

Workingmen
of all
Countries, Unite

LABOR.

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

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THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

By G. A. HOEHN

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Shall a Second Edition of the "S. T. & L. A." Be Hatched Under the Cloak of Socialism and the Socialist Party? Recent Occurrences and the Tactics of the American Labor Union Bear the Stamp of De Leonism.

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

["Int. Socialist Review" of January, 1903.]

I.

There seems to be considerable misapprehension, especially among Socialists, in regard to the trades-union movement of the United States of America, and not only in regard to the trades-union movement of the Western States, as Comrade Eugene V. Debs seems to think, according to the views expressed in his article on "The Western Labor Movement," in the November issue of the International Socialist Review.

Many years' experience has convinced me that the relationship between trades-unionism and Socialism, i. e., the attitude of the politically organized Socialists toward the Trades Union and general labor movement, is the most vital question in the American Socialist movement. The very existence of the Socialist Party depends on the solution of this question, while the Trades-Union movement will be greatly benefited and strengthened and its permanent success assured by the adoption of such fundamental Socialist tactics as will guarantee the healthy co-operation between the economic and political forces of labor in the great struggle of emancipation.

It is significant to know that the Socialist movement develops in about the same manner and ratio as the Trades Unions. Compare the growth in the membership of the American Federation of Labor to the growth of the Socialist vote since 1893. The A. F. of L. had just recovered from the general reaction that followed the eight-hour movement of 1885-86, with its Haymarket and November 11 tragedies. For some time the Federation membership remained almost stationary at the 100,000 mark. To-day its membership is nearly 1,500,000, or, to be very conservative, at least ten times as high as in the early '90's. The same can be said of the Socialist movement. In 1893 the Socialist vote in the United States was less than 26,000. To-day the entire Socialist vote is about 300,000. Which goes to prove that the same economic causes that produce Trades Unionism also produce Socialism. The economic truth that "Labor creates all social value" is recognized and propagated by the Socialists and Trades-Unionists; and the more powerful Capitalism, the more intense the exploitation of the masses of the people, the more hopeless the prospects for better times, the more general the unrest the desire for economic, political and social changes, hence the more intense intellectual activity among the working class and those directly and immediately dependent on the productive labor of others. All this tends to extend and strengthen the organization and influence of Labor, both economic and political.

It might be claimed that the economic organization of Labor in this country was stronger in 1885-86 than in 1893. This is not correct. With equal right we could assert that the Socialist movement of 1878-80 was stronger than in 1902, because two or more Socialists were elected to the Chicago city council. The fact of the matter is that the Socialist movement of 1878-80 was a straw fire of the first Socialist enthusiasm without any backbone, a political protest of Labor against the atrocities committed by Capitalism during the great railroad strike of 1877. In 1885-86 the American proletariat for the first time in the industrial history of Capitalism, felt the general depression and the rapidly increasing misery and poverty. According to Carroll D. Wright's first annual report, that appeared in 1886, the number of unemployed had increased to over one million.

What was to be done? Reduction of the hours of labor! Eight hours! soon became the general demand of Organized Labor. After less than six months of agitation and organization on the part of a small number of American pioneer Trades-Unionists and German-speaking Socialists this country witnessed one of the most wonderful proletarian uprisings in the history of the international labor movement. From those days on the Trades-Union movement became an important factor in the industrial and social development of this country.

Here is, in short, the historical recapitulation:

The emancipation of the chattel slaves increased the desperate competition on the "free labor market." The new civil war began. While the capitalist tried to buy the commodity, labor, as cheap as possible, the wage-worker, in order to sustain life, had to demand as high a price for his labor-power as possible. These diametrically opposed class interests caused considerable friction, and soon a lively fight was begun. Seeing that the individual wage-worker was a mere straw in the wind when it came to the question of resisting the encroachments of capitalism, the workmen united into unions—local, national and international unions—and Knights of Labor assemblies. The capitalists lost no opportunity to reduce the wages and lengthen the daily working time of their employes. Wherever human labor power did not realize the desired rate of profit for the employer, new labor-saving machinery was introduced; thousands of men being forced out of work. Women and children were hired to do the machine work, because they worked for considerably less wages. The conditions of the wealth-producing people grew worse from day to day, and this state of affairs caused general alarm. The workmen demanded higher wages and shorter hours of labor. While certain trades unions had existed many years before the civil war broke out, and while efforts were made by these trades unions to better the conditions of their members, it must be borne in mind that the modern labor movement, the struggle between capitalism and labor, did not amount to much until 1885 and 1886, when the general eight-hour movement was inaugurated; i. e., the movement for a general reduction of the hours of labor.

The capitalist class had never dreamed of the possibilities of such a movement. Indeed, the movement was a surprise to them, and many granted the demands of their employes out of sheer fear of an impending social revolution. However, the enemies of labor were not resting on their oars; they soon organized for "self-defense and resistance." The struggle between Organized Labor and Organized Capitalism was on.

The order of the K. of L. went out of existence; it had fulfilled its historical mission by demonstrating the power and solidarity of labor. The K. of L. went down, not because Powderly was a demagogue, not because Sovereign was a capitalist politician, not because Prof. De Leon tried to use the "remnants" to mend the S. L. P. coat, but because the very form of the K. of L. organization was not adapted to the modern forms of warfare in the proletarian class struggle.

II.

The attitude of the Socialists towards the Trades-Union movement during the last fifteen years furnishes a most interesting subject for the student of the American labor movement. It is a fact that the old German Socialists, most of whom were compelled to leave their country, their homes, their relatives and friends under the Bismarckian Anti-Socialist laws, became the most active pioneers of American Trades-Unionism. Hundreds and thousands of unions were organized by and through them.

When, after the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago, May 4, 1886, the capitalists seemed to have things all their own way, when the dark wave of reaction swept all over the country, threatening to destroy every labor organization, the small pioneer band of German-American Socialists once more appeared in the deserted arena of the class struggle, appealing to the wage-workers to resist the desperate attempts to crush Organized Labor, by organizing an independent political labor movement. This appeal was heeded. In the various parts of the country union labor parties were organized and thousands of votes cast for independent labor candidates. In New York 67,000 votes were polled for Henry George, and the capitalist politicians were frightened like little children overtaken by a severe thunderstorm. "Labor laws" by the bushel were passed by the different state legislatures and city councils and everything possible was done to check this independent political labor movement. Later leaders were provided with po-

litical jobs, thereby mortgaging themselves, body and soul, to the old capitalist parties. Democratic and Republican politicians tried to get control over the local central labor unions, and the struggles the Socialists had to get these elements out and force them to the rear are of historical significance and importance.

In 1890 the Socialists of Germany polled about one million votes, thereby putting an end to the political life of the Iron Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, the originator of the anti-Socialist laws. This tremendous Socialist vote surprised the entire civilized world, and, naturally enough, the Socialist movement in this country, being almost exclusively German up to but a few years ago, could not escape the influence of this great Socialist victory in the old country. The Socialist Labor Party decided to become an active political party and nominate straight Socialist tickets wherever possible. In 1892 the first presidential candidate on a strictly Socialist ticket was put in the field and 21,512 votes were cast for the same.

As already mentioned, the Socialist movement of this country was almost exclusively a German-speaking movement, and with the exception of Boston, Chicago and San Francisco there were almost no native American elements active in or for the Socialist Party. The conditions for a truly American Socialist movement were not yet ripe, and if a hundred silver-tongued Socialist agitators would have preached the doctrines of Socialism it would not have changed the political situation very much. In 1892 the great strike in Homestead, Pa., broke out; 10,000 state militiamen were called to arms to break this labor insurrection, after the Pinkerton hordes had been almost annihilated during the memorable battle on the banks of the Monongahela river. A decade of the capitalist reign of terror began. In Buffalo, Cripple Creek, Coeur d'Alene, Brooklyn, Tonawanda, Chicago (Pullman), Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities the militia, federal troops, police and deputy sheriffs were pressed into service against the onward march of Organized Labor. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of men went on strike for better conditions. While the capitalists were celebrating their World's Fair in Chicago thousands of unemployed were holding meetings on the highways and byways all over the country, and soon hungry, suffering American proletarians were marching from the Pacific coast, "On to Washington!" singing Hamlin Garland's labor hymn:

We have seen the reaper toiling in the heat of summer sun,

We have seen the children needy when the harvesting was done;

We have seen a mighty army, dying helpless one by one,

While their flag went marching on.

Oh, the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city street,

We have seen them in the midnight, where the Goths and Vandals meet;

We had shuddered in the darkness at the noise of their feet—

But their cause goes marching on.

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel,

We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel,

In the mines and in the forest, worn and hopeless, men shall feel

His cause is marching on.

Meanwhile the capitalist system of production developed wonderfully into pools and syndicates and trusts, and the concentration of capital went on in ever-increasing rapidity. While the wage-workers were more and more pauperized, the middle class of manufacturers and merchants were driven into bankruptcy and despair.

Under such favorable economic and social conditions it was only natural that both the Trades-Union and the Socialist movement should grow.

Comrades, Agitate for LABOR! It is Our Most Effective Weapon.

The eyes of the intelligent working class elements were gradually opened, and no longer could the capitalist politicians scare them by waving the red flag in the bull's face and by wrongfully denouncing the Socialists as the enemies of "our Stars and Stripes."

The Spanish-American war, with its contemptible feature of "Cuban Emancipation" by the speculators in Wall street, resulted in tearing the mask of patriotic hypocrisy off the face of our American plutocracy. This Cuban Emancipation war, followed by the "benevolently assimilating" war against the Filipinos, 10,000 miles off our shores, disclosed the imperialist secrets and desires of American Capitalism. "Our Stars and Stripes" were used as a means to fool the people into a patriotism of the insane and to make them fight for American capitalist expansion in Central America and in far-off East Asia. "Overproduction" at home, with thousands of working people starving, induced our industrial lords and commercial pirates to secure foreign markets, by peaceful tricks and speculations, if possible; if not, by force of arms and at the price of hundreds of thousands of human lives and the freedom of foreign nations that had been almost unknown to us five years ago.

During the last three or four years the American Trades-Union and the Socialist movements have doubled and trebled their membership, which may be mainly attributed to the above-pictured economic, political and social conditions.

In view of the fact that the German-American Socialists were ever anxious to get English-speaking elements interested in their movement, it can readily be understood how men with no exceptional or extraordinary intellectual powers or ability could play the leading roles in the Socialist movement. "We must have the Americans!" "We must reach the English-speaking elements!" were the often-repeated expressions of our old German comrades. I remember the great rejoicing of our old pioneer friends when in 1889 they succeeded in securing the services of the renowned adventurer, Prof. Garside, of Baltimore. Prof. Dan De Leon entered the Socialist movement (as an inheritance of the Henry George campaign) as a man of less than average intelligence; but our German comrades were anxious "to reach the English-speaking people," and so Prof. De Leon was enveiled with a cloud of supernatural gift and power, was nursed and flattered until he himself got the idea of being the personification of Socialist wisdom and the incarnation of political omnipotence.

The attitude of the Socialist Labor Party towards the Trades-Union movement from 1890 on to the present day has been a most unfortunate one, and we should profit by their expensive experience. Theoretically, the Socialist Party adopted an entirely new policy, in reality the everyday practice of many of our party members differs but little from the S. L. P. methods. Unfortunately there are still many Socialists who look upon the Trades-Unions as a movement without any historical missionary and emancipating merits of its own, but which should be made the tail end of some Socialist political movement.

III.

In 1891 the American Federation of Labor met in Detroit, Mich. Our New York comrades made a serious break that caused them much trouble and finally threatened the very existence of their Socialist movement for the time. Section New York Socialist Party was represented by delegates in the New York Central Labor Federation. This Federation elected Lucian Sanial as delegate of the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. This caused a fight on the floor of the convention, and Thomas J. Morgan, delegate of the Chicago Trades Assembly, although not quite in accord with the New York move, fought a splendid battle in favor of Sanial's admission as a delegate. The A. F. of L., however, decided not to admit Sanial because he did not represent any Trades Union, but was a direct representative of a political party.

Here the trouble began. A campaign of revenge was opened against the A. F. of L., although Section New York, admitting their mistake of being directly represented in a central trades union body, withdrew its delegates from the Central Labor Federation soon after. Messrs. De Leon, Vogt, Sanial and others continued their nefarious propaganda, and when in 1895 the A. F. of L. convened in New York, the above-mentioned "leaders of Socialism" had their plans and schemes cut and dried; they launched a Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance on the troubled waters of the American labor movement, and the birth of this "enfant terrible" was celebrated in grand style and with at least a dozen times more "enthusiasm and inspiration and hopes for the dawn of proletarian emancipation" than the late Denver convention of the Western Labor or American Labor Union.

The Socialist Labor Party was almost a unit in indorsing the new union movement. In 1896 De Leon, Sanial and Vogt succeeded in hypnotizing and deceiving the Socialist Labor Party convention held in the city of New York and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was officially indorsed. De Leon, Sanial and Vogt pledged their word of honor that their new union movement was not directed against the A. F. of L. or against any of the existing labor organizations. For hours they tried to prove by statistical figures how they would get the unorganized into line, and that they had not the least intention of organizing rival unions. Poor creatures!

From that hour on the open hostilities and attacks on the American Federation of Labor began, and with this warfare of revenge and destruction on the economic field also commenced the demoralization and the suicidal work of the Socialist Labor Party itself. The S. T. and L. A. got unavoidably

mixed up in fights against a number of national unions, the S. L. P. could not escape the consequences, section after section of the party was suspended for violating the "Estiela" principles and tactics. Suspension and expulsion right and left, until Sanial expelled Vogt, and De Leon expelled Sanial, and Kuhn will expel De Leon, and the dog's tail will swallow the dog itself.

These are historical facts.

In 1898 the Social Democratic Party was organized in Chicago after the secession from the Colonists. The S. D. P., not without considerable opposition, adopted a new policy concerning the attitude of the Socialists towards the Trades-Union movement. This attitude was re-indorsed by the Indianapolis convention a year later, and in July 1901, the Unity convention unanimously adopted the following declaration, determining the attitude of the Socialist Party of America towards the Trades-Unions:

"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 capitalist 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 concerned.

"We call the attention of trades-unionists to the fact 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."

This resolution is characteristic of our Socialist Party movement, and sharply and strikingly draws the line between the truly class conscious Socialist movement and the misconceived, misunderstood, misinterpreted so-called class movement of De Leonism.

IV.

In his article on "The Western Labor Movement" in the November International Socialist Review Comrade Eugene V. Debs speaks of "the lukewarm comment and the half-approving, half-condemning tone of the Socialist Party press and the uncalled for, unwise and wholly unaccountable official pronouncement of the St. Louis "Quorum" in reference to the action of the Western Labor Union in favor of Socialism at its Denver convention. Furthermore, Comrade Debs says:

"Stripped of unnecessary verbiage and free from subterfuge, the Socialist Party has been placed in the attitude of turning its back upon the young virile, class-conscious union movement of the west, and fawning at the feet of the 'pure and simple' movement of the east, and this anomalous thing has been done by men who are supposed to stand sponsor to the party and whose utterance is credited with being ex cathedra upon party affairs.

