreciation for the stand taken, the thanks which would be exercised best by the members subscribing without exception to the progressive labor papers of St. Louis. More fitting the services of the two papers mention could not be described than

in the concluding remarks of an article entitled 'The Enemies of the Brewery Workers' Organization,' which we forthwith reproduce:

"Brewery workers, in the labor press—Arbeiter-Zeitung and St. Louis Labor—you will always have a mouthpiece ready at any time to raise high the banner of the progressive labor movement. Neither the ponderous influence of a political boodle machine, nor the largest money bag of the brewery millionaires will prevent our labor press from protecting at every opportunity the class interests of the workers. Through the struggle on to victory!"

"Yes, workers, and don't forget to reciprocate, and uphold your most powerful weapon—you must support and promote your own labor press!"

ST. LOUIS COUNTY NOTES.

Local Kirkwood's picnic on Sunday last was well attended. The comrades certainly convinced their neighbors that the Socialists were in considerable numbers in their midst. Music, dancing and speaking enlivened the occasion, and the local members were active in trying to make the occasion enjoyable. The festival was extended until late at night. Local St. Louis sent quite a large delegation, also Local Hillside.

Local Hillside, Mo., held a meeting on Tuesday night. This young organization is one of the most active in the movement. Every meeting shows a gain in membership, and the near future will see it a strong rival of Local Kirkwood.

If Socialism is impractical, then truth and justice are impractical.

Socialism means construction; capitalism, destruction.



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DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

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For Our Soap-Box Speakers.

By PETER E. BURROWES.

There is nothing so unnatural as trying to be natural on a soap box. One might as well think of waltzing in an easy chair as to be natural on the soap box.

The word natural as used in this and most other cases stands for a habit acquired, and this is as true of many of our involuntary as of our voluntary actions. When a quack dietist tells a man that in the matter of eating and drinking he should return to nature, he is saying nothing in a confusing sort of way which makes it sound like something; for nature is habit and it is always possible and sometimes very desirable to change this nature.

The great advantage enjoyed by the soap-box orator over all other orators is that he has not yet acquired any nature to change, or to be crippled by, in this entirely new and therefore wholly unnatural exercise.

If a strange animal were placed face to face with you in your solitary chamber you would be in a state of nervous concern as to how the relation between you and that animal is to be adjusted. Whether you shall kick him or caress him, that is the question. If you kick him he will certainly know you are his enemy; if you caress him he may suspect that you are his enemy only trying by deceitful arts to get a bite at him. Therefore you take a middle course with your stranger, neither caressing nor kicking it but presenting yourself neutrally so that it does not know whether you are a friend or a foe. This is the first step to a successful career on the soap box and the first stage in every successful talk. Let your audience themselves begin adjusting the relation between you. Don't spit yourself all out in the first sentence, but with a clear, firm voice say nothing for the first few minutes of your vocal acquaintance. In the case of the strange animal introduced to your apartment let it be remembered that it has good reason to be as anxious concerning what you are going to do as you can be concerning its intentions. If you could keep quite still, your strange visitor might do all the adjusting, and explain itself well enough to help you decide whether to put it out or keep it. Therefore let your audience commence to do something to understand you—speech was not acquired by mankind for the purpose of explaining to others but to set others busy explaining us. You cannot fill the public stomach with granulated Socialism already digested; you may give it to them in a rag and let them chew it out for themselves. Your main object at the street corner being to set the mental gums of your crowd going to make you out—only don't puzzle them too long, lest they give you up.

Now let us suppose that you have acquired soap-box nerve enough to be interested in your audience. I will tell you that, your physical make-up being equal, you have acquired the first great quality of successful soapboxoratory. This does not mean any philanthropic interest in them whatsoever; it does not mean love nor patriotism, nor a deep enthusiasm of yours, it is only that you have gone into the business of making them all chew. If your mind be kept continually on this object you may snap your fingers at self-consciousness, because you have sent it away back to sit down, while you are uttering sentences which set the minds of your auditors agrinding out some way of adjustment between the words from the soap box and themselves.

Do not deceive yourself as to the value of superior personality, the force or eccentricity, etc., as elements of your success on the street corner. Whenever you obtrude yourself more than your subject they stop chewing long enough to give you a thought of

envy or ridicule. Just grind out words with a loud-toned satisfying connectiveness. No matter about his legs and feet or his back or his head, the carpenter saws and saws along the line from one side of his plank to the other, and if we had more of this kind of word-sawing on the soap box, Socialism would be farther ahead in America. But with this reservation I recommend the sawyer's example: Don't saw your speech along another man's line, saw with your own eye always; so that each new sentence will come straight out of the one preceding it, every sentence the rightly next born. To get up on a soap box with a sermon already prepared in sections, to be stuck together there, whether it be a political or economic preachery, is not genuine street cornerism.

If you can ask yourself a question and answer it on your first appearance you have made a more hopeful beginning than if you had prepared a dozen questions with answers attached to them and come out just to open your pack to show the public how neatly they fit.

Since you have a whole world of the unnatural and unacquired, like a great wilderness of possibilities in right and wrong methods before you, it now behooves you to consider what nature you are going to choose as a street cornerist. Are you going to be a howling dervish, or an alarm clock that goes with a whirr because it is wound up, and then steps down leaving the air in possession of an astonished and awkward silence? Or are you going to ring a steady call of words, unexcited and with reference solely to the ears around you, like the bell-ringer in the church steeple who is never wound up and never runs down, who only pulls the public bell.