"They may congratulate themselves that upon this point at least they are in perfect accord with the capitalist press, and also with the 'labor lieutenants,' the henchmen and heelers, whose duty it is to warn the union against Socialism and guard its members against working-class political action."

Having been the originator and most ardent supporter of the above-mentioned "Quorum" resolution, I feel justified in more clearly stating my position in the matter. Some Socialist papers have printed the "Quorum" resolution in full and commented on it. Others published the resolution without comment. Again, others commented or denounced the "Quorum" without publishing a line of the resolution. One comrade editor complimented the "Quorum" members as "Happy Hooligans"—but none of the Socialist papers, with but one or two exceptions, saw fit to discuss the action of the "Quorum" intelligently, as it would have been their duty to do.

This showed a weak point in our party, a lack of clearness in the conception of the aims and objects of our movement.

The Western Labor Union convention indorsed Socialism and the Socialist Party.

Every Socialist applauded this action. So did the St. Louis "Quorum."

The Western Labor Union changed its name into American Labor Union and decided to extend its field of operation to the eastern states.

My experience prevented me from applauding this second action of the convention. I do not care what the promises or arguments of the delegates were that took the above action. Whether the comrades and brothers were actuated by a spirit of resentment towards the A. F. of L., or by the desire to build up a Socialist trades-union movement is not the question that concerns me in this case. Neither can we consider what our wishes would be. We are confronted by conditions and facts, not by theories and wishes.

What are the facts?

Comrade Debs knows the western elements, he knows their courage, their honesty, their energy, their progressive spirit. All well and good. I have no reason to disbelieve him. But what does this prove? Does it prove that the westerners are more honest, more sincere than the eastern wage slaves?

That they are more honest and sincere than those hundreds and thousands of Socialists who assisted in the organization of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance?

But the conditions and facts?

The American Labor Union, if it wants to carry out its programme as originally planned, will have to send its organizers east, to St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, New York, Boston. Having indorsed the Socialist Party the Socialist Party is expected to indorse the A. L. U. and do what?

Organize A. L. U. local unions.

Where?

In St. Louis, Chicago, Terre Haute, Milwaukee, New York, Boston, Haverhill, Brockton and elsewhere, perhaps in the mining regions of Pennsylvania.

Next?

Nearly every trade is organized in the cities and regions named. Organized under the A. F. of L. Well, we organize rival A. L. U. local unions.

What next? Will these new unions go 'way back and sit down?'

No; they are anxious to expand, to grow. They will try to get new members. Where from? From the old A. F. of L. unions.

Then they will make demands on the bosses. The demands are refused. The strike begins.

What next?

The A. L. U. convention has indorsed Socialism; its members are supposed to be Socialist trades-unionists. Strikers will get empty pockets, will get hungry, their families will suffer.

Will a Socialist stomach stand more hunger and contraction than the conservative miner's stomach in Pennsylvania? Will the Socialist striker's family stand the suffering and privations more patiently than the family of the conservative?

Answer, please!

There is a limit to the sphere of Trades-Unionism. Keep this in your mind.

Well, our A. L. U. will strike at the ballot box, I hear some say.

What have we got the Socialist Party for?

The fact is this: The A. L. U. can not expand east of the Mississippi without getting into a most disastrous fight against the A. F. of L.

Our Socialist Party movement can not afford, has no right, to be dragged into a fight between two national Federations of Trades Unions.

The St. Louis "Quorum" took action on the A. L. U. matter after it was called upon to issue an organizers' commission of the Socialist Party to a general officer and organizer of the American Labor Union, and after considerable confusion had been created amongst our comrades in various parts of the country, which goes to show that an attempt was made to drag the Socialist Party right into this trades-union controversy and rivalry.

I do not speak for the "Quorum"; I express my personal opinion and accept the responsibility of what I write or speak on this question.

Would Comrade Debs go to work and organize the Terre Haute trades into A. L. U. local unions? Certainly not. I don't recognize any "pure and simple" and "Socialist" Trades-Unions, because I consider it ridiculous to make people believe that a mere pledge to a Socialist platform will make a man a Socialist or transform a conservative union over night into a Socialist union.

Comrade Debs knows from experience that leaders, no matter how honest, good and Socialistic they may be, can not create a labor movement where conditions are not favorable. Sam Gompers is not the A. F. of L., and I must protest against the assertion that the A. F. of L. unions have not assisted their western brothers when in trouble. I remember one instance when the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union donated the entire Labor Day picnic income, amounting to about \$700, to the striking members of the Western Miners' Union.

The western brothers got sore at Sam Gompers and some other individuals and left the A. F. of L. They had a perfect right to do so. But if other radical elements had done likewise, would there be such a splendid Socialist progress among the rank and file of the A. F. of L. as can be witnessed in every industrial center of the east?

Educate the rank and file, let them elect Socialist delegates, representing the carpenters, miners, cigarmakers, machinists, printers, etc., and you will soon get rid of leaders whom you consider detrimental to the progress of the movement.

Often, very often, have I been disappointed and discouraged in the Trades-Union movement, but this is no reason why I should not continue the good work of Socialist propaganda in the movement.

I can fully understand the action of the American Labor Union, I may excuse it to a certain extent, but I can not indorse it, still less can I encourage the work in that direction.

Here, again, I fully agree with Comrade Debs when he says:

"The party, as such, must continue to occupy this friendly, yet non-interfering position, but the members may, of course, and in my judgment should, join the trades-unions east and west and north and south and put forth their best efforts to bring the American labor movement to its rightful position in the struggle for emancipation."

May the time soon come when these factional fights will cease and the work of the grand army of Organized Labor will be crowned with victory and success.

Comrades of the A. L. U., we may disagree as to tactics, but I am with you heart and soul in the glorious war for the economic freedom of labor.

Yours for Labor and Socialism,

G. A. HOEHN.

Socialism in the Reichstag.

Comrade Bebel's Speech Against Russia Creates Interest Throughout the Civilized World.

Berlin, Dec. 10.—During the debate to-day in the reichstag on the budget estimates, Herr Bebel, the Socialist leader, declared Russia could easily seize Kiau Chou whenever it suited her fancy, and, therefore, Germany should exercise her moral influence to prevent difficulties in East Asia. The speaker predicted that there would be a large increase in the military estimates.

Herr Bebel further asserted that the naval enthusiasts, including those in the highest circles, were quietly engaged in a propaganda for a new squadron of battleships.

The speaker also attacked the imperial financial system, on the ground that it imposed undue burdens on the poor, saying that a larger income should be derived from the inheritance taxes which could easily be made to yield \$75,000,000 additional, but, he added, the classes owning property, who mainly benefited by the expansion policy, preferred an increase in indirect taxation.

Herr Bebel charged the government with co-operating with Russia in suppressing political discontent.

"The Russia police," he asserted, "act in Prussia as if at home. They receive every sort of service from the Prussian authorities, and dozens of Russian secret police agents are busy in Berlin and other centers spying on the doings of Russian students or Russian residents. This is one exhibition of Caesarism as practiced in Germany.

"Others were the receptions of Cornelius Vanderbilt, unnecessary gifts to foreign nations, and spectacular parading of army corps. All the fuss and glory of military life in times of peace was time wasted on frivolities, which could far better be spent in actual drill and study."

Alluding again to the receptions of Mr. Vanderbilt at Dantzic, Herr Bebel said:

"What has he done to deserve all this applause? These things give the impression of weakness, not of strength."

In the course of a ferocious attack on Russia, which caused the supporters of the ministry to shake their heads in dismay because such language about a neighboring power had rarely been heard in the German parliament, Herr Bebel said:

"Russia is essentially a barbarous state, against whose bestialities all the European governments have made no protest."

The speaker then alluded to Kishineff, where, he said, the authorities stood by and watched murders." He asserted that a Russian general had driven thousands of Chinese into the Amur river.

He said the arrest of a Russian spy at Sofia had resulted in the finding among his papers "documentary proofs that Russia was privy to the plan to assassinate King Alexander months before the event occurred."

Replying to Herr Bebel, Chancellor von Buelow declared the government was firmly determined to continue the development of social legislation in favor of the masses. In this matter the government required the co-operation of the country. He would add that nothing hindered progress in this direction more than the habit of Social Democrats of connecting social questions with antimonarchical tendencies. History, however, proved that monarchies made more rapid progress socially than republics, because a monarch occupied a position of independence, above classes and parties. In no republic had so much been done for the workingmen as in imperial Germany. In Switzerland the federal council's bills embodying substantial social reforms, like workingmen's insurance, had been defeated at the polls on refer-

endum.

Count von Buelow pointed out the impossibility of any realization of Socialist dreams for the overturning of the present order of society, and added:

"The state will defend itself. Who is the state? You would soon find out if you resorted to action. We shall be able to defend the existing order of things. The principles on which that order rests are religion, monarchy and civilization, slowly emerging through the centuries. We shall defend the house which has given shelter to so many generations, and which is to remain the home of our children; the house on which many generations have labored, and which had for its architects the great minds of efficient men."

RENEWS ASSERTIONS CONCERNING RUSSIAN ATROCITIES.

BERLIN, Dec. 14.—In the Reichstag to-day the proceedings developed an oratorical duel between Herr Bebel, the leader of the Socialist Party, and Count von Buelow, the imperial chancellor, which was not second in importance to that between those two most interesting personalities in German politics, last Thursday.

Herr Bebel returned to his attack upon Russia, speaking of the alleged atrocities perpetrated in that country, whereupon he was called to order by Count von Ballestrem, president of the Reichstag, who said:

"It is inadmissible to accuse in this house a state, with which Germany is allied in friendship, of such atrocities."

"Then, if we can not express our opinions fully," replied Herr Bebel, "we will merely state the facts in question and let the world decide."

Continuing, Herr Bebel said: "You shall hear from us within the next few weeks a series of facts, about which we have information, but of which you have hitherto had not the slightest suspicion."

The speaker then answered Chancellor von Buelow's speech of last Thursday. He declared that the chancellor went too far in discussing foreign affairs when he referred in terms of sharp criticism to the United States government and congress regarding the American policy in the Philippines. He further repelled Count von Buelow's assertion that the Socialists have greater advantages in Germany than they have in republican countries.

Herr Bebel expressed his astonishment that Count von Buelow had called him an "angel," and, turning to the chancellor, said: "If you will call me a devil I shall be ten times more pleased."

Count von Buelow then answered Herr Bebel's reiterated criticisms of the government's policy in East Africa, saying:

"Our programme there is simple. We want to retain and to develop what we hold, but not to burn our fingers in matters which do not concern us."

Replying to Herr Bebel's assertion that government officials are not free since they can not be Socialists, the chancellor said that "the social democracy, despite Herr Bebel's rather lame explanation, professes Republicanism. The government official who works for the social democracy breaks his oath, and we will not tolerate such an official."

GERMAN SOCIALISTS BITTERLY DEFIANT.

BERLIN, Dec. 15.—Emperor William and Chancellor von Buelow's renewed overtures to Germany's 600,000 anti-Socialist workingmen to join hands with the monarchy in uplifting the laboring classes causes no consternation in the Social Democratic camp. Vorwaerts, the Socialist organ, to-day defiantly advises the workers if they think they can better their condition by approaching the sovereign with bent backs and cap in hand, forthwith to join the "belly crawlers," and await

results. "Might can only be overcome by might," is the Socialist reply to the government's compromise offers.

Bebel's party has required nineteen years to increase from 600,000 to 3,000,000, so it is not disposed to view with alarm official coddling of the new workingmen's movement, which was characterized by Count von Buelow Sunday as a welcome manifestation. The chancellor has now repeated thrice the assertion that the government will pursue a beneficent social policy, regardless of either Socialist criticism or demands for repressive measures emanating from the enemies of that party.

The extreme conservatives have been demanding a return to repressive legislation against Socialists, as in the late Prince Bismarck's time. Chancellor von Buelow in the Reichstag to-day said he did not believe in special legislation. The government preferred a firm enforcement of the present laws to preserve order.

Pertinent Paragraphs.

(By W. W. Baker.)

Interest is usury.

Did you come out even this year?

Hell can be found this side of the grave.

Self-interest should impel workingmen to become Socialists.

The strike will be unnecessary when workingmen vote right.

Parry and Hanna fear the power of the workingmen at the ballot box.

Rent, interest and profit bar the wage workers from opportunities to enjoy life.

Those who are so insistent on the enforcement of the law are generally the law violators.

An overwhelming majority of the voters are opposed to panics, but vote to continue the system that is responsible for them.

Gompers and Mitchell oppose independent political action by the working class. So do Parry, Hanna and all the other opponents of Organized Labor. Draw your own conclusions.

In the past fifty years there has been collected by the banks as rent for loaned money \$40,000,000, all paid from the products of labor. Labor's compensation was board and clothes.

When the working class learn to strike together at the ballot box they will have a better conception of the phrase "strike benefits." Neither of the dominant political parties has given the workers anything except empty promises.

The capitalists have two political parties and the workers have one. The workers outnumber the capitalists many times, and if they would vote for their class interests, as the capitalists do, there would be no doubt as to the result. The Socialist Party is the workers' political party, and if it is small it is the fault of the workers who vote against their interests. Do not blame others for present conditions until you do your duty.

It is necessary sometimes to repeatedly call a sleeping man to awaken him. The tone of voice and the language may be varied, but the effect of repetition is to eventually awaken the sleeper. The Socialists are attempting to awaken their brother wage slaves from the hypnotic sleep for which the capitalists are responsible. As the capitalists of the Citizens' alliance are preparing to assist in the awakening process, there should be some lively times in the near future.

When the workers really desire free-methods necessary to achieve it, dom they will attempt to learn the

Wages measure the standard of living.

What Labor Can Do.

Labor sows, but others reap.

Labor creates capital, but has none.

Labor builds palaces, but lives in hovels.

Labor garners the grain, but eats the chaff.

Labor weaves fine vestments, but is clothed in rags.

Labor has the ballot, but doesn't know how to use it.

Labor manufactures pianos and plays the Jew's harp.

Labor builds palace trains and automobiles, but walks.

Labor elects representatives, but has no representation.

Labor manufactures guns and is shot-down with them.

Labor makes books and libraries, but reads penny newspapers.

Labor builds labor-saving machines, but labors harder than ever.

Labor builds schools and universities, but remains in ignorance.

Labor digs coal from the bowels of the earth, but shivers with the cold.

Labor makes furniture, but eats a cold meal out of the "full dinner pail."

Labor builds streets and public highways, but is not allowed free assemblage upon them.

Labor digs diamonds and precious metals from the earth, but wears brass beads and brass jewelry.

Assist the Tobacco Workers.