Now you have got your voice—it is your public bell. Professionals may tell you that you should make this public voice your natural at-home voice: No sir, this big bell voice, this round sonorous mouthing out of monologue Socialism is not for home use. It is enough that some of us are doomed to din the public ear night after night without calling upon our families and friends to sit for ever more at the bottom of our soap box. We can and must acquire our best public voice and we can keep our domestic voice. When you have found your most forceful notes, the voice that you can talk across the street with, keep it in sight. Make your ear acquainted with it. Be satisfied that this sound is you as a soap-boxer and at your best, and it becomes verily that new self which as a public speaker you can grow as fond of, and conscious of, as you please. In fact, your delight and success as an orator will largely consist of the complacency with which you can spread it out, and the composure with which your mind can ride upon this moving high sounding self of yours.

Having introduced the mind to this new talker the whole of your training as a speaker will consist in effecting such a marriage between them that she will learn without hesitation to think in the sounds of her high toned, new, noisy partner of the soap box at the street corner. That quiet, modest, hesitating mind of yours, never too strong, perhaps, which has done most of her thinking in the school room, the library or the rocking chair with a book open before her, has to face this very rude experience, but I assure you, Miss Psycho, it is the experience that goes on the street corner, and the mind subordinated to the voice is the strongest.

Having obtained your pitch (your nearest approach to baritone), with a will-power driving every word of it, and moreover with enough of it to hold the strain for at least half an

hour, you can go into the oratory of the streets with force, composure, and continuity to deliver talks made on the spot, a stitch at a time, but made by a mind well informed or much interested in Socialism.

What you shall say is by no means the primary consideration; but can you say anything soapboxily. It is assumed already, and it is truly assumed, that you know enough of Socialism to make others know it, if only you could tell what you know in the pitch and tune of the street corner. You may cram yourself with science, statistics, etc., from now until Roosevelt receives Mother Jones and it will get no farther than your craw, never to be known by the world outside and perhaps never to be digested even by that little world within yourself—your own understanding.

In a speakers' class it is therefore to be understood that manner and not matter is the object of pursuit and the time there spent studying Socialism is that much time lost to the proper object of the class. Following this suggestion it will be well for the class to have only one thing doing at a time. Do not attempt to stumble through a complete Socialistic statement until you have found that self of the speaker—the soap-box voice, your final way, habit or nature of saying things at the street corner. When the voice of will, force, composure, continuity, and endurance is discovered, and well and thoroughly mated to the mind, it will find enough already in your own brain to begin with (for are you not already a Socialist?) and when it tastes the joy of soap box success, it will never cease to fish for pearls everywhere and to load up with new pabulum to set that crowd at the street corner chewing that crowd in which you became interested from the moment you first set its gums in motion.

Now these simple cornerisms granted to be true, the use to be made of them in class exercise is to do a lot of vocal stunts to find the voice; then to find the speed, the continuity and modulation. This done many times, let each comrade in his soap-box voice recount any incident of the newspapers, or his own experience, in order to accustom that big voice of his to talk on familiar things.

The next important practice is to prevent the mind from hastening the tongue beyond that slow-measured articulation so needful to the street corner; and to give the voice that control over the mind which it must have to hold yourself together and your audience.

And lastly, though a cut and speech has been forbidden, it is quite possible to be able to answer one's self the question: What am I going to say on this people? It is possible to be

such a definiteness behind an entirely extemporaneous speech, and where it is, there you have a prince on the soap box—a man of whom the street corner will never be ashamed.

What between Postoffice boodle and Indian land frauds, our strenuous Teddy must sometimes wish he hadn't uttered that famous phrase, "clean as a hound's tooth." But Teddy isn't to blame, it is said; he hasn't stolen any money. No, probably not. But his friends, his political associates, the men who worked for his election and on whom his political hopes depend, are industriously grabbing everything in sight. What shall it avail a nation to get at the head of the government a man who is personally honest in money matters, if the organization that controls him is dishonest to the core? And why shouldn't Republican—or Democratic—politicians steal? Their avowed principle is the sacredness of profit. Profit is loot, graft, "velvet," something-for-nothing—legalized, of course. If profit is sacred surely unlawful stealing might be excused—if only the thieves wouldn't be so indiscreet as to get caught and make a scandal to annoy the Administration. "clean as a hound's tooth."

It is true that municipal conditions and problems vary widely in their details in different cities. But it is chiefly in details that they differ. Essentially they are much the same. Everywhere there are the great franchise corporations to be dealt with. Everywhere there is the conflict of the interests of contractors and laborers on public works. Everywhere there is the problem of the housing of the working people and the safeguarding of their health. Everywhere there is the conflict between the need of educational facilities for the children of the workers and the unwillingness of the property-owners to provide funds therefor. Everywhere there is the question of the attitude of the municipal authorities in case of strikes and lockouts, in which the city government has the power to give great aid to the one side or to the other. In a word, everywhere there is the antagonism between the civic life of the people who make the city and the business privileges of those who own it.

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Interesting Page of History.