To Organized Labor and Its Friends—Greeting:

Fellow-Workers—We have now entered upon the eighth year of our contest with the American and Continental Tobacco trust, still fighting for our rights. This concern, like all trusts, having no use for unions, sought to wreck us, but with the assistance of Organized Labor, we have been able to main our organization against the trust. And with a still greater assistance from the consumer, we will be enabled to win our fight. It is to this end we appeal to you to accord to us your co-operation, by refusing to purchase any tobacco made by the Tobacco trust or non-union tobacco firms. On the accompanying cards are listed some of their principal brands of tobacco and cigarettes. Do not use any of them.

We have another important matter to which we desire to call your attention, and that is our Blue Label. We are endeavoring to create a demand for tobacco and cigarettes bearing our label, and the agitation we have kept up for it has been responded to by Organized Labor throughout the country very generally, which we assure you, is fully appreciated, and we believe you can and will further assist us in establishing our Blue Label in the market, and in impressing upon the minds of the users of tobacco and cigarettes to ask for and demand union-labeled tobacco. Insist upon your dealers getting it for you if they haven't it already in stock; or if you send a member of your family to buy tobacco, require them to ask the dealer for union-labeled tobacco, and to take no other. It is a well-known fact that dealers are always ready to cater to any demand their customers make upon them for any particular kind of goods. There is a large variety of union-labeled tobacco on the market now.

Thanking you in advance, in the full belief that you will give us the co-operation we ask of you, we are, yours fraternally,

HENRY FISCHER, Int. President.
TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION.

If the capitalists were compelled to buy workers (as they do horses) to take the place of those who are worn out by overwork or killed by carelessness, their regret at the loss of a good worker would be keen. But workers are plentiful and cheap, and the supply never runs out.

"An injury to one is the concern of all."

THE FOLK BOOM.

A Review of the Possible Outcome.

By ADOLF HEPNER.

Under ordinary circumstances it is only natural that a man, who, in the prime of his life, has the good fortune to achieve something, as Circuit Attorney Folk did, should make the best of it, and if an opportunity is offered him to rise on the social or political ladder.

But there are exceptions to the rule; for instance, if in the higher position to which he aspires his usefulness, compared with that in his former capacity, would become insignificant, or if by leaving his post a possible collapse of his work be imminent. In such a case a public servant should temporarily surrender all seeming claims for promotion.

Mr. Joseph W. Folk, elected as circuit attorney by the democratic vote, desires the nomination for governor by the Democratic Party, and his election by the people in general.

Socialists can not vote for any candidates of either of the old parties.

They acknowledge that Mr. Folk's educational work in civic reform, by his enforcement of the criminal law against boodles and perjury, has been a treat and a feast, for which every good citizen must feel indebted to him.

Were he not affiliated with one of the parties that are responsible for the corruption against which he has made a noble fight in the courts, Socialists could, without hesitation, declare:

"On the strength of his merits, ability, energy and his manifest talents, Mr. Folk is entitled to any office within the gift of the people, at least more so than nine-tenths of all the candidates in the field."

WHAT KIND OF A CANDIDATE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY NEEDS.

The way for Mr. Folk to the governorship of Missouri seems to be paved with thorns.

The nomination of a mugwump by the Democratic Party is rather improbable.

Aside from the intense enmity shown to Mr. Folk by the Hawes-Wells faction, the Democratic Party is in search for a candidate who will pledge himself for boodlers' pardon, in case the supreme court should fail to comply with the "machine's" expectation; namely, to reverse the sentences of the lower courts. (This article was written several days before the Butler case was reversed by the supreme court.—Editor.)

It is astonishing that Mr. Folk and his intimate friends ever entertained the idea that he would be a suitable candidate for the democratic "machine"

His election on that ticket would result in one suicide, at least. He would either become an excellent governor, and eliminate the bad influence of democratic politicians on the administration of state and city, or he would be a governor of the old traditional style. In the first case the party would, by his nomination, have committed suicide, while, in the second case, Mr. Folk would be the victim.

3.

CAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOMINATE OR INDORSE MR. FOLK?

Some are of the opinion that the Republican Party might nominate Mr. Folk if the democrats do not, and that in this case he would be elected by the support of the better element of his party.

True, many prominent republicans have been assuring Mr. Folk of their support. But their party can not afford to head its ticket with a man who professes allegiance to another party. It would hurt the republican prestige; it would amount to a confession that the Republican Party was lacking of a man of such popular strength and political importance as Mr. Folk.

While it may be true that the republicans have no one who could compare favorably with Mr. Folk, how can anybody expect a state committee to openly admit that?

A self-respecting party may indorse, from the opposite side, such a man, who is considered an honor to the whole community, for a second place, but not to "lead" its ticket.

4.

SLIM CHANCES FOR "INDEPENDENT RUN."

The chances of Mr. Folk running independently, or on "a so-called citizens' ticket," are very poor, as precedences in similar cases show.

There is no victory at the polls without a strong organization.

What may be feasible in a municipal campaign can hardly be done in a national one, where the regular "party organization" is the "centripetal" power.

It may be conceded that, in case of Mr. Folk's running independently, the Republican Party could indorse him.

And it might be argued that the republican votes would make up for such democratic votes as would go to the regular democratic ticket.

But as the "republican" machine has also been affected by Mr. Folk, insofar as some of its tools have been indicted or sentenced and some of them "clouded," the probability of a democratic-republican agreement as to a "Governor for Pardons" can not be left out of sight.

The democratic "machine" will most probably come to an understanding with the republican on the following

"Although most of the sentenced boodlers, etc., are democrats, your party is not quite without representation in Folk's indictments. We will put up a 'Governor for Pardons,' and so will you. Both candidates shall be pledged to pardon the politicians, irrespective of party allegiance."

5.

THE ONLY CONDITION UNDER WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC "MACHINE" WOULD NOMINATE MR. FOLK.

Should the supreme court find "flaws" enough in at least one of the more important cases, so as to be justified to reverse the sentence, the democratic "machine" might finally condescend to accept the Folk candidacy for the following reasons:

(1) The party could rely on the new governor's sense of justice and fairness, that would prompt him to pardon the rest of the lot, if the main culprit should have escaped through technicalities.

(2) There are many prominent and influential men, irrespective of party, in the community, who have been feeling very uneasy since Mr. Folk started his crusade against our anti-civic life.

Some of them went wrong in earlier years; though protected by the statute of limitation and the absence of any official records they dislike Mr. Folk's "hunting for bribers" etc., because it reminds them too strongly of their own past.

Others, though shielded by law, are afraid of publicity, possibly arising from their connection with people, who may still be liable to account for their actions.

There is a third class whose misdeeds do not come under criminal jurisdiction at all. Yet, their uncivic conduct, indecency and hypocrisy, compares strikingly with the manipulations of those who were indicted for undermining the law.

Then comes the fourth class, consisting of persons who never put their fingers into boodle pies, but have been investing money in corporations which used improper influences on the legislation or administration of the community. As they harvest the "profits"

therefrom they feel that they are not justified to denounce those who worked for it.

There is a fifth class, the so-called "good men," who have been socially intimate with bad men and fear that they would be in some way "stigmatized," if their "friends," might fall under Mr. Folk's grand jury inquisitions.

All these people, outside the "machine," feel highly comforted by Mr. Folk's candidacy—the most decent way to get rid of his circuit attorneyship and his investigations, the end of which nobody can foresee.

It is their desire that the democratic executive committee accept him, because, otherwise he might change his mind and run independently, for circuit attorney—with success!

Under condition of a "reversal" the democratic "machine" would, probably, appreciate these considerations and nominate Mr. Folk. He would be elected with an overwhelming majority composed of the unanimous democratic, and 50 per cent. of the republican votes.

People would vote for him in acknowledgment of his services rendered to the community—especially the anti-Socialist element of organized labor—and the other one—the "influential class"—with loud boast of "strife for purity."

And the foul democratic "machine" would then have all the glory of the election of a "reformer" as the state executive officer.

CONCLUSION.

In my opinion, Mr. Folk is a much bigger man as circuit attorney than he can ever be in the governor's chair.

As state executive he would have the power to "reform" the board of police by appointing democrats who neither control the "Jefferson Club" nor are controlled by it.

He can also use his moral influence on the legislature to reconstitute to the larger cities those political liberties, which they were deprived of in favor of the democratic "bossism," viz. municipal police administration and board of election.

There is no doubt that Mr. Folk, as a governor, would make strong efforts in this direction, but a "reform" governor attached to an old-style legislature, elected and controlled by party dictators, is a hopeless case.

There is no power invested in the governor to break the infamous criminal "machine"—but in the CIRCUIT ATTORNEY it is.

This is the main point to which the attention of public-spirited citizens must be called.

Mr. Folk has done much to break the criminal tendencies of those low creatures that poisoned the civic mind.

But the high mission which he assumed to suppress crime in politics he has not yet brought to a successful end. His work is fragmentary only, if abandoned now. He must continue it, for at least four years more, before he can retire with full satisfaction.

Mr. Folk should stay where he is, instead of deserting the post of his self-assumed, not only half-performed duty of breaking, smashing, annihilating the illegal and lawless power behind out municipal administration.

If he remains the most important factor of civic reform in the World's fair city, instead of becoming a "country man" at the state capital, he is not "sacrificing" anything by dropping the governor bee.

Compared with the authority, the power and influence for eradicating the municipal evils of a city of 700,000 inhabitants, the significances of the office of Missouri state executive amounts to very little.

The title of "Governor" makes no history, but Mr. Folk's continued career as circuit attorney can make "history of municipal reform."

The only proper thing for him to do might be this: He should announce his "independent candidacy for re-election as circuit attorney," and leave it to the people in general to attend to the rest.

A NEW BOOK BY ISADOR LADOFF.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, have just arranged for the publication of one of the most important contributions yet made to the literature of the American Socialist movement. It is a work by Isador Ladoff, a well-known Socialist writer, and the author of "The Passing of Capitalism," entitled "American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty." The opening portion of the work consists of the most exhaustive compilation of facts concerning social conditions in the United States that has ever been gathered together and presented from the Socialist point of view. The mass of statistics concerning the condition of the working class constitutes one of the most powerful indictments of capitalism ever penned. It will prove just the storehouse of facts that Socialist agitators, speakers, writers and workers generally have been needing for many years. These facts are then explained and interpreted in connection with an exposition of the Socialist philosophy, which makes the work as a whole a splendid piece of propaganda. The book will be published in cloth binding in the Standard Socialist Series, uniform with the eight numbers already issued, and will be sold at 50 cents. Copies can be ordered through this office.

THE WORK FOR LABOR.

How to Build Up Our Socialist Press.

What have you done since the last copy of LABOR reached you? Have you secured a new reader, or have you not tried? Failed to try because you thought it would be done by someone else? The men or women who labor at your side must be reached by you. No one else can do that so well as you. Don't wait till someone else takes up the subscribers in your pathway. Don't think it is someone else's special duty to get the people, whom you know, to subscribe. That is your business, and unless you attend to it, maybe no one else will. In this work rests the growth and permanency of our movement. Neglect this and you neglect the most vital work connected with the movement. Agitate and push the circulation of our local press and the growth of our organization will be apace and, above all things, permanent. Let us not be aimless, either, in this work for our press. Our aim is to increase the power and influence of our paper until we can wield them against the entire array of corrupt, commercialized, capitalist journals. This can and will be done. It will be done in due proportion as you bring in the readers. Get readers for your press—get them in sufficient numbers, and you will have created a weapon for the working class which it can pit successfully against the ghoulish daily press of to-day. That is the aim we should keep in mind. As the lines are drawn clearer between labor and capital, the wage earner sees the treachery and misrepresentation of his daily paper and realizes the need of an organ representing labor's interest. He and thousands of others need the weekly LABOR for its encouraging comments on the struggles of labor from week to week—he and hundreds of thousands will a short time hence need a daily LABOR, and will get it, just as we got our eight-page LABOR and now our 16-page LABOR, namely, by determined, persistent and steady efforts. By carrying our propaganda into the home, the shop and social gatherings, 16-page LABOR may now attract those with whom you failed before. Try again, and, always remember, it is you who gather in the new readers, who are doing the constructive work, building the foundation for a powerful press for our cause.

There is a class struggle.

The Cry of the Dreamer.

I am tired of planning and toiling
In the crowded hives of men;
Heart-weary of building and spoiling,
And spoiling and building again.
And I long for the dear old river,
Where I dreamed my youth away;
For a dreamer lives forever,
And a toiler dies in a day.

I am sick of the showy seeming
Of a life that is half a lie;
Of the faces lined with scheming
In the throng that hurries by.
From the sleepless thoughts' endeavor
I would go where the children play;
For a dreamer lives forever,
And a toiler dies in a day.

I can feel no pride, but pity
For the burdens the rich endure,
There is nothing sweet in the city
But the patient lives of the poor.
Oh, the little hands too skillful,
And the child mind choked with weeds!

The daughter's heart grown willful,
And the father's heart that bleeds!

No, no! from the streets rude bustle,
From trophies of mart and stage,
I would fly to the woods' low rustle
And the meadow's kindly page.
Let me dream as of old by the river,
And be loved for the dream away;
For a dreamer lives forever,
And a toiler dies in a day!

—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

A Letter From Comrade Clark.

A Letter from CLARK

Omaha, Neb., Dec. 10, 1903.

W. T. Mills, Box 405, Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Comrade—In an eight-page leaflet, addressed to the "Dear Comrades in the State of Kansas," you make the following statement about me which I feel it my duty to correct:

"When the Appeal to Reason, with the co-operation of W. E. Clark, now in the national secretary's office, and many others, attempted to organize in Kansas and elsewhere, a secret society in the interest of the Socialist movement, I actively opposed the proposal, and finally succeeded in securing its abandonment, as is known by those who were in the movement, although at that time living in Girard, and on the best of terms with the Appeal. * * * After I had secured the abandonment of the Girard proposal at its headquarters, W. E. Clark, now in the national office, continued to maintain his branch of the secret organization in Kansas City for some time, in direct opposition to the known wishes of the Kansas City local."

That is what you say. THE FACTS THE THESE:

"I never had anything to do with the organization of any movement in the state of Kansas. I was never a member of any organization in Kansas except of Typographical union. I never knew anything about the secret organization, referred to by you, until I was informed from the Appeal office that you were one of the executive officers.

"I did help organize the Appeal to Reason club, of Kansas City, Mo., whose only purpose was to distribute the Appeal to Reason and other Socialist literature. It was organized, or rather six of us agreed to contribute a regular sum for sending the Appeal to addresses, and I was chosen secretary, on the 14th July, 1901, with the knowledge of Comrade George H. Turner, member of the local, and national committeeman for Missouri. We never had any public meetings, and never attempted to do anything but distribute literature.

"I never had anything to do with the secret society, known as the 'I. A. V.', in any other place except Kansas City. And the plan had been dropped at Girard before we decided to call our club by that name, which, by the way, was never put into effect. I was at Girard the 1st of September, I think it was, and talked with the secretary

about becoming an organizer, but did not accept the proposition. A meeting was held that night, at which you were expected to be present. Your name was mentioned as a member of the executive committee. The secretary mentioned a letter that condemned the society, and I insisted on its being read and considered, saying that if the party were opposed to the organization it ought to be abandoned.

"Returning to Kansas City that same night, I went on distributing the Appeal, and working with the local whenever I could. (No less than ten active members of the Kansas City local made frequent contributions to the 'Appeal to Reason club.') I was appointed on various committees of the local during the time of my connection with the club; and at the very next election I was the nominee of the local for mayor, being nominated the 21st of January, 1902.

"I have other evidence to prove that I was not in opposition to the 'known wishes of the Kansas City local.' I met Comrade Turner a day or two after we had changed the name of the club to 'I. A. V...' and when he told me that the party was opposed to it, I told him that we would have nothing more to do with the name, but would go on distributing literature as we had been. That was in the early part of October, and about the time I was notified that the 'I. A. V.' had been dropped.

"So please note that our club in Kansas City was never an organic part of the secret society, of which you were reported to be an executive officer; and that, therefore, I could not have maintained a branch in opposition to the known wishes of Local Kansas City, for the reason that it was not a branch.

"So much for the 'secret society.' "But, with my present understanding of Socialism, knowing that the party organization is of far more importance than indiscriminate distribution of literature, I would not think ill of the comrades nor accuse them of trying to deprive me of my liberty if they had opposed me then. The organization of the Socialist Party is of greater value to the Socialist movement than any man in it. It is dangerous to obstruct its progress. Those daring to try have been crushed by its relentless force.

"Next, let me consider why you falsely accuse me to the comrades of Kansas and elsewhere.

"You have re-iterated the fact of my presence in the 'national secretary's office' and in the 'national office.'

"How did I happen to be in the 'national secretary's office?'"

"Why, and by whom, was I sent to the 'national office?'"

"I went to St. Louis to attend the last annual meeting of the national committee, a friend and admirer of you. Knowing you had grievous faults, I overlooked them for what I thought to be the good of the movement.

"With others, you made me believe the 'eastern comrades' were trying to do something dastardly to the party. Laboring under that impression, I eagerly accepted a temporary position in the national office to assist in moving the office fixtures from St. Louis to Omaha, and to 'use the wire, if necessary,' to inform national committeeman and quorum member, Turner, in the event of any attempt on Maily's part to thwart the will of the national committee.

"I came to Omaha a firm believer in this: PUBLICITY IS THE BREATH OF SOCIALISM, and I promised Comrade Turner that I would see to it that absolutely nothing was done that did not get to the national committee.

"When National Secretary Maily came, he at once took steps to keep the entire party membership informed by sending all reports to the national committee, state secretaries, locals in un-organized states and the Socialist press.

"That I notified Comrade Turner that Comrade Maily would not at-

tempt to do anything without the knowledge of the entire national committee.

"After that, I had nothing more to report, and the national secretary kept me in the office because of my ability to do the work he had for me to do. And because I had nothing to report, I suppose you have concluded that I too had joined hands with the 'eastern comrades' to get control of the party.

"Right here, I want to say that the only national committeemen who have written threatening letters to the national secretary, or who have in any way attempted to interfere with the regular work of the office, or TO DICTATE THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE, HAVE BEEN MEN IN SYMPATHY WITH YOU. The other comrades have gone on with their own work, recognizing the fact that NOT THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, but the membership, is the party.

"In view of this, and other facts, of which I have not written, I am convinced that you had only one object in trying to bring discredit on me, and that was to bring discredit on the 'national secretary's office,' and on the 'national office.'

"I have no personal fight against you. With me the party is everything. With you, judging from the way you have ignored the national office, as soon as you found out that you could not dominate it, I am convinced that you would attempt to ruin the character of anyone in the party, if by doing so you thought you could elevate yourself.

"Yet, as strongly as I believe this to be true of you, I would not even mention it now, were it not for the fact that my silence might cause some to think that you had told the truth about me, and because of the injury that your falsehoods might do to the national office.

"I say to the comrades in Kansas, and everywhere in the party, do not hitch your wagon to a 'star.' No matter how beautifully a self-chosen leader talks, nor how saintly he looks. Every member of the party has an equal right with every other. If any man wants to serve the party, let him first recognize the fact that he is not greater than the party. If you do not demand your rights, as members, and compel every official and speaker to abide by the will of the party, the capitalist class will, if necessary, turn all sorts of speakers into the field during the next campaign and simply wreck the movement. All I want is this, that the party membership shall control the party, and as long as I am in the movement, I shall insist on all the membership being kept informed about everything that is going on within the movement.

"In closing, I wish to say that whenever I have anything for publication that contains anything against you, I shall not be so indecent and unfair as to follow your example by not sending you a copy.

"Copies of this have been sent to the Socialist press. Fraternal yours, "W. E. CLARK."

The value of the libraries donated by Carnegie was confiscated from the products of labor.

To avoid being misled, think for yourself.

Government by injunction is one of the most insidious, harassing and dangerous methods resorted to by the enemies of the working men to destroy labor organizations and to circumvent the constitutional right of trial by jury. The whole system of government by injunction grows from the distrust of the ultra-capitalists for democratic institutions. The reasons given for the issuing of injunctions are always misleading and generally false. So far as the injunctions are issued in labor cases they are never issued except in such cases as call for the exercise of criminal law. Government by injunction is not only hostile to Organized Labor, but it is hostile to constitutional liberty. If the American people do not check this arbitrary power it will result in the annihilation of labor unions and the of all other forms of associations disliked by capitalists.—The Union Label, Boston, Mass.

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NOTICE TO TAX-PAYERS

Tax bills for 1903 will have to be paid on or before the 31st inst. The heavy penalties provided by law on delinquent taxes will be enforced after January 1st, 1904.

Payment now will save time and inconvenience to tax-payers.

L. F. HAMMER, JR., St. Louis, December 17th, 1903. Collector of the Revenue.

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 XII.

HOW MY UNCLE HUNG M. SUSURRANS TO A HOOK IN HIS KITCHEN.

See how marvelously fertile are the flowers: they scatter their seeds about them like rain; they abandon them to the winds like dust; they send them without stint, like those alms that mount to dark garrets, to the peaks of desolate rocks, among the old stones of cracked walls, amid ruins that fall and hang, and they will find a handful of earth to fertilize them, a drop of rain for their roots to suck, and, after a ray of light to make them grow, another ray to paint them. The departing breezes of the spring carry away the last perfumes of the meadows, and the earth is strewn with fading leaves; but when the autumn breezes shall pass, shaking their moist wings over the fields, another generation of flowers will have invested the earth with a new robe, and their feeble perfume will be the last breath of the dying year, which in dying smiles on us still.

In all other respects, women are like flowers; but in the matter of fecundity they bear no resemblance to them. Most women, ladies especially—and I pray you, proletaires my friends and brothers, to believe that I use this expression only to conform to custom, for to me the truest lady is the woman who is most amiable and the prettiest—ladies, I say, produce no longer; they become mothers of families as seldom as possible; they are barren for economy's sake. When the clerk's wife has had her little clerk and the notary's wife her little notary, they believe that they have fulfilled their obligation to the human race, and they abdicate. Napoleon, who was very fond of recruits for his armies, said that the woman whom he liked best was the woman who had the most children. Napoleon could very easily say this, having kingdom instead of domains to give to his sons. The fact is that children are very expensive, and that this expense is not within the reach of everybody; the poor man alone can permit himself the luxury of a numerous family. Are you aware that the months required for the nursing of a child alone cost almost as much as a cashmere dress? Besides, the baby grows fast; then come the swollen accounts of the boarding-school proprietor and the bills of the shoemaker and the tailor; the infant of to-day to-morrow will be a man, his mustache begins to grow, and there he is a bachelor of letters. Then you know not what to do with him. To get rid of him you buy him a fine profession; but you are not slow in perceiving, from the drafts made on you from the four corners of the city, that this profession brings your professor nothing but invitations and visiting cards: you must keep him, till past the age of 30, in kid gloves, Havana cigars, and mistresses. You will admit that that is very disagreeable. If there were a hospital for young people 20 years old, as there is or used to be for infants, I assure you that it would be crowded.

But in the century when my Uncle Benjamin lived, things went differently: that was the golden age of nurses and midwives. Women abandoned themselves to their instincts without concern and without forethought; they all had children, rich and poor alike, and even those who had no right to have them. But in those days they

knew what to do with these children; competition, that ogress with the steel fangs which devours so many little people, had not yet arrived. There was a place for everybody in the beautiful sunshine of France, and in every profession there was plenty of elbow room. Places offered themselves, like fruit hanging from the branch, to men capable of filling them, and the fools themselves found situations, each according to the speciality of his foolishness; glory was as easily achieved, as accommodating a girl, as fortune; it did not take half the wit that is required now to be a man of letters, and with a dozen Alexandrines one was a poet. I do not say that I regret the loss of that blind fertility of the olden time, which produced like a machine without knowing what it did: I find that I have quite neighbors enough as it is; I simply wish to make you understand how it was that at the period of which I speak my grandmother, although she was not yet 30 years old, was already at her seventh child.

So my grandmother was at her seventh child. My uncle absolutely insisted that his dear sister should be present at his wedding, and he had made M. Minxit consent to postpone the marriage until after my grandmother's churching. The wardrobe of the new comer was all white and embroidered, and his entrance upon existence was expected daily. The six other children were all living, and delighted at being in the world. Sometimes they lacked one pair of shoes, another a cap; now this one was out at the elbows, and now that one was out at the heels; but they had their white starched shirts, and on the whole got along marvelously and flourish in their rags.

My father, however, who was the eldest, was the best and most handsomely dressed of the six: that perhaps was due to the fact that his Uncle Benjamin handed over to him his old knee-breeches, in which scarcely any change had to be made in order that Gaspard might wear them as pantaloons, and often no change at all. By the protection of Cousin Guillaumot, who was sexton, he had been promoted to the dignity of choir boy, and, I say it with pride, he was one of the best choir boys in the diocese. If he had persisted in the career that Cousin Guillaumot had opened for him, instead of the handsome captain of a fire company that he is to-day, he would have made a magnificent priest. It is true that I should still be sleeping in the void, as says the good M. de Lamartine, who sleeps himself sometimes; but sleep is an excellent thing, and besides, to live to be the editor of a country newspaper and the rival of the department of public wit—is that really worth living for?

However that may be, my father owed to his Levitical functions the advantage of having a superb sky-blue coat. This is how that good fortune came to him: the banner of Saint Martin, patron saint of Clamecy, had been dismissed; my grandmother, with that eagle eye of hers, had discovered in this holy stuff the wherewithal to make her eldest son a jacket and a pair of pantaloons, and she had succeeded in securing the cast-off banner from the vestryman at a ridiculous price. The saint was painted in the very middle; the artist had represented him in the act of cutting off a piece of his cloak with his saber to cover the nakedness of a beggar; but

this was not a serious obstacle to my grandmother's plan. She simply turned the material, so that Saint Martin came on the inside, which for that matter was quite immaterial to the saint.

The coat had been finished by a seamstress in the Rue des Moulins: it would have fitted my Uncle Benjamin perhaps quite as well as my father; but my grandmother had had it made in such a way that, after having been worn out the first time by the eldest son, it could be worn out a second time by the second son. At first my father strutted about in his sky-blue coat; I even believe that he contributed out of his salary to pay for the making. But he was not slow in finding out that a magnificent garment is often like hair-cloth. Benjamin, to whom nothing was sacred, had nicknamed him the patron saint of Clamecy. This nickname the children had picked up, and it had cost my father many blows. More than once did it happen to him to come home with a piece of the sky-blue coat in his pocket. Saint Martin had become his personal enemy. Often you could have seen him at the foot of the altar plunged in gloomy meditation. Now, of what was he dreaming? Of some way of getting rid of his coat; and one day, to the Dominus vobiscum of the officiating clergyman, he responded, thinking that he was talking to his mother: "I tell you that I will never wear your sky-blue coat again."

My father was in this state of mind when, on the Sunday after high mass, my uncle, having to pay a visit to Val-des-Rosiers, proposed to him to accompany him. Gaspard, who preferred playing quoits in the street to serving as an aid to my uncle, answered that he could not, because he had a baptism to attend.

"That doesn't hinder," said Benjamin, "another will serve in your place."

"Yes, but I must go to catechism at one o'clock."

"I thought that you had made your first communion."

"It is true that I came very near making it, but you prevented me by forcing me to get drunk the night before the ceremony."

"And why did you get drunk?"

"Because you were drunk yourself, and threatened to beat me with the flat of your sword if I did not get drunk too."

"I was wrong," said Benjamin, "but all the same you risk nothing by coming with me; we shall not be long; we shall return before the catechism hour."

"Indeed!" answered Gaspard, "where another would take only an hour, you need half a day. You stop at all the taverns; and the priest has forbidden me to go with you because you set me bad examples."

"Well, pious Gaspard, if you refuse to come with me, I will not invite you to my wedding; if, on the contrary, you grant me this favor, I will give you 12 sous."

"Give them to me now," said Gaspard.

"And why do you wish them now, you scamp? Do you distrust my word?"

"No, but I am not anxious to be your creditor. I have heard it said in the village that you pay nobody, and that they do not wish to seize your effects because your possessions are not worth 30 sous."

"Well said, Gaspard!" said my uncle; "here, there are 15 sous, and go tell my dear sister that you are going with me."

My grandmother went clear to the threshold to advise Gaspard to be very careful of his coat, for, she said, he must keep it for my uncle's wedding.

"Are you joking?" said Benjamin; "is there any need of recommending a French choir boy to be careful of the banner of his patron saint?"

"Uncle," said Gaspard, "before we start I warn you of one thing—that, if you call me again banner-bearer, blue bird, or patron saint of Clamecy,

I will run away with your 15 sous, and come back to play quoits."

On entering the village my uncle met M. Susurrans, the grocer, very short and very thin, but made, like gun-powder, out of charcoal and saltpetre. M. Susurrans had a sort of small farm at Val-des-Rosiers; he was on his way back to Clamecy, carrying under his arm a keg that he hoped to smuggle in, and at the end of his cane a pair of capons which Madame Susurrans was waiting for to put on the spit. M. Susurrans knew my uncle and esteemed him, for Benjamin bought of him the sugar with which he sweetened his drugs and the powder that he put on his cue. So M. Susurrans proposed to him to come to the farm to refresh himself. My uncle, to whom thirst was a normal condition, accepted without ceremony. The grocer and his customer established themselves at the corner of the fire, each on a stool; they placed the keg between them; but they did not allow its contents to turn sour, and when it was not in the hands of one, it was at the lips of the other.

"Appetite comes by drinking as well as by eating; suppose we eat the chickens," said M. Susurrans.

"In fact," answered my uncle, "that will save you the trouble of carrying them home, and I do not understand how you undertook to load yourself down with such a burden."

"And with what sauce shall we eat them?"

"With that which is quickest made," said Benjamin, "and here is an excellent fire with which to roast them."