From the Diary of a Boston Carpenter.

Extract from the Diary of a Boston Carpenter of 1825—Early Attempt to Form Union and Reduce Hours.

[The "Public" of Chicago gives the following as being an extract from the old manuscript of a private diary kept by an intelligent young carpenter living in New England and New York from September, 1820, to May, 1827. The incidents of the portion here printed took place in Boston in 1825.]

April 12.—This evening I was placed in [a] situation rather more delicate as regarded public affairs than any in which I had ever been placed. The causes that led to it were the following: Several of the most respectable journeymen carpenters having frequently discussed upon the impropriety of working so many hours during the longest days in summer, for a day's work, and on the necessity and expediency of limiting the number of hours for a day's work, thereby reducing it to a regular system whereby every mechanic might be enabled to work the exact time specified for his employer, and yet have some leisure time to regulate and make such arrangements in his affairs (especially if he has a family) as are indispensably necessary. The first step taken to effect this was notice given in the public papers that a meeting of the journeymen carpenters would be held at Concert Hall, Wednesday, the 12th of April, and solicited punctual attendance. This notice was given about ten days previous to the proposed meeting. Five or six days before said meeting about sixty or seventy of the above named met to consult what measures to adopt at the general meeting, and make such arrangements for the same as might be thought proper. The business done at this amounted simply to the choice of six men chosen as a committee to make some arrangements for next meeting. The day previous to the meeting it [was] proposed by them to nominate me to the chair, not because they supposed me to possess superior abilities for executing the duties of this office, but because they supposed me influenced by an unusual degree of independence, and this idea arose probably from a careless indifference manifested towards those who professed a superiority over me. It was upon the same consideration I consented to accept of the appointment. Our meeting consisted of about eight hundred, principally journeymen carpenters. Several animated addresses and speeches were given, which seemed to instill into every mind a spirit of unity, of independence, and of utter abhorrence to their present mode of despotic servitude. About five hundred of the then present became obligated to support the object that called us together, viz., to regulate and establish a day's work to ten hours. The above mentioned obligation embraced no more than the pledge of honour from man to man, manifested by subscribing their several names to an instrument stating our resolutions and our reasons therefor. The master carpenters, learning our proceedings, took the earliest measures to counteract them, and (as the subject pains my feelings) let me say in a few words, they succeeded. Not altogether, however, through their own sagacity, but by the bribed, the scandalous, perfidious, traitorous conduct of some on whom we placed implicit confidence. The conduct of these, together with the insinuations and threats of those in whose employment they had been engaged, induced others to abandon as hopeless the system for which they had earnestly contended. One fainted, one after another, till our fabric fell! There may it lie. May the attempt to rear it again never be made but by such hands as are determined to see it either completed, or redemolished by fair and honourable endeavors of a contending foe. May it never again be

polluted by those traitorous hands who were first to desert it.

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(and OTHERS)

Washington Post.

That was a very embarrassing misfortune which befell the Hon. Benjamin R. Tillman in Kansas the other day. Perhaps he did not particularly feel the loss of the railroad pass, for things can always be made smooth and pleasant for a really determined United States Senator; the pinch resided, we fancy, in the proclamation of the fact that he had accepted favors from the Octopus.

Of course, it is an understood thing that loud shouting on the stump or on the floors of Congress does not necessarily mean anything in particular, and it is perhaps safe to conclude that the louder and more ferocious the uproar the larger the capacity of the shouter for utilizing deadhead privileges. The corporations do not object to glittering generalities which make a statesman solid with his constituents and do no harm of any kind. They hand around the passes, franks, and assorted chalk-marks with unruffled equanimity, and exchange the Roman Augur wink with the other fellows as they amble pleasantly along. If any good fellow can keep himself in office by the simple expedient of blowing off a little hot wind at nothing in particular, the Octopus is ready to throw him a bouquet or a sandwich or any other pretty, edible, or money-saving tribute of course, in a quiet, unostentatious way. Why should not brethren dwell together in affection?

But Hon. Ben Tillman is not an ordinary person. There is a piercing quality in his blasts against the myrmidons of capital. It is true he has never put into concrete form any plan which would do them the very slightest injury if it were actually set in operation. It is equally true that his denunciations, carefully analyzed disclose about the same old sediment of fustian. Yet his voice is more terrible, his breath more devastating, and the platitudes he utters are dressed in garb so warlike and so fearsome that the money devils are always supposed to flee before him to the deepest jungle of all Hesperidam. In this way, Brother Tillman has made for himself a reputation—in the South Carolina piney woods, at least—which does not seem to lead up to dalliance with capital in its most oppressive form. We apprehend that quite a number of free and enlightened voters in the Palmetto State will shudder when they hear that a Kansas desperado has botched their most beloved Senator and found a railroad corporation's gift secreted in his clothes.

The cloud will blow away, of course. Even the haughtiest and most incorruptible of sandhillers can be brought to see some virtue in despoiling the Egyptian, and all of them will acknowledge that his acceptance of a pass has not strained the quality or diluted the fierceness of Mr. Tillman's rage.

The Public.

When public opinion and public teachers and statesmen find it so very easy to apologize for mobs that hurt men at the stake, and to defend corporations that plunder the public, it is not difficult to conceive of excuses for the outbreaks of hard-working men who know that they are robbed but don't understand the trick. When they see legislators bribed by the rich exploiters of their labor, and judges in-

fluenced to make judge-made laws for the privileged classes; when they are painfully conscious that this use of wealth which is filched in part from them, somehow operates to make their condition harder; when unearned wealth flaunts them on every hand and the daily products of their own toil are diverted from them by those mysterious processes of power which make opportunities for remunerative work so scarce that drudgery is a prize—when these conditions confront them they have an impulse to strike back. Anyone in the same circumstances would have the same impulse. If they could strike back with dollars, they would doubtless do so. But they haven't the dollars to strike back with so they strike back with bricks. That is all there is to it. They would have no impulse to strike back with bricks if they weren't struck at, below the belt at that, with dollars.

Public peace and protection of private rights from violent attack are the first conditions of social life. Until these are secure no advance can be made toward higher levels of public order and higher respect for private rights. It is just as well, however, to remind those "law and order" advocates who think of law and order only as a privilege enabling them to rob peaceably under the forms of law,—it is just as well to remind them, we repeat, that the violent forms of disorder would cease all the sooner, if the cunning forms of disorder by which they prosper were abandoned. They say the working classes are in an ugly mood. But let them pause in their vituperation long enough to ask themselves whether they, too, would not be in an ugly mood if they worked hard for a poor living while a law-favored few lived in luxury upon what work alone can produce.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The class struggle is a struggle between those who have and those who have not; a struggle between those who do not produce and those who do produce; a struggle between those who take and those who make; a struggle between those who exploit and those who resist exploitation; a struggle between the capitalist class, which must continue to exploit in order to live in idleness and luxury, and the working class, which must put an end to the struggle by revolutionizing in the interest of the working class the entire structure of industrial society.—Sydney People.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Class-consciousness is the recognition by an individual of the fact that his interests are bound up in the economic class of which he is a member. On the part of a member of the laboring class it also involves a recognition of the historical function of this class, which function is to become the dominant element in society and through control of the various instruments of social rule to abolish all exploitation, involuntary poverty and class domination.—A. M. Simons, in Appeal to Reason.

Platt says Low ought to be re-elected as Mayor of New York. Low is an "independent," as everybody knows. Platt is an "Easy Boss," as likewise everybody knows. Platt is not a bit afraid of Low's "independence." He has tried him and found him perfectly safe. Platt's collar does not gall the "independent" neck, but it serves its purpose. Every vote for Low will be a vote for Platt, just as, two years ago, every vote for the equally "independent" Shepard was a vote for Croker. Some time the voters will learn that it is not the personality of the candidate that counts, but the organization that controls him and the sources of his support.

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We must all stand together and help and sustain each other, or we will all suffer together.

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The Goal of Socialism.

By JEAN JAURES.

The first necessary condition to secure the success of Socialism is to explain distinctly to all its goal and its substance, to dissipate many misunderstandings created by our opponents and some created by ourselves.

The Socialist idea is clear and noble. We find that the present form of property divides our society into two big classes, and that one of these classes, the proletariat, to exist or to use its faculties, is compelled to pay a kind of tribute to the capitalist class. Here is a big mass of people that do not possess anything. Their only resource of life is their labor, and to enable them to toil they would need expensive machinery, raw material, etc., etc., which they do not possess. They are compelled to be at the mercy of another class that owns these means of production—the land, factory, raw material, etc. Of course, the capitalist and owning class, using its power, compels the working class to pay a big profit. It is not satisfied to reimburse the advances made, to redeem the machinery. From the product of the workingman's labor it deducts every year rent, profit, and interest.

Thus, in our present society, the product of the workingman's labor does not belong entirely to him. And as in our society, based upon an assiduous production, the economic activity is an essential function to every human being and as labor is an integral part of the personality, it follows that the workingman's person does not belong entirely to him. He alienates a part of his activity, that is a part of his person, for the benefit of another class. The human right with them is incomplete and mutilated.

They cannot do any act in their life without suffering this restriction of right, this enslavement of their persons. As soon as they leave the shop, mine, factory, where they have left a part of their efforts to create dividends and profits; as soon as they come home to their poor houses where their families are crowded, new efforts, new exploitations to create the rent. At the same time the taxes, under all forms direct and indirect, devour their meager salaries, already twice devoured, not only to provide for the expenses of our civilization and common interest but also to secure the crushing service of the rent in the interest of the same capitalist class, or to maintain tremendous and unnecessary armies. And when, with the remainder of their salaries so devoured the workingmen go to buy the necessary products for their daily life, and address themselves to the retailer they must suffer the unnecessary charges of a superabundant class of intermediate agents; if they go to the department store, they have to pay for the manipulation and distribution of the goods, for an unnecessary army of clerks, and besides to provide a big dividend for the capital invested. Just as the feudal road was obstructed and cut almost at every step by toll rights so the road of life for the modern toiler is obstructed by all kinds of feudal rights imposed by capital. He cannot work, feed himself, or make any move without paying to the capitalist and owning class some kind of tribute.