"Yes," said M. Susurrans, "but there are no cooking utensils here save those that are necessary to make an onion soup; we have no spit."

Benjamin, like all great men, was never taken unawares.

"It shall not be said," he answered, "that two men of wit like ourselves were unable to eat a roasted fowl for want of a spit. If you say so, we will spit our chickens on the blade of my sword, and Gaspard here will turn them before the fire."

You would never have thought of this expedient, friendly reader, but my uncle had imagination enough for ten novelists of our day.

Gaspard, who did not often have a chance to eat chicken, went joyfully to work, and in an hour's time the fowls were roasted to a turn. They turned a washtub upside down, and dragged it up to the fire; on this they placed the plates, knives and forks, and thus, without leaving their seats, the guests were at table. Glasses were lacking; but the keg was not long left still; the drunk out of the bunghole, as in the days of Homer; it was not very convenient, but such was the stoic character of my uncle that he would rather drink good wine thus than sour wine out of crystal glasses. In spite of the difficulties of all sorts which the operation involved, the chickens were soon dispatched. For some time the unfortunate birds had been nothing more than stripped carcasses, and still the two friends kept on drinking. M. Susurrans, who was, as we have said, a very small man, whose stomach and brain almost touched each other, was as drunk as well as could be; but Benjamin, the great Benjamin, had preserved the major part of his reason, and looked with pity on his weaker adversary; as for Gaspard, to whom they had occasionally passed the keg, he went a little beyond the limits of temperance; filial respect does not allow me to use any other expression.

Such was the moral situation of the guests when they left the washtub. It was then four o'clock, and they began to get ready to start. M. Susurrans, who remembered very well that he was to carry some chickens to his wife, looked about for them to place them on the end of his cane; he asked my uncle if he had not seen them.

"Your chickens," said Benjamin; "are you joking? You have just eaten them."

"Yes, you old fool," added Gaspard,

"you have eaten them; they were spit-
ted on my uncle's sword, and I turned
the spit."

"It is not true," cried M. Sussurrans,
"for, if I had eaten my chickens, I
should not be hungry, and I have ap-
petite enough to devour a wolf."

"I do not deny it," responded my
uncle, "but it is none the less true
that you have eaten your chickens.
See, if you doubt it, there are the two
carcasses; you can hang them to the
end of your cane if you like."

"You are lying, Benjamin; I do not
recognize those as the carcasses of
my chickens; you have taken them
from me, and you shall return them
to me."

"Very well," said my uncle, "send
to my house for them to-morrow, and
I will return them to you."

"You shall return them to me direct-
ly," said M. Sussurrans, rising on tip-
toe to grasp my uncle by the throat.

"Ah, there! Papa Sussurrans!" said
Benjamin; "if you are joking, I warn
you that this is carrying the joke too

far, and" * * *

"No, you miserable fellow, I am not
joking," said M. Sussurrans, placing
himself in front of the door, "and you
shall not leave here, neither you nor
your nephew, until you have restored
my chickens."

"Uncle," said Gaspard, "would you
like me to trip up this old imbecile?"

"It is useless, Gaspard, useless, my
friend," said Benjamin; "besides, you
are a churchman, and it does not be-
come you to intervene in a quarrel.
Say there!" he added, "once, twice,
M. Sussurrans, will you let us go out?"
"When you have restored my chick-
ens," answered M. Sussurrans, making
a half turn to the left and presenting
the end of his cane at my uncle as
if it had been a bayonet.

Benjamin lowered the cane with his
hand, and, taking the little man by
the middle of his body, he hung him
by the waistband to a piece of iron
over the door which was used to hang
kitchen utensils upon.

(To be Continued.)

THE TURNER CASE.

FROM THE WORKER.

The mass meeting held in Cooper
Union last week to protest against the
deportation of John Turner "for dis-
believing in government" was either
very inspiring or very discouraging,
according as one considers the attitude
of the audience or that of the speakers.
The eminent gentlemen who spoke—
John S. Crosby, John DeWitt Warner,
Henry Frank, Congressman Baker,
and Ernest Crosby—as well as those
who sent letters—notably Edward S.
Shepard—were far too fearful of being
considered extremists for their words
to have much effect. Not content with
merely stating their dissent from An-
archist ideas, they argued, almost
without exception, that the law was a
product of excitement rather than of
deliberate intent and made their main
plea on the harmless character of Mr.
Turner's special sort of Anarchism,
not on the reactionary character of the
law itself. A protest that is one-third
apology and another third qualifica-
tion is not likely to frighten the cap-
italist statesmen of the Roosevelt type
very much. What saved the meeting
from being a fiasco, so far as moral
effect is concerned, was the revolu-
tionary attitude of the audience, which
applauded most vigorously the most
radical passages in the various ad-
dresses and evidently wished for more
that it might applaud.

It is going entirely too far to say
that the expulsion of Turner is the
greatest outrage that has ever been
perpetrated under the American flag.
Not to go back to other instances, the
action that is now being taken by the
state authorities of Colorado against
the striking miners, and that with the
evident approval of the Administra-
tion at Washington, outdoes the in-
famy of the Turner persecution a thou-
sand times.

Yet the fact remains that the law
under which it is proposed to deport
Turner and the proceedings that have
been had against him are in flagrant
violation of all constitutional guaran-
ties and traditions of civil liberty and
strike at the very basis of progress
and public order.

In the first place, the law provides
that an alien may be expelled for the
holding of certain opinions, utterly re-
gardless of his acts.

In the second place, it is retroactive
in its workings, providing that a man
may be ordered expelled for the hold-
ing of such opinions even though he
has lived up to three years in this
country and formed material and so-
cial ties here the breaking of which
may involve great suffering to him.

In the third place, the enforcement
of this inquisitorial and retroactive
law is put in the hands of the execu-
tive; it is to be carried out by ad-
ministrative process, just as political
prisoners are dealt with in Russia; the
victim is deprived of the protection of
ordinary trial by a jury or even by a
judge.

One of the speakers at Cooper Union
had the frankness to say that he did
not consider this law the product of a
moment of excitement, that he did con-
sider it as "part of a well considered
policy of the men who control the
great monopolies of the country to
undermine civil and political liberties
in the interest of their own privileges."
Whether Mr. Baker or anyone of his
party will act consistently on this
ground, we have our doubts. But that
the ground is well taken we are very
sure, and that, if the government suc-
ceeds in carrying out this reactionary
plan in dealing with aliens holding
opinions distasteful to the ruling class,
it will soon proceed to apply still more
drastic measures to all, whether aliens
or citizens, who dare to question the
sacred rights of profit.

Haverhill Gazette.

In connection with the labor union
warfare which figured prominently in
the defeat of Representative Carey, it
became known that the visit of Ed-
ward L. Daily of Lynn to this city
played an important part. He came to
this city on a secret visit and inter-
viewed many labor leaders.

It was understood at the time that
Mr. Dailey was in this city that he
came here at the request of President
Gompers of the A. F. of L., who want-
ed Representative Carey defeated, as
with the probability of the renewal of
the fight over the recognition of So-
cialism at the national convention of
that organization in Boston next week,
President Gompers wished to see Carey
shorn of his political honors rather
than that he should attend the con-
vention as a delegate with continued
success in the political world.

Volumes of laws have been enacted
to protect property rights, but very few
to protect the natural rights of man,
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workers to divide up with drones.

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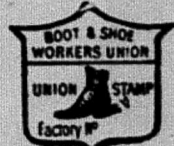
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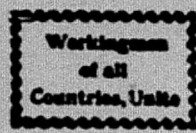


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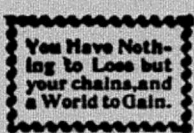
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THE WAGE SYSTEM IS DOOMED.

Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, delivered a lecture on "The Wage Question" before the Philadelphia Society of Ethical Culture, in which he favored a plan to insure labor against incapacity resulting from accident, illness and advancing age. Continuing, Col. Wright said:

"Capital charges to the consumer the depreciation of property and machinery. Why should not the depreciation of labor's machinery, its hands, its brains, its body, be included in the final cost?"

"We see in every progressive community that the demand of the workingman is no longer for a wage sufficient to enable him to keep body and soul together.

"Labor has been taught to feel that it is a social as well as an economic power in the community, and this educating process has gone on until the demand of labor is for a reasonable margin beyond that fixed by the iron law of wages.

"The wage system will pass away. It is, as has been shown, unsatisfactory in many of its applications. It depends too largely for its equities upon the generosity and great-mindedness of employers.

"That there are such who would scorn to influence votes or actions of their employes, and who would be incapable of taking petty or great advantage of their workmen, is happily true. That there are others, however, who make use of these opportunities proves the weakness of the system and argues for a greater measure of independence for those who labor.

"The system that will take the place of that under which mere wages are paid probably will be composed of the profit-sharing and co-operative plans. The work people will then acquire the interest of investors, the more capable will rise to their opportunities and the less worthy will find their level."

It is significant that Mr. Wright made his remarks against the capitalist system at the very time when Mark Hanna's national republican committee had a committee appointed to investigate Socialism and its possible influence on the next national campaign.

THE SHOE WORKERS AND THE C. T. & L. U.

It is to be regretted that the shoe workers acted in the way they did towards the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. We claim that several hundred union men have no right to place their special interests above the general interests of the entire local labor movement. In the fight between the local shoe workers and their international executive board mistakes were made on both sides, and it is childish to even attempt denying it. Because several local unions are engaged in some trouble with their national organization, they disregard the general interest of the local movement, forget the liberal support and assistance given them by the local central body, and in all secrecy invite a rival body to the A. F. of L. to come into St. Louis, take a few hundreds of shoe workers under its wings and thereby cause serious trouble for the entire local labor movement. The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union has been known for years as one of the most progressive local central bodies in the country. We consider it a crime on the St. Louis trades union movement for a would-be Socialist organization like the American Labor Union to sneakily organize a rival movement in our midst.

In the name of Trade Unionism we protest against such action! In the name of Socialism we condemn the union-destroying propaganda which is carried on under a so-called Socialist management in Butte, Mont. We have been fighting for the St. Louis shoe workers in the central body; we fought for them on the floor of the Boston convention of the A. F. of L., but we can not and will not indorse their

action in disregarding the interest and sacrificing the unity of the St. Louis trades union movement in order to "get even" with a few bureaucrats in their national headquarters in Boston.

ASSIST THE WESTERN MINERS.

A valiant worker who has to serve six years in the Deer Lodge prison, Montana, a victim of the injustices and wrongs of this system himself forwarded to the strike committee of the Western Federation of Miners \$5, with a letter accompanying the donation, from which we quote these extracts:

"I see by my paper that there is a struggle going on, and that assistance is needed. Winter is already here, in Montana, and I suppose the blasts of winter will soon be felt in Colorado. I have read of the record that the governor has made for himself. I have read the account of the abuses that have been doled out by the tyrants to my struggling brothers. Where is our boasted freedom, where is the constitution and where is free speech? In inclose \$5 to assist a little in the struggle. I wish I could do more, but I have not earned a dollar for six years. It may be the means of putting a little bread into the mouth of some poor child, or cause some good woman to smile, or some struggling brother to feel glad, and if so, I shall be well repaid. I wish my brothers success, and I hope that they will come out of the struggle victorious."

The Miners' Magazine makes the following comments: "The above letter breathes a spirit of loyalty to the principles of unionism that will challenge the admiration of every man whose heart beats in sympathy for the great mass whose brows wear the capitalistic 'crown of thorns.' Six years within the walls of a prison has failed to cool the ardor of this man for the economic freedom of his fellow-man. Deprived of liberty himself, he forgets the burden that he bears, and his heart goes out to the brothers who are fighting a battle against greed and oppression. The Deer Lodge prison holds within its confines a hero with a noble soul."

And should Organized Labor stand idly by when toilers, who are put behind prison walls, not for being wrong-doers by their own volition, but mostly by force of circumstances, are nobly hurrying to the aid of their struggling brothers? This man does not ask the question: "Are these struggling, oppressed comrades members of my own 'family,' as do those who would like to see the Western Federation of Miners defeated in their great and noble efforts. No; he gives unsolicited! Should not every worker in this land endeavor to emulate this man with the noble soul?"

Comrades, answer at once by assisting the Western Federation of miners.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIALISM.

The fight against Socialism is on. It is still on, although the capitalist press all over the country announced some weeks ago that Sam Gompers had killed Socialism, and that the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. had buried it forever. The ruling powers all over the country seem to be interested in the warfare against Socialism. Read the following little telegram:

"Topeka, Kas., Dec. 12.—The faculty of Washburn college today ordered that the Socialist club of the college discontinue its meetings.

"It is said to be the result of letters being received from eastern financial supporters of the college, saying they would withdraw aid unless the club was suppressed.

"The organization was formed by some admirers of Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, and was conducted according to his ideas.

"Some of the leading students of the college were members."

Eastern financial supporters will withdraw their support if Socialism and the Socialist college club were not suppressed. Three cheers for Socialism and the Washburn College Socialist club!

SOCIALISM IN THE REICHSTAG.

The Socialist Party of German showed a solid front to the government during last week's debates in the Reichstag. Comrade Bebel's speech made a great impression, and even the Associated Press was "morally bound" to wire about a column of the exciting debate to this side of the Atlantic. Never before in the history of Germany has a representative of the people in parliament made such a fierce, impressive and yet justified attack on a foreign government as Bebel did. He denounced the German government for its friendly relations with the most brutish government in Europe; he spoke of the Kishineff massacre, of the work of Russian police agents in Berlin, and promised that the Socialists would soon publish certain facts concerning the conditions in Russia that would be almost incredible.

We publish the Berlin cablegrams in another column of this paper, and request our friends to read reports on these parliamentary debates most carefully.

EVERY WORKING WOMAN SHOULD READ LABOR.

THE FOLK BOOM.

In another column of this week's issue of "Labor" we publish an article on "The Folk Boom," by Adolf Hepner. We wish to state that the editor does not feel justified to indorse or sanction Mr. Hepner's arguments. To go into lengthy speculations as to what Mr. Folk might or might not do, or what he should or should not do.

If Mr. Folk's political ambitions dictate to him to aspire for gubernatorial honors—that is his business.

If Mr. Folk's political ambitions induce him to ask the rotten democratic machine for the gubernatorial nominations and to graciously accept the hypocritical praises and laudations from the organs of the rotten republican press—that is his business.

If Mr. Folk is anxious to abandon his inquisitorial work against the boodlers by attempting to climb into the gubernatorial chair—that is his business.

At any rate, the Socialists can afford to wait a little while longer, i. e., until the democratic-republican boodlers will have concocted their schemes, and Mr. Folk himself may or may not know where he is at. Within another six months we may know a little more about the Folk boom and the old parties' boodle politics. For the present let us not waste too much time about it.

KEEP THE POT BOILING!

Poverty and misery in the midst of plenty. Visit the business parts of St. Louis, and on every street corner you will find a Salvation Army representative striking a stick against an iron pot (which is used for the collection of funds for the poverty-stricken), with a sign over it containing the inscription: "Keep the Pot Boiling!"