He is not only touched in his own life but even his liberty is entrained. For labor to be really free it is necessary that the workers should be called to direct it; they must participate in the economic government of the shop just as, through universal suffrage they participate in the political government of the country. But the workmen in our present capitalistic organization of labor play only a passive role. They do not decide, they do not contribute in deciding what labor should be done, what use should be

made of the energies to be disposed. It is without their advice, and most of the time against their will, that the capital created by them starts or abandons such and such an enterprise. They are only the servants of the capitalist class, charged to execute the plans that capital alone determines. And these enterprises conceived and desired by capital the workers must execute under the supervision of superintendents and foremen elected by capital. Thus the workers do not cooperate neither in deciding the aim of their labor nor to regulate the mechanism under which it is executed. That is to say, that the worker is twice a slave, because he goes to ends that he does not wish and by means that he has not chosen. In this way the same capitalist system that exploits the worker's productive power attacks also his liberty. And the worker's personality is diminished as his subsistence.

And this is not all. The owning and capitalist class form a class only as far as the workingmen are concerned. In itself it is divided and torn by the most eager competition. It has not succeeded to organize and consequently to discipline production and to regulate it according to the changeable needs of our society. And in this anarchistic disorder, it is warned of its errors only by crises, the terrible consequences of which the workers must suffer. Thus by a supreme iniquity the workers are socially responsible for the march of production, that they by no means determine. Not to be free and be responsible. Not to be asked and be punished. This is the paradoxical destiny of the proletariat in this capitalist disorder.

And if capitalism is organized, and even should they succeed by vast trusts to regulate production, they would do it for their own benefit. They would take advantage of this power of unity to impose usury prices upon the community of buyers and the workers will escape from the consequences of economic disorder only to become the prey of monopoly.

All these miseries, all these injustices arise from the fact that a class has monopolized the means of production and life and imposes its laws upon another class and the entire social body. We must therefore set free the oppressed class and at the same time the entire society. We must abolish all class differences by transferring to the community the property of the means of production and life which, being to-day in the hands of a class, are a power of exploitation and oppression. We must substitute for the disordered and abusive domination of the minority the universal co-operation of the people associated in the common property of the means of production and liberty. This is the only way of enfranchising the human race and this is the reason why the essential object of Socialism—communist or collectivist—is to transform the capitalist property into social property.

In our present stage of humanity where we find only national organizations, the social property will assume the form of a national property. The action of the proletarians will be exercised more and more internationally. All the different nations that are on the way of evolution will regulate their relations more and more according to justice and peace. But it is the nation that, for a long time to come, will give the historic frame of Socialism, the model of unity in which the new justice will be cast.

You must not be surprised that after we have revindicated the liberty of human beings, we make now intervene the community. It is only the community that can set free all the individuals. It is only the community that can provide the means for a free development of all. The temporary and limited associations can only protect

for a short time a small group of individuals.

But it is only a general and permanent organization that can guarantee the rights of all individuals without exception, and not only of those now in existence but even of all those to be born in the future.

This universal association imperishable that contains all the human beings of a certain portion of the planet and that extends its action for the future generations, is the nation, the community. If we invoke the nation it is to secure the plenitude and universality of individual rights. No human being in any moment of his existence should be left outside of the sphere of his right. No one should be allowed to be the prey or the instrument of another person. No one should be deprived of the positive means of working in freedom without a slavish dependence upon any other person.

It is in the nation that the personal right of all the individuals will find its guarantee to-day, to-morrow, and ever. And if we transfer to the community all that was the private property of the capitalist class, it is not to make an idol of the community, it is not to sacrifice to it the individual liberties. On the contrary, it is to enable it to provide a common basis for all individual activities and individual rights. The social right is for us only the focus for the rights of all individuals. The social property is only the instrument of action made accessible to all.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!
You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain.

To be consistent, a union man should always ask for union label goods.

WE DON'T PATRONIZE

The Following Unfair Firms.

Welle-Boettler Bakery Co.
McKinney Bakery Co.
Wrought Iron Range Co.
Stephans Litho-Engr. Co.
J. Kiburtz Pattern Co.
G. Wolf, barber, 1503 Franklin avenue.
St. Louis Paper Box Co.
Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co.
Union Biscuit Co.
Wunderlich Cooperage Co.
Sessinghaus Mills.
Radiant Home Stove Co.
Wellman-Dwire Tobacco Co.
American Tobacco Co.
Ittner Brick Co.
Parker-Russell.
Gast Lithographing Co.
P. J. Carmody, 213 North Eighth street.
Glass-Gram Cap Co.
P. Burns Saddlery Co.
St. Louis Paper Box Co.
Hauck-Hoerr Bakery Co.
Simmons Saddlery and Hardware Co.
Saxony Mills.
Sheifer Livery and Cab Co.
Mermod-Jaccard Jewelry Co.
Southern Bagging Trust.
Frank Lind Grocer Co.
The above boycotts are endorsed by the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor union.

No man should relinquish his rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for by so doing he not only injures himself, but waives the rights of all posterity.

In 1850 the workers received 62½ per cent. of the value of the wealth they created. In 1890 they received only 17 per cent. Under Socialism they would receive it all.

HEYDT'S SUPERIOR BREAD

...UNION MADE...



New Union Factory on Randolph, near Jefferson.

HAMILTON, BROWN SHOE COMPANY.

New Union Factory.

Our Four Thousand employes 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.



Wraps, Short and Long

WAISTS FOR DAY AND EVENING WEAR

THOUGH we are apt to get our hot weather at this season of the year, the world of femininity is just now interested in cloaks and coats. Almost everything goes save the short blouse and the Eton. Fashion writers still speak of the Eton and bolero, but they are more written of than worn now. The most approved wrap of the fall, and we feel confident in affirming it, will be the most approved for the winter, is the tight-fitting, three-quarters model.

These coats are noticeable for the number of their seams. When possible, one should employ the services of only a good tailor for the construction of a coat of this kind; with the straight-front corset reigning, no poor gown-maker ought to attempt the difficult

not such an extravagant thing to add one to the wardrobe. They can be purchased now at greatly reduced prices the big shops tumbling everything on the bargain counters rather than carrying anything over. The model pictured this week is of cream broadcloth trimmed with tassels and flat ornaments, touches of color on the collar and at the bottom of the sleeves.

And old and tried friend, banished for a long while, is back with us this year, lusty and important—and that is blue serge. We have had many woollens of high-sounding names for several seasons, and have tried to forget we ever were addicted to just common serge, but now we can employ this material and yet be fashionable. Put some white with it, or some bright red; for white and blue, red and blue, are



COAT OF WHITE CLOTH—A LATE WAIST.

garment. It was hard enough to get the tight fit for the tailor made of six years back, but that was easy compared with the problem to-day, when large hips and plump curves are not at all the thing. But we need none of us despair; after seeing a few good examples, we may learn something of the trick ourselves.

Besides the close three-quarters coat, one sees knee-lengths and hip-lengths in loose styles. Some of the former are on the kimona style; some are what we have grown accustomed to call the automobile; others are built on simple straight lines, closer fitting than those lately in vogue. For the wrap for rather common wear, blue is the color of the hour, dark or bluet. And if a touch of white is added, one will be following the latest fancy.

Evening cloaks, though elaborate, can be safely constructed at home, there not being a great deal of fit required. Though the cloaks look sumptuous, they need not cost very much; a bargain of lining-silk can be picked up here, a bit of lace there, and for the outside light-weight cloth with a heavy inter-lining will answer very well. It is much more suitable to try to economize on dressmaker and material for one of these than when getting the street gown, which appears in the broad light of day, and must stand much wear and tear.

In the shorter coats we observe white is a prime favorite, and as most of these white wraps can be easily cleaned, it is

avored combinations. Red velvet for a narrow crushed belt and as finish for a stock is especially soft and pretty; also shaded ribbon, shading from old rose to geranium red, might well be chosen.

Pipings will be used very much the coming season. Pipings of gay silk in different colors are used on the same gown; yellow, black and white have been observed on a gown of dark blue, but personally we prefer pipings of the single color. Buttons are employed to emphasize the color of the trimming, and embroidered buttons are the caprice of the moment, as well as buttons embroidered in beads. A dark, plain frock may be embellished and rendered more modish by addition of some of these accessories, but the tendency for over-trimming should be restrained.

Heavy mercerized cotton waists, which resemble raw silk, are shown in plaids as well as in dark blues or reds. They cost something, but are very durable and wash well. Pongees in natural colors, but flecked with gay silk, will make nice blouses for wear indoors, and should not be lined.

The epaulette is a decided feature of the fall waist, and is very long. It may be made of galloon, with a band of the same down the front of the waist and for the cuffs.

We picture one of the prettiest fancy waists lately seen. It is fashioned of black chiffon, black velvet ribbon and white lace. The waist should be lined with thin silk.

tivating. Then who is it, and who is it not, that can wear shawl and scarf? Each must find out for herself, but we should say plump shoulders and a full chest requisite.

The scarf is of lace, of mull, of embroidered crepe, of soft silk; and happy she who has one of the really old—an heirloom. It would be well to consult grandmother and great-aunt, to hunt in attic and long locked up hair-cloth trunk, for though the stores are showing beautiful ones of modern make, the old-fashioned ones bear the mark of gentility, and the creamy "old" look so very desirable.

If one is hesitating about what to get for stock and belt this fall, a word in regard to the shaded ribbons may be of help. Two yards of six-inch ribbon for the neck and just enough for the belt to make a narrow crushed band; for the stock, pass the ribbon around twice and tie in a very wide, butterfly-eye bow at the throat. Soft liberty satin is expensive, and the very thin, soft taffeta, which is much cheaper, answers the purpose quite as well.

Ribbons are very much used, and as ribbon, like lace and jewelry, is property, the fashion is a good, economical one. Velvet ribbon appears as trimming in various ways, and usually is very becoming and pretty.

Not much as yet can be said about hats; the most noticeable thing is that they reproduce in winter stuffs the prevailing styles of the summer; also, hats now match the gowns as do gloves and even shoes. This is a rather expensive fashion, but the harmony is very attractive. With a street dress of black and white is worn a large round hat, something on the sailor order, of black and white rough wool; the hat trimmed with self-material and soft folds of black velvet. Veils have not been banished, though the effort was made. They wave about the head and shoulders of almost every well-dressed woman one meets on the streets.



THE NEW LACE SCARF.

COX & GORDON, Pork Packers.

CURERS OF

Fine Hams, Breakfast Bacon, Shoulders and Beef.

ORDERS FILLED FOR PORK, BACON AND PURE LEAF LARD.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

DRINK ONLY UNION BEER.