Indeed, keep it boiling—the pot of poverty. And capitalism will keep it boiling, to be sure.

In New York the Salvation Army will serve a Christmas dinner to 250,000 paupers. One hundred and eighty tables will be spread at the Grand Central Palace.

Two hundred and fifty thousand poverty-stricken human beings! Our capitalist society, with its unlimited wealth, makes it necessary to publicly feed 250,000 paupers on Christmas day. If Christ came to New York what would he say? He would curse the capitalist system and become the foremost worker for Socialism.

No doubt, the "upper 400" will take it for granted that we are living in a land of prosperity, where true Christian love and brotherhood are practiced. They fail to realize that it is a social crime to have 250,000 paupers within the walls of the wealthiest city on the western hemisphere!

Let us hasten the day when such crimes of poverty will no longer be known and when Salvation Army Christmas dinners will no longer be necessary.

Two hundred and fifty thousand poverty-stricken human beings for public exhibition on Christmas day! Shame upon our modern civilization! Shame upon our enlightened Christian era of the twentieth century!

SOME SOCIAL PICTURES.

Picture No. 1.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 15.—The widespread indignation, fear and discontent at the unrestrained spread of crime in this city voiced itself to-day in a mass meeting which filled Willard hall to overflowing, and which was attended by the leading business and professional men of Chicago.

Mayor Harrison did not attend; neither did Chief of Police O'Neill. The former sent a letter; the latter had intended to go and speak, but he changed his mind. He wrote out his speech and sent it to the meeting. George E. Cole and William Kent, both connected with civic societies, made vigorous speeches, in which they denounced the inadequacy of the police force and the attitude of the administration toward lawbreakers. Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch evoked great cheering by his address, and the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, The crime situation in Chicago is intolerable and unnecessary; and

"Whereas, Such a situation is primarily due to the inability of the police force to enforce law and order; and,

"Whereas, Nothing but a long, detailed and careful investigation of the police and police court systems can locate the source of trouble and show steps necessary to change existing conditions; and

"Whereas, The Citizens' association has already undertaken the task and has laid a foundation for effective work; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting select a representative from each of the organizations which have volunteered to assist in this work, and such other citizens as in his opinion may give strength to this movement; and that this committee thus appointed shall co-operate with the Citizens' association in raising money, procuring data and in such other work as may be found necessary; and, be it further

"Resolved, That this committee shall report back to this meeting when called by the chairman."

All civic bodies will co-operate in the movement, and a fund of \$100,000 will be raised to make the crusade.

Picture No. 2.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 15.—Twentieth century Chicago pushed back the dial on the clock a century and a quarter to-night and appeared in all of the extravagant splendor of the period of Louis XV. and the court of Versailles. Fair women appeared in high head dress and gowns showing deep-pointed, absolutely straight-front bodice, the full skirts, the narrow chest and a polonaise or pannieres, while the men were brilliant in satins, laces and jewels, the costumes including the knee breeches, silk stockings, wide skirted coats in pastel tints of satin brocade. Both men and women were ornamented with white puffed and curled wig, bepowdered, or had their own hair powdered and glistening with white.

It was the much-heralded bal poudre for the benefit of St. Luke's hospital, and when the last dance had been ended it was pronounced the greatest social event in the history of Chicago. The local "400" has arranged many charity balls in the past, but none has been so dazzling as the function of to-night. In many instances the costumes of the women were copied from rare paintings of Marie Antoinette and the notables of that day, and when these fair women appeared on the floor of the Auditorium ballroom for the court quadrille, the hundreds of people in the boxes and balconies looked upon a scene that will probably never be eclipsed in the history of the city.

History repeats itself. The above two social pictures resemble the conditions prevailing in the days prior to the storming of the Paris bastille.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

On January 1, the 170,000 employes of the United States Steel Corporation will have their wages cut from five to 20 per cent.

Every time you hear a man declaring that Socialists or anyone else elected to office will be as crooked as the old parties, it is an evidence that such a person has lost faith in human honesty under the present system!

The blunder of the International Typographical union in getting drawn into a scheme at Los Angeles to turn the working class over to Millionaire Hearst as a result of the fight on the Los Angeles Times, is raising a hubbub all over the country in union circles, and resolutions denouncing the scandal are being passed. Hearst is building up a newspaper monopoly that will give him power enough in the influencing of public opinion, he hopes, to run the country in the interests of his already bursting pocketbook.—Social Democratic Herald.

When your union has a question before it, argue the question. Always work with them in whatever may be decided upon. Always argue, if you must, the question under consideration. But when it comes to the good and welfare, then talk upon economics and the best way to better the conditions of the union. When a speaker is coming your way, try to get your union to declare a special meeting, and hold an educational feast with a good speaker. Work for your union in every way possible. Do not try to force Socialism upon them in every question you undertake to discuss—that is not good tactics. But talk everything in its place, and Socialism has its time and place, too.—Ohio Socialist.

Union Man, read this:

New York, Dec. 12.—Following an agreement made with the local electrotypers and stereotypers' unions by the United States Printing Co., an Ohio corporation doing business in Brooklyn, that after January 1 it will retain only union men in its employ, Justice Marean, in the supreme court, has granted a temporary injunction restraining the company from discharging its non-union men. An order was issued against the company and the electrotypers and stereotypers directing them to show cause why the injunction should not be made permanent. The complainants allege conspiracy to make the shop a union concern. Justice Marean's decision is sweeping in its provisions, and restrains the unions from organizing a strike against the company, picketing, boycotting or in any other way interfering with its business.

To the Members of the Socialist Party of Missouri.

COMRADES—By some mistake my name has been included in the list of candidates for state secretary. I wish to state that I did not know of this until Local St. Louis was called upon to vote on the several candidates, when I announced that I was not a

candidate, and therefore requested the comrades not to vote for me.
G. A. HOEHN.

The stronger party to an agreement dictates the terms. The Socialist Party and the unions aim to strengthen the position of the workers to enable them to dictate the terms of their employment.

Trades Unionism and Socialism.

Resolution Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July, 1901.

"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 neu-

tral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned. "We call the attention to trades-unionists to the fact 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."

DIRECTORY

Central Trades and Labor Union

Of St. Louis and Affiliated Unions.

CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR UNION meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 2 o'clock p. m., at WALHALLA HALL, Tenth and Franklin Avenue.

DAVE KREYLING, Secretary and Organizer.

AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS.

Name of Union and Place of Meeting.	Time of Meeting.						
	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Arch. Iron Workers, 7413-327 Geyer			1-3				
Awning Workers, 9169-504 Market					2-4		1-3
Badge Makers, 9133-506 Park				3			
Baggage Handlers, 104-2003 Clark						1-3	
Bakers (Ger.), 15-Harugari							1-3
Bakers (Eng.), 238-Harugari							2-4
Bakers (cracker), 176-Harugari							1-3
Bakers, 248-Harugari			2-4				
Barbers, 102-Lightstone's N.							
Bartenders, 51-918 Pine (2d & 4th Fri., 2 p. m)						1-3	
Beer Drivers, 43-Third and Elm		2-4					
Beltmakers, 7221-Dewey						1-3	
Billposters, 9312-504 Market	2-4						
Blacksmiths, 12-1310 Franklin							2-4
Boilermakers, 27-Harugari							
Bookbinders, 18-Lightstone's			1-3				
Bottlers (Beer), 187-Dewey						1-3	
Bottlers (Soda, etc.), 8514-1029 Chestnut						1-3	
Bottle Packers, 9076-3001 S. Broadway	2					4	
Brass Molders, 99-1310 Franklin						1-3	
Brass Workers, 66-1310 Franklin					1-3		
Brewers and Malsters, 6-Dewey	2-4						
Brewers (Weiss Beer), 260-504 Market			1-3				
Brew'y Frt. Handlers, 237-3101 S. 7th							2-4
Brew'y Laborers, 262-13th & Wyoming				1-3			
Brewery Oillers, 279-2200 S. 7th			1-3				
Brewery Firemen, 55-2200 S. 7th					2-4		
Brewery Engineers, 246-Burlington			1-3				
Brickmakers, 57-5200 Shaw ave						2-4	
Brickmakers, 63-14 S. 9th					2-4		
Broommakers, 45-Harugari						1-3	
Brushmakers, 7422-506 Park						2-4	
Bldg. Mtrl. Trds. Coun., 1026 Franklin						2-4	
Building Trades Council-Druids							
Builders (street car), 8157-Lightstone's			2-4				
Eutchers and Cutters, 88-1310 Franklin	2-4						
Cabdrivers, 405-604 Market			2-4				
Candymakers, 248-Harugari	2-4						
Carriage & Wagnwrk, 29-9th & Arsenal			1-3				
Carriage & Wagnwrk, 121-Lightstone's							
Car and Coach Painters, 204-Lightstone's							
Car Wheel Molders, 7229-Bdwy & Laml						1-3	
Carworkers, 14-604 Market		2-4					
Clayminers, 8503-5200 Shaw							1-3
Clayminers, 9310-Beck & Morganford rd						1	
Chair Workers, 8-St. Louis						4	
Cigarmakers, 44-Walhalla							2-4
Cigar Packers, 281-504 Market			2-4				
Coffinmakers, 84-Lightstone's							
Cooks, 203-312 N. 12th							
Coopers, 3-Dewey Hall				2-4			
Coopers, 87-Lightstone's							
Coopers, 141-Dewey Hall		1-3					
Coopers, 148-2338 S. Broadway			2-4				
Dairy Employes, 9093-Harugari				1-3			
Egg Inspectors, 8343-902 N. 3d			1-3				
Electrical Workers, 1-1028 Franklin							
Electrical Workers, 2-Lightstone's							
Electrical Workers, 59-1026 Franklin							
Electrical Workers, 189-Lightstone's							
Electrotypers, 86-Fraternal			2				
Engineers, 8-Fraternal							
Engineers, 43-Fraternal							
Engineers, 44-2702 St. Louis							
Federal Labor, 6482-324 Chestnut						1	
Fin. and Gilders, 41-604 Market	1-3						
Firemen, 6-1026 Franklin							2-4
Firemen, 122-806 N. 14th							1-3
Flour & Cereal Mill Employes, 19-Druids	1-3						
Freight Handlers, 9292-1310 Franklin	2-4						
Freight Handlers (In.), 14-1200 Franklin							
Frt. Handlers (In.), 10,570-1200 Franklin							
Galvanizers, 10,164-1310 Franklin							2-4
Garment Workers, 16-Fraternal							2-4

	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Garment Workers, 58-Fraternal							2-4
Garment Workers, 26-Wentzel							1-3
Garment Workers, 59-Wentzel							1
Garment Workers, 67-Wentzel		2-4					
Garment Workers, 68-Wentzel							2-4
Garment Workers, 98-Lightstone's							1-3
Garment Workers, 105-Wentzel							1-3
Garment Workers, 243-Wentzel							1-3
Garment Workers, 246-Wentzel							1-3
Glass Blowers, 5-901 Laml	1-3						
Glass Blowers, 6-1026 Franklin			2-4				
Granitoid Workers, 8172-Walhalla							
Hatters (cloth), 14-Wentzel							2-4
Hatters (felt), 21-Wentzel			1				
Hatters (silk)-Wentzel		1					
Helpers (blksmith), 317-Lightstone's							2-4
Helpers (boller), 8528-2338 S. Broadway		2-4					
Helpers (molders), 7413-327 Geyer							1-3
Helpers (mch. blksm), 8463-Lightstone's							2-4
Helpers (nilesetters), 1277-Lightstone's							
Helpers (steamfitters), 33-Lightstone's							
Horseshoers, 3-Lightstone's				1-3			
Laborers, 9954-806 N. 14th							2-4
Leather Wrkrs (horse goods), 30-Walhalla			2-4				
Leather Wrkrs., 87-Harugari			2-4				
Lithographers, 5-Druids						2-4	
Machinists, 41-1310 Franklin	1-3-5						
Machinists, 85-1310 Franklin						1-3-5	
Machinists, 308-2817 Chouteau	1-3-5						
Machinists, 394-1310 Franklin		1-3-5					
Machinists, 602-1310 Franklin Ave					2-4		
Mailers, 3-Fraternal			4				
Marbleworkers, 1-1310 Franklin							
Metal Mech., 46-1310 Franklin			2-4				
Metal Polishers, 13-1026 Franklin							
Met. Tra. Coun.-1310 Franklin	1-3						
Millwrights, 7473-Fraternal							2-4
Molders, 59-1310 Franklin Ave							
Molders (stove), 10-1310 Franklin Ave							2-4
Musicians, 2-1733 Olive							
Musicians, 44-1102 Franklin			1-3				
Packg. Rm. Empl., 9464-1200 Franklin							
Painters and Decorators, 23-Lightstone's							
Painters (sign), 74-Lightstone's							
Painters (carriage), 204-1026 Franklin Ave							
Painters (glaziers), 513-1116 Franklin Ave					1-3		
Paperhangers, 341-Lightstone's							
Pat'rn Mkrs Assn.-1310 Franklin	1-3-5						
Paper Box Mkrs, 8972-327 Geyer			2-4				
Paper Carrier, 5783-Fraternal						3	
Paper Rulers, 32-504 Market							2-4
Pavers (stone), 7602-2338 S Broadway							2-4
Postal Clerks, 1054-Walhalla							2-4
Pressmen, 6-Lightstone			2				
Pressmen (web), 2-Fraternal			4				
Printers, 3-201 S 3rd			2				
Printers, 8-Walhalla	1						
Press Feeders, 43-201 S 3rd						1	
Retail Clerks, 80-Fraternal						1-3	
Retail Clerks, 84-Fraternal			1-3				
Retail Clerks (gro.), 424-Fraternal						1-3	
Retail Clerks (shoe), 886-Fraternal							2-4
Riggers, 8919-Harugari						1-3	
Sewer Laborers, 9151-3700 Easton						1-3	
Sheet Metal Workers, 247-1310 Franklin							
Ship Carpenters, 8283-B'wy & Laml							1-3
Shirt Makers, 103-Walhalla			3				
Shoe Workers Council-907 N 22nd							
Shoe Workers, 25-907 N 22nd							1-3
Shoe Workers, 126-907 N 22nd							
Shoe Workers, 209-2036 Franklin							
Shoe Workers, 207-907 N 22nd							
Shoe Workers, 221-2036 Franklin							
Shoe Workers (Custom), 245-925 Franklin						1-3	
Shoe Workers, 338-907 N 22nd							
Shoe Workers, 346-2036 Franklin							
Soda Water Wkrs., 8514-1029 Chestnut							1-3
Stage Hands, 6-918 Pine st					1-3		
Steam Fitters, 29-Walhalla							
Steel & Cop. Pl. Printers-Gross							2-4
Steel & Iron Wkrs, 1-Broadway & Laml							1-3
Steel & Iron Wkrs, 4-Brighton							1-3
Stereotypers, 8-201 S 3rd			1				
Stove Mounters, 34-1310 Franklin							2-4
Tailors, 11-Druids			1-3				
Teamster (coal), 24-1026 Franklin						1-3	
Teamsters (frt.), 27-1026 Franklin							1-3
Teamsters (ice), 28-1026 Franklin						2-4	
Teamsters (pro.), 40-1026 Franklin			1-3				
Team (pckng. house), 42-1026 Franklin							1-3
Teamsters (furn.), 51-1310 Franklin			1-3				
Teamsters (bagg.), 54-1026 Franklin			1-3				
Teamsters (lumber), 64-1026 Franklin					1-3		
Teamsters (hay), 66-Lightstone's			1-3				
Teamsters (brick), 71-1200 Franklin						1-3	
Teamsters (bakery), 74-Lightstone's			1-3				
Teamsters (stone), 75-1200 Franklin						1-3	
Teamsters (laundry), 79-1200 Franklin						2-4	
Teamsters (piano), 84-Lightstone's							1-3
Teamsters (movers)-Lightstone's			1-3				
Terra Cotta Wkrs, 80-5759 Manchester				2-4			
Tobacco Wkrs, 1-506 Park		2-4					
Trunk & Bag Wkrs, 1-Walhalla							1-3
Typefounders, 5-416 Elm							1-3
Tuck Pointers, 131-Lightstone's							
Undert. & Liv., 10742-3000 Easton							
Upholsterers, 21-1310 Franklin Ave			2-4				
Waiters, 20-312 N 12th							
Waitresses, 249-204 N 9th							
Woodworkers, 2-Walhalla							
Woodworkers, 12-Walhalla							
Woodworkers, 54-2338 S Broadway		2-4					
Woodworkers, 76-1026 Franklin			2-4				
Woodworkers, 84-1026 Franklin							
Woodworkers, 125-1026 Franklin							
Woodworkers, 149-1026 Franklin							1-3-5
Woodworkers, 204-1310 Franklin			1-3-5				
Woodworkers, 221-20th & Dodler							

* Meetings every week

Notice! If the time or place of your union meeting are not printed correctly in the above directory report same to your next meeting. All changes and additions must be reported in writing to Labor by Secretaries of unions and will then receive immediate attention

THE WINTER MODES

Pretty Garments Dame Fashion Prescribes for Feminine Wearers.

THE COLORS AND MATERIALS

Two Bodices for One Skirt Offers a Method of Economy—Costumes and Hats for Various Purposes—Other Seasonable Gossip.

THE only prospect I can see of economy in the gorgeous fashions of the hour consists of having two bodices for one skirt. And it is good news for the would-be well-dressed woman on a limited income that the leading couturieres are making this a feature of the winter modes, for the same fabrics are suitable for day and evening wear alike. When one contemplates really smart toilettes one realizes that the wide full skirt of the moment is the chief feature. If we have paid a big price for this skirt of beautiful fabric it is wise to spend a little more



A MODISH PELERINE.

and have a day as well as an evening bodice.

Very few of us want two velvet or panne dresses at once, but such a skirt with two bodices is extremely useful, and unless of a striking color, no one realizes that the smart skirt does duty on so many occasions. Most of these velvet frocks have a good deal of real lace on the bodice—destined for day wear—as well as on the evening bodice.

This is, without doubt, a most gorgeous season as far as fashions are concerned, and the wearing of lace has come more than ever into vogue with the revival of the 1830 modes. Imitation laces are being dyed blue, brown, gray or what you will, and these for the newest ball gowns of the moment.

Bright royal-blue is much in evidence, and so are brown and gray. These dyed laces have shades of white or cream left in them, and although it does not sound particularly attractive, I assure you in reality an all-brown or all-blue frock is charming. Of course, these laces are mixed with light fabrics such as chiffon, chiffon voile, and anything of a gauze-like texture.

I do not think enough attention is given among new fashions to spotted taffetas. There is something to my mind

deliciously quaint as well as useful about shot taffetas spotted with black velvet. Of course, they are not cheap (nothing is this season) in the first place, but such a gown does duty on so many oc-



A BALL DRESS IN CHIFFON.

asions. Of course, they must be made up in old-fashioned style with gaugings and ruchings, and with the new wide bands they are adorable.

Now a few words as to those bands—the real, old-fashioned Marie Antoinette belts. They are shaped, padded, and fitted like a pair of corsets, so do not imagine they can be made by any but an expert.

Ready-made robes can be turned into charming home dinner gowns, tea gowns, empire frocks, etc. Sashes, sleeves, fichus, underslips, can all be bought ready-made and really cheaper than one can make them at home. If carefully adjusted, these look delightful.

You cannot make glace petticoats as cheaply as you can buy them, neither can you so skilfully manipulate undersleeves, the belt, or the sash, but once you have collected all these things you have only to put them on with great care to get a very excellent effect.

There are many lovely embroideries, particularly in gold and silver, but these must be bought with discretion. A great deal of money can be wasted in this way, and a good frock ruined by inferior accessories. The study of dress is a very difficult subject now, even for the rich, while ordinary folk have much to grumble about.

The difficulty of walking in the new wide, afternoon skirt is certainly great, but at the same time you must remember that you can walk in the morning about town in the smart trotteuse skirt, while in the country you can wear it continuously. That is an improvement on the long, serpent-like skirts of two or three seasons ago.

The smartest morning or street costume to my mind is the one that shows a variety of tones of one color. For instance, let us take the peculiar wine color. The darker shade might form the foundation of the cloth frock, which is trimmed with taffeta or velvet ruchings of a brighter shade. Then still another shade is introduced into the inner vest. Any idea of heaviness is dismissed by a charmingly light cravat of lace, or crepe de chine. The hat can take a bright tone, with the inevitable trimming of flat braid and a touch of gold or oxidized silver, and perhaps an aigrette to correspond.

I am glad to say that the craze for birds is fast dying out, although I think a good deal of sentimental nonsense has been talked in connection with this subject. People think nothing of breeding pheasants for slaughter purposes—or food, if you like—and then are very upset at seeing some of their breasts or wings utilized for outward adornment.

But probably the idea of birds and feathers as a trimming is disliked by

many people as suggestive of savagery, and associated with tar, blue paint and feathers!

At any rate, there is nothing really pretty about the majority of decorative birds as placed at all sorts of odd angles on flat plate-shaped hats. Big, soft rosettes and cockades of silk and silver are infinitely smarter on the millinery of the hour.

There is no need to wear heavy fur toques this year. The milliners have thought out a charming idea. The crown is composed of chiffon-velours, while for the brim one of the new fur plushes is used. This comes less expensive than fur, and looks exceeding well. The only trimming necessary is one shaded feather.

I have seen a charming toque of mink in the turban shape. The bandeau under the brim was of wine-colored velvet, and crushed roses of the same shade. Round the crown was a ruching of velvet, and at the side were three rather small plumes.

There is no doubt about it that wine-color and mink or sable are beautiful mixtures and give a cheery touch of color to the somberness of autumn days.

Brown has been tremendously used in Paris. For morning wear brown felt round hats are de rigueur, tilted over the eyes by a raised bandeau, and trimmed with clusters of autumnal leaves and berries resting on the coliffure, and also round the crown.

A mixture of royal blue and white is also popular in Paris. A charming three-cornered white beaver hat had strappings of blue velvet caught by fancy filigree buttons. It is curious that royal blue should die so hard in Paris. It was a favorite color last winter, and still holds its own. White, too, is always popular in the winter with dark furs. Of course, it is extravagant to wear, but nothing looks so well

White corduroy velvets are perfectly lovely, and will be a leading feature of the early Monte Carlo fashions. They are softened with lace and panne trimmings, and worn with stoles of sable



A DINNER GOWN IN LIBERTY SATIN, or mink and a brown hat. I must say that with light dresses, I think dark hats are preferable.

The 1830 bonnet is daily gaining popularity and will continue to do so until the spring arrives and we put away our winter garments of fur and velvet.

ELLEN OSMONDE.

Subtle Revenge.

Kate—I never liked my brother-in-law.

Laura—Why don't you knit him a necktie for a Christmas present?—Somerville Journal.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been contributed by capitalists to fight Socialism and trades unionism. Does this not prove that the two wings of the labor movement are inseparable?

Capitalism destroys the home of the worker.

If a law endangering the interests of capitalism can be declared unconstitutional when the capitalists are in power, why can not a law endangering the interests of the workers be also declared unconstitutional when the workers are in power?

W. H. PRIESMEYER,
DEALER IN ALL KINDS OF **SALT**
And Manufacturer of
ELECTRIC FRANKLIN BULL DOG SPIRE

} LYE.

St. Louis, Mo.

UNION Is the **Watchword** **GLOBE**
at the
Seventh and Franklin Avenue.

UNION LABEL CLOTHING
SHOES, HATS, FURNISHING GOODS, Etc.,

Can be Bought for Less Money at the GLOBE than elsewhere. OUR MOTTO—Satisfaction or Your Money Back.
See the Great Line of \$10.00 Suits.

Open Saturday Evenings Until 10:00 O'Clock.

OUR DOUBLE GUARANTEE. All Clothing Kept in Repair Free. Money Back if You Are Not Satisfied.

SEVENTH AND FRANKLIN AVE.

Socialist Party and the Unions.

A PROTEST AND AN ANSWER.

To the Editor of The Worker:—What in the name of common sense was the matter with the Socialists who were delegates to the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor? Why did they discard revolutionary Socialist tactics, only to become full fledged pure and simple reformers?

The press informs us that Comrade Max Hayes introduced the following resolution as a substitute for the Committee on Resolutions' report to the convention:

"Since wages can never be regarded as the full equivalent for labor's toil this convention recommends that the workers use their political and economic power along the lines of their class interests to secure for labor the full product of its toil."

Was Comrade Hayes ashamed to insert the word Socialism in the resolution? Was he hypnotized by Mr. Samuel Gompers? After introducing such a milk and water resolution, I am not surprised that Mr. Gompers and his labor lieutenants started to "roast" the Socialist delegates. I was not in the least surprised to learn that the "Hayes resolution" was snowed under. Why should the members of the Socialist Party beg an endorsement from a trade union? We have no more right to expect an endorsement from the American Federation of Labor than we have to expect an endorsement from the Civic Federation through the recognized leaders of that organization—Mark Hanna and his lieutenant, Samuel Gompers. Why not try to get an endorsement from the Citizens' Industrial Alliance? Why not try to capture the National Association of Manufacturers? Why should Socialists try to capture the American Federation of Labor?

The objects of the American Federation of Labor is to secure for its members a portion of what they produce. It holds that the capitalist is entitled to a portion of the wealth that laborers produce. It holds that the capitalist is a necessary factor in our system of production and distribution. It aims to keep the capitalist system intact and thus aids to perpetuate wage-slavery.

It is my opinion that the time has arrived for the members of the Socialist Party to stop fawning at the feet of the American Federation of Labor.

The principles of the Socialist Party should never be trailed in the dust at the feet of Mr. Gompers or any other man, be he trade unionist or otherwise. The capitalist papers are unanimous in the statement that James F. Carey's defeat was largely attributable to the trade union quarrel which has torn the working class in Haverhill asunder during the past year. This quarrel was fomented by the capitalist emissaries in and out of the unions. What part did the President of the A. F. of L. play in the late campaign? The "Social Democratic Herald" published the following bit of information in its issue of Nov. 14:

"In connection with the labor union warfare which figured largely in the defeat of James F. Carey, it became known that the visit of Edward L. Dailey of Lynn to this city played an important part. He came to this city on a secret visit and interviewed many labor leaders. It was understood at the time that Mr. Dailey visited Haverhill, it was at the request of President Gompers of the A. F. of L. who wanted Carey defeated, as with the probability of the renewal of the fight over the recognition of Socialism at the national convention of that organization in Boston, President Gompers wished to see Carey shorn of his political honors rather than that he should attend the convention as a delegate with continued success in the political world."

There you have the whole story in a nutshell. In it you see the handiwork of the paid agents of the capitalist class.

Suppose the convention of the American Federation of Labor had voted in favor of the resolution presented by Comrade Hayes and had even gone a step further by declaring in favor of independent political action, what would be the result? Would the convention endorse the Socialist Party, or would it declare in favor of a national labor party, something on the same plan as the Union Labor party of San Francisco?

Suppose the convention had recommended the formation of a national union labor party, what a nice mess the Socialist delegates would be in then. To be consistent the Socialist delegates would have to support the action taken by the convention.

It is high time that Socialists began to understand that the trade union movement can never be anything more than a palliative, and can do no more good than a porous plaster can do by putting it on a wooden leg. The trade union movement cannot and does not propose to abolish the wage system of slavery. The trade union can only improve the condition of a fraction of the working class, and that can only be accomplished at the expense of the other fraction.

The Socialist Party aims to abolish the system by which the laborer is robbed of two-thirds of the product of his labor.

Comrades, the time has arrived for us to concentrate our time and energy to propagating the principles of Socialism, rather than to divide it, in advocating Socialism and pure and simple trade unionism in the one breath.

Comrades, what is your opinion on this subject?

WILLIAM GLANZ,
Paterson, N. J., Nov. 22.

(AN ANSWER.)

SOCIALISTS AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

A correspondent finds serious fault with what he considers the too moderate action of the Socialist delegates in the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor and, in view of the defeat of their resolutions, urges "that the time has arrived for the members of the Socialist Party to stop fawning at the feet of the Federation."

The strictures upon the course adopted by the Socialist trade unionists at Boston seem to us not well founded. They did not "discard revolutionary tactics and become pure and simple reformers." They made it perfectly clear that they stood for Socialism, unequivocal and unqualified, and that they wished the Federation to take such a stand. The battle was fought on that line against a well organized opposition and the clear test of strength which resulted seems to us very satisfactory.

With the second part of our correspondent's argument, however, we partly agree. We have for some years past attached too much importance to the adoption or the defeat of Socialist resolutions in various unions or in the Federation. Such resolutions, if adopted, bind no one, and if they did bind anyone to act for Socialism

against his own convictions, it would be very bad for the Socialist cause.

To our mind—and we have said it already three years ago—all that we as Socialists have a right to ask and all that we have reason to desire from the trade unions is a fair chance, an equal chance with our opponents, in carrying on the work of economic and political education in their midst. The introducing of resolutions is worth while only as it gives an opportunity for discussion. The passing of such resolutions is important only in so far as it shows the effect of such discussion. If a Socialist resolution is passed on its own merits, that is an indication that we are making progress, and it is nothing more.

The trade union movement has its legitimate and important functions. Because the commissariat and the hospital brigade do not go to the front in battle and would, by themselves, be powerless, it does not follow that an army can fight as well without those services at its back. The trade union cannot put an end to exploitation and class rule; it seems probable that it cannot even win for the working class as a whole any considerable increase in the share of their product that they receive. But, granting all this, its usefulness as a means of defense and of mutual aid in the daily fight is not to be underestimated; and infinitely more important yet is its service in training the workers in organized action on class lines and unconsciously developing them to class consciousness.