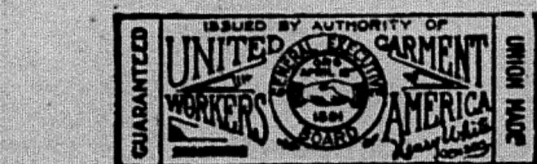
[Fac Simile of Our Label.]



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

JACK RABBIT PANTS ARE GOOD PANTS.

Recommended by United Garment Workers and Local Union Labor Organizations. Made with Union Label.



Ask Your Clothier for Them.

Return of the Lace Scarf

RIBBONS AND HATS

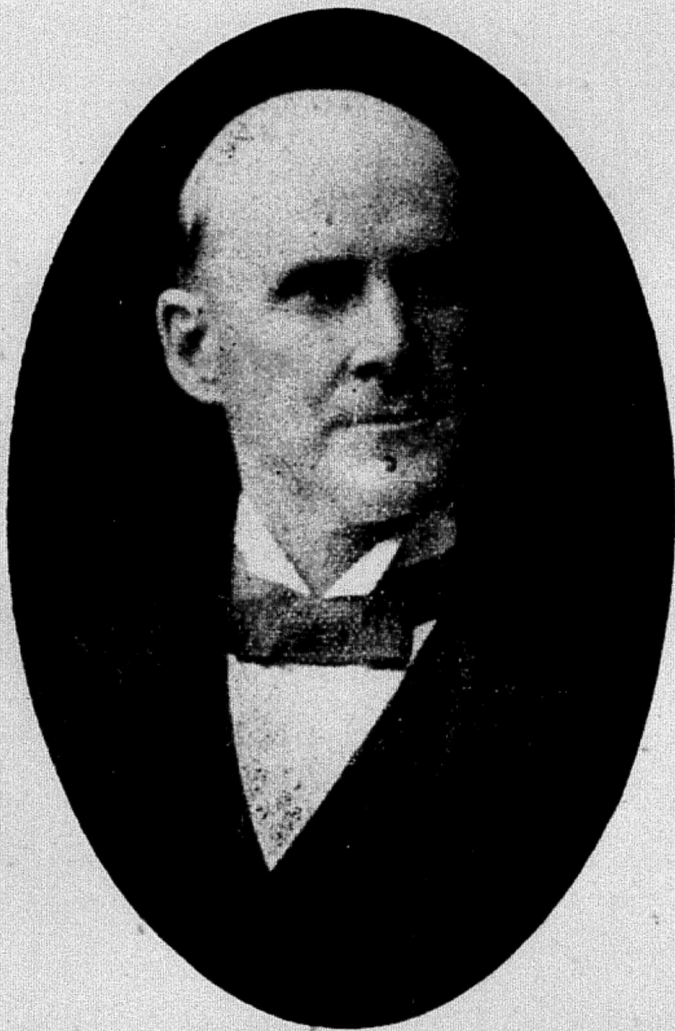
LACE, lace, in spite of the many abominable cheap imitations, the commonness of its use. But the lace we are to mention can by no means be purchased for a farthing, be worn by every one. We refer to the beautiful lace scarf, wide and long, very like the kind worn by our grand-

mothers. The wearing of a scarf is an art, and had better be omitted altogether unless one learns how to dispose it gracefully, how to carry it. The difficulty is similar to the wearing of a shawl; this person looks like an old woman the moment she places a shawl or scarf on her shoulders; that one looks graceful, cap-

Announcement: E. V. Debs will speak at Gross' Park, Morganford Road and Juniata Street, Sunday, September 13. 25,000 cards have been distributed. Make this a Grand Socialist Demonstration.

SEPT. 13—EUGENE V. DEBS—SEPT. 13.

At the St. Louis Labor Press Festival at Gross' Park.



The arrangements for our great Socialist Party labor press picnic and raffle at Gross' park, Morganford road and Juniata street, are nearly completed. Over six hundred presents for raffle prizes have already been received and more than double this number are yet expected to come in before the festival.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs will arrive in St. Louis, Sunday, September 13, at 1:30 p. m., on the Vandalia line. He will be received by the committee, consisting of Comrades Allan, Brandt and Hoehn, who will escort him to the park.

There will be first-class concert and dancing music by Prof. Hans Boed's band, prize bowling, plays for children, raffle and other amusements. An address in German will be delivered by Comrade G. A. Hoehn, editor of Arbeiter-Zeitung for the last five years, i. e., from its very start.

Over 20,000 invitation cards have already been distributed and more will go out during the next few days. Every Socialist family should work for the success of this demonstration.

Take Tower Grove car to Arsenal street and Morganford road (4300 Arsenal street, at the south-side entrance to Tower Grove park), and from there go two blocks south to the park.

WITH E. V. DEBS.

Mother Jones in Terre Haute.

TERRE HAUTE MORNING STAR,
AUGUST 30.

At the home of Eugene Debs, whose work among the laboring people has so often been identical with her work, and with whom she has so often fig-

ured in the excitement and turmoil of strikes, Mother Jones talked last night of the social reforms in which she is now interested. She arrived in Terre Haute yesterday afternoon.

Mother Jones does not age with years. When a reporter entered the room, in which she sat last night, there rose to greet him the same little woman, slightly fleshier, but with the same piercing grey eyes and firm mouth that were in the raids of 1900.

The trip from Danville here had tired her with her efforts at the Danville Chatauqua assembly to convince people of the wrongs being done children through child-labor abuses. "I have just stopped over," she said, "with Mr. and Mrs. Debs. I am on my way now to Clinton, Ia., where I shall speak Labor day."

"Is the subject of child labor that in which you are interested mostly now," was asked.

"No and yes; I am always interested in that subject. That was why I led my children's crusade to Oyster Bay. Oh, the things that I have seen in the way of child labor would make anyone interested."

"I did not see the president at Oyster Bay, only his secretary, and the secretary assured me that the president was on record as being against child labor; but I can not see how that is true. When the Croatan dam was building and Roosevelt was governor of New York, he sent the militia there to shoot down the poor men who were refusing to work on that dam, for a dollar a day, when they had been promised one dollar and a half for their services.

"When, in Standford City, W. Va., a deputy United States marshal shot down men in their houses, before they

had risen in the morning, there was no protest sent to that state, the birthplace of presidents, against the treatment accorded its citizens, though some time later he sent a protest to Russia against the treatment of the Jews in whom we had no special interest."

Mother Jones' eyes flashed, and as she described the killing of those men in Standford City she spread forth her hands as if leaning over their corpses, and her whole body quivered with her fury. "Oh, it made me burn with anger!" she said, as she raised her clenched hand. "The president was not looking out for the welfare of those children whose parents he permitted to be shot without a protest."

Mother Jones will leave to-day for the west.

* * *
"TERRY HUT."

Take, even, statesmanship, and wit,
And general git-up-and-git,
Old Terry Hut is sound clean through!
Turn old Dick Thompson loose, er Dan
Voorhees—and where's they any man
Kin even hold a candle to
Their eloquence? And where's as clean
A fi-nan-seer as Rile McKeen—
Er puorer, in his daily walk,
In railroad er in racin' stock!
And there's 'Gene Debs—a man 'at
stands

And jest holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the Judgement seat!
All these is reasons why I put
Sich bulk o' faith in Terry Hut.

—JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

—THE—
General Monthly Meeting

—OF—
LOCAL ST. LOUIS

WILL BE HELD AT

Delabar's Hall

Broadway and Elm St.

Sunday Eve., Sept. 6
At 7 O'Clock

This is an important meeting.
Every comrade should attend.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS.

General Meeting of the St. Louis Socialist Party.

Comrades: The next meeting of Local St. Louis will be an important one. Do not fail to be on hand at Delabar's hall, on Sunday evening, September 6, at seven o'clock.

The following meetings were held for the purpose of reorganizing:

Fourth Ward—Friday night, September 4, at Eleventh and Locust.

Sixth Ward—Tuesday night, September 1, at 708 Chouteau avenue.

It may be true that any man can get work who wants it, but in most instances he would have to accept a wage below the cost of living in order to secure a job.

* * *
It is due to an infamous miscarriage of justice that charity is permitted to exist as a degrading necessity.

Socialist Party

Local St. Louis, Mo.

HEADQUARTERS—Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut streets. DAVID ALLAN, city secretary.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening at headquarters.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS GENERAL MEETING first Sunday in each month, at 7 o'clock p. m., at Delabar's hall, Broadway and Elm street. DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

SOCIALIST WARD CLUB MEETINGS.

First Ward—First and third Fridays, 4449 Penrose street, Wm Young, secretary.

Second Ward—Third Thursday, 813 Hempstead street, C. E. Arnold, secretary.

Seventh Ward—Third Tuesday, 1522 South Eleventh street, Wm. R. Guiber, secretary.

Eighth Ward—Third Wednesday, 2301 South Broadway, G. Bohling, secretary.

Ninth Ward—First Tuesday, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Paul H. Fromm, secretary.

Tenth Ward—Every Thursday, 3734 Oregon avenue, Ed. Ottesky, secretary.

Eleventh Ward—Third Friday, 7119 South Broadway, Wm. Holman, secretary.

Twelfth Ward—Second and fourth Thursday, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—First and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Seventeenth Ward—Every Wednesday, 2563 North Market street, A. J. Lawrence, secretary.

Eighteenth Ward—First Tuesday, 2108 North Fourteenth street, W. E. Kindorf, secretary.

Twentieth Ward—Second Tuesday, 2927 Cass avenue, F. W. Wehking, secretary.

Twenty-First Ward—Third Friday, 3619 Lucky street, Charles Lowe, secretary.

Twenty-Second Ward—Second Wednesday, 3204 Pine street, David Allan, secretary.

Twenty-Fourth Ward—First Thursday, 6108 Elizabeth ave., Walter F. Abling, secretary.

Twenty-Seventh Ward North Branch—First Thursday, 2318 Gilmore avenue, Mrs. Helen Hendry, secretary.

Seventh Ward South Branch—Second Tuesday, 5371 North Market street, Chas. Kaemmerer, secretary.

Under Socialism one woman will not be compelled to hammer a typewriter all day that another may thump a piano.

BASE BALL

National League.

PITTSBURG...Aug. 30, 31.

ADMISSION, 25, 50 and 75c

According to Location.