The trade union movement is here to stay. With all its faults, it is here for good. It is not our part to oppose it nor to ignore or neglect it nor to grow impatient with it and undervalue its work. It is our part to aid it and help in educating it, and in doing that there is no need that we at all neglect our work as a political party.

THE NATIONAL REFERENDUM

In supporting the proposed amendment to our national party constitution, to give the members of the National Committee a voting power proportionate to the membership they represent, we do not claim that this is an ideally perfect system, but only that it is a decided improvement on that now in vogue.

It is argued against this proposition that the National Committeeman from a small state may be just as wise a man as the representative of a large state, and that therefore his vote ought to have equal weight. This argument is not good, for the simple reason that the members of the National Committee are not chosen as "wise men," but as representatives of state organizations. Each of them is elected and is subject to instruction or to re-

moval by the membership of his state. He speaks and votes—or should speak and vote—not for himself, but for his constituency. If they fail to instruct and control him, that is their fault and it is regrettable; but even so, it may be supposed that the members in each state choose each year a man who fairly represents the ideas of party policy prevailing in that state.

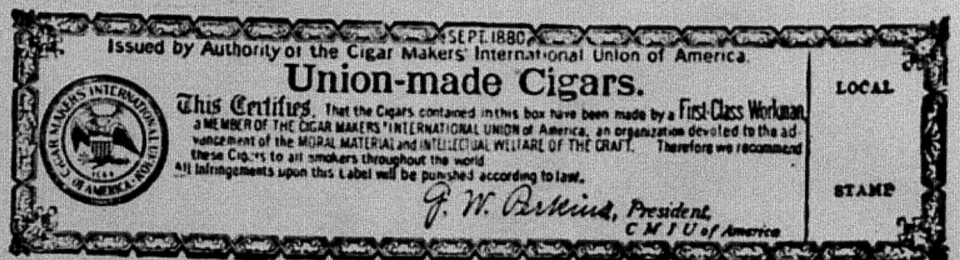
If the National Committee were to be a body of "wise men," representing the whole party, it ought to be elected by the party as a whole and removable by the whole party. Whether that would be a good plan is not the question before us. The question is: Having a National Committee composed of state representatives, is it fair or conducive to good results that the representative of the smallest state organization be vested with power equal to that of the representative of the largest state and that the majority of the members of the National Committee be elected by and held responsible to the minority of the party membership? If this is a fair and good plan, the amendment should be defeated. If it is unfair and unwise, the amendment should be carried.

According to the dues payments for the last three months, the state or territorial organizations of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, and Vermont, have less than 250 members each. Yet each of these has a voting strength equal to that of California, with its 1,600 members, or New York with its 2,200. The six states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and California have over 45 per cent. of the party membership; yet they have but one-fourth of the voting power in the National Committee. The seventeen smallest state organizations have altogether only about 22 per cent. of the membership yet they have a clear majority in the National Committee.

It is not in the interest of any one state or any one geographical section not in the interest of the large state any more than of the small ones, but in the interest of the party as a whole in the interest of the justice and resultant harmony that ought to characterize a Socialist organization, that we urge every comrade to attend the meeting of his local and record his vote in favor of the proposed amendment.

We are pleased to note in the "Arena" for November a strong article by our comrade Owen R. Lovejoy on "The Rights of Property and the Rights of Man."

Smoke Only Union Made Cigars.



See That Every Box Bears the **Blue Union Label.**

Issued by the Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

BENEVOLENT BO.

Jersey Trolley Trust Preaches a Socialist Sermon to Its Men, If They Have Wit to Understand.

Just prior to the recent election the employees of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey decided against a strike by an almost unanimous vote. The Public Service Corporation not only controls the gas and water supply, but also nearly the entire trolley system of New Jersey.

The Corporation, aware of the growing strength of the union of its employees, promised many things; but while the voting of the men was in progress, it hired carpenters to convert the car sheds into dormitories for strike breakers. Merrily the saw and hammer could be heard at all hours of the day and night, as though a scaffold were being erected for an early hanging. Hundreds of mattresses were purchased and heaped up in conspicuous places, evidently to teach the trolley men the great truth enunciated by pulpit and press, that "the interests of Capital and Labor are identical."

This strenuousness and the promises of the Corporation convinced the men that a strike would be an injustice to the former, and they so decided.

The Corporation was so pleased with the "sensible" action of its men that it forthwith proceeded to reward them by SELLING THEM THE MATTRESSES AT COST PRICE, and the men, overcome by the munificence of their benefactor, EAGERLY BOUGHT THE MATTRESSES. Surely a realistic picture of the harmony existing between Capital and Labor! An inspiring exhibition of American manhood whose slumber is sweet upon these beds of lilies, emblematic of peace and harmony.

But the Corporation, in its overflowing fondness for the welfare of its wards, had yet another and more pleasant surprise in store for them, which it withheld until the noise and din of the political campaign, with all its oratory and fireworks, had passed away. Santa Claus turned green with envy when he saw the frolicsome joy, the childlike gratitude, of the trolley men as the Corporation announced that about one hundred men were to receive an indefinite vacation to regain their shattered health on the streets of the land of the free and the home of the brave, or to wine and dine with the political humbugs whom they had elected into office. A mighty shout of approval from a thousand throats rent the air when the Corporation representatives advised the men to vote the socialist ticket hereafter, and with three cheers for the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the officers of the Corporation would find ample opportunity to display their talents for heavy manual labor, this memorable event closed.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

To the Editor of LABOR—Thus far but little has appeared in the Socialist press relative to the proposed amendment to our national constitution. This amendment is of so much importance that I cannot refrain from saying a word about it for publication. Under the present constitution National Committeemen, so far as voting is concerned, stand in about the same relation to the party membership as United States Senators do to the people, except that there are two of the latter from each state and but one of the former. No matter what the membership in any state, the Committeeman's vote balances the vote of any other Committeeman—though one may represent ten or twenty times as many members as the other. This works a disfranchisement of a percentage of the voting power of every state with a membership above the average; and on the other hand, states with a membership below the average are enabled to pad their voting power far out of

proportion to the membership of such state. Being opposed to both the principle of disfranchisement and "ballot-box stuffing," I want to register my protest against the continuation of a system that is foreign to the spirit of democracy. If the Socialist movement stands for anything in party affairs it stands for democratic management and control—not management and control through a representative system which gives to some states ten or twenty or fifty times more voting power in proportion to party membership than some other states.

I happen to have been one of the Committee on Constitution at the Indianapolis convention, and I well remember that this question of state representation and power in the National Committee was one that caused considerable perplexity—to myself at any rate. I realized that to give each state one vote regardless of party membership would be inequitable and unjust. But with the limitations in every direction which then hampered the movement, just what plan to offer as a substitute was the puzzling question. We were launching upon untried seas, and the only thing we could do was to adopt the plan which seemed best AT THE TIME, and trust to the value of experience to improve upon it. We have found from experience that the plan then adopted is foreign to the spirit of democracy—it is a mere copy of the capitalist system of representation—and the time has come when the Socialist movement of America demands the substitution of some thing better.

I may be something of a crank or dum on any given proposition for the purpose of instructing their Committeeman. The proposed change affects only the voting power of Committeemen. It is a step toward democratic control in the direction of majority rule—and it is a very lame Socialist movement that can't rely upon the principle of majority rule. When we depart from that we follow in the footsteps of the old parties, and everyone knows what that will lead to.

I have faith in the general membership to do the right thing. The alleged "half-baked" in the party evidently are a small minority. The majority is all right. Let us not seek to keep that majority from being heard, or prevent them from acting. Most of the Socialist press is as clear as a bell—let them continue to do their duty and all will be well. The revolutionary press will, I am satisfied, from this time on, largely outnumber the papers with an opportunist tendency. Therein lies our greatest safeguard. I can see no danger ahead from the adoption of the proposed change in the constitution, and it will save us from the rocks and quicksands of opportunism. Let us adopt the amendment "by a unanimous rising vote."

F. L. ROBINSON.

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 5.

SOCIALISM IN THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

Socialism is surely trickling through the Russian army, and the London "Times" (which is publishing columns of Russian news, notwithstanding the expulsion of its correspondent some months ago, freely predicts an outbreak of mutiny. The very best evidence that a spirit of insubordination is present is to be found in certain orders from army officers of high rank. Here, for example, are extracts from an official circular—marked secret—sent out by the minister of war himself, and bearing his signature, "A. Kuropatkin":

"The attempts of political agitators to spread their propaganda in the army—a rare occurrence in former times—have been frequently repeated of late. Such is the insolence of these attempts that it has become necessary to call serious attention to the matter. Thus the reports made by military chiefs show that proclamations were found in the barracks of a seditious character,

entitled 'The Politics of Officers' and 'The Abolition of Permanent Armies.' In the month of August sham postmen brought to all the officers of the Twenty-seventh Division of Infantry some 'Appeals to Officers,' from 'a group of Social Democrats of Vilna.' This appeal reproached the officers for having, by order of their chiefs, become 'the executioners of honest workmen,' and invited them to give up playing so 'infamous a part.' Manuscripts had been written and some of them even lithographed in the military bureau. Their contents were criminal! They were entitled 'The Pater Noster of a Soldier,' and excited the soldiers against their chiefs. Later on it was discovered that revolutionary leaders were even striving personally to influence the soldiers of the division, and among these agitators were several from the sailors at Sevastopol. Finally it was ascertained that a propaganda had been organized among the soldiers of the Ekaterinoslav regiment of Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard. This propaganda no longer came from the outside and from persons who were strangers to the army, but from the soldiers themselves, and the chief of the organization was a soldier of the said regiment. He had concealed the fact that he was entitled to a shorter period of military service so as to be able to continue for a longer time his work of propaganda among the soldiers. While he was with the regiment he energetically propagated revolutionary ideas in his personal conversations with the other soldiers and also by distributing a great number of pamphlets, proclamations, etc. A considerable number of soldiers collaborated with him. Others, while not taking any active part in his efforts, tolerated this propaganda. It must be observed that among the persons who are accused of instigating the recent agrarian disturbances in the southern governments there is a certain sub-lieutenant of the 133d Regiment of Infantry named Passko. He was convicted and he confessed that he had distributed among the peasants of the government of Poltava different pamphlets and proclamations of a criminal character. All these examples do not probably exhaust the list of cases which might be quoted as having taken place of late, and which illustrate the fact that, by one means or another, propaganda has penetrated within the army. We have good reason to believe, considering the secret methods adopted and the precautions taken by these subterranean agitators, that there are many cases which remain unknown not only to the superior but even to the inferior officers. Nevertheless, the cases mentioned show that the Revolutionary and Socialist groups are striving with perseverance to propagate their ideas in the army. They send by post, addressed to the officers or the soldiers, or they throw into the courts of the barracks appeals and proclamations, etc.; or else they engage in personal conversations with the soldiers."

After suggesting the placing of agents at the doors of barracks, the document says it is desirable to establish a surveillance of the homes of Jewish soldiers and all their connections, adding:

"It has been practically demonstrated that these soldiers entertain relations with the Jews in the towns where they are quartered, among whom are many revolutionists.

"From Kieff it is reported that the soldiers of the garrison announced their readiness to rebel if the officers would lead, protesting that they were friends, not enemies, of the working classes."

—It is to be observed that the people who talk so eloquently about "the dignity of labor" and "the blessings of poverty" are generally people who live in luxury without doing any useful work.

—If money really talked, it might make some interesting remarks about some of the people who have it.—Pack.

Boycott the Scab Cigar Firm.

The following circular has been issued by the cigar makers:

To the Public:
Your attention is called to the unscrupulous attempt of the Globe Cigar Co. (Isaac Tocker, proprietor), located at 1241 South Broadway, in endeavoring to impress upon the smoking public that they are operating a union shop by virtue of the fact that they are displaying a few boxes of union cigars, while in reality they are operating a non-union factory, and are employing non-union people, boys and girls who are not practical cigar makers, and who in most instances should be in attendance at school.

If you favor a shorter workday and a fair day's wages, we are convinced you will refuse to in any manner patronize this concern. Don't patronize

Each family will have a home under Socialism.

The worker should demand his rights at the ballot box.

G. GHALLY,
Staple and Fancy Groceries.
1758 SOUTH 18th STREET.

BOYCOTT Welle-Boettler's and McKinney's Bread.
It Is Made by NON-UNION LABOR
Only Bread bearing this Label is Union-Made.
Baker's Council of St. Louis.

HARDWARE.
CHAS. BLASBERG
Cor. Linton and Carter Aves.
Hardware, Glass, Paints, Oils, Stoves and Ranges.

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

CHAS. SPECHT,
Manufacturer of UNION CIGARS.
BUY "My Motto," "Town Talk," and "Flor de Merit." They bear the BLUE LABEL.
708 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

HIRE ONLY... Union Musicians.
Local No. 2, A. F. of M.
Local No. 8, N. L. of M.
A Roster of all Union Musicians in the City Always on File.
Headquarters, 18th and Olive Sts.

Chas. Spreen Y Cigar Store.
SMOKE "Hello Central" BEST 5c CIGAR.
2003 N. BROADWAY

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

GENERAL MONTHLY MEETING

OF THE

P. F. & W. Association,

TUESDAY, DEC. 22, at 8 p. m.

All members are requested to attend.

ELLA C. KELLY, Secretary.

Mr. Maschmeyer's class meets at 3 p. m. every Sunday. "The Sermon on the Mount" is being studied from a liberal standpoint.

The Brotherhood meets as usual at 7 p. m. Mr. How leads.

The "Religion of Anarchy," last Sunday night, and the resolution offered by Mr. How, and strongly seconded by the "brothers" in attendance, who hoped by the "support" to gain a night's lodging, created a panic among the peace-loving Socialists and other friends in the P. F. W. A.

Comrade Hoehn made a splendid talk on the "Power of the Press," and the secretary hopes he caught an "owl car" to take him home. Our friend hardly bargained for an "experience meeting" after the talk to last until morning, but such are some of the little incidents of P. F. W. A. But we enjoy them.

Mr. Lawrence will give a "talk" for the benefit of the "locked out" shoe workers, on Sunday, the 20th inst., at 8 p. m. The lantern of the P. F. W. A. will be used to illustrate the talk.

Mr. Dilno will give an illustrated lecture on the "Future of the Children," Christmas eve. Everybody wel-

come.

Mr. Beaird holds his meeting every Thursday night, and Mr. Dan. Martin's people meet every Friday night.

Where has the library committee gone to winter?

The boys are always ready for their nights in the gymnasium, and enjoy themselves, too. Master Jake Kaiser is the president of the Junior club.

The Newsboys union having no quorum, Wednesday night, adjourned, as the P. F. W. A. so often had to do. Let us have a quorum on the 22d, please!

The People's branch of the Sunshine society will have a social gathering on the 21st, and the Sunshine organizer of Missouri, Mrs. Trowbridge, has promised—well—sandwiches, etc. Come and be fed.

Mr. David Allan has not yet been able to leave his home, owing to illness. Let us hope to see him soon.

If the P. F. W. A. is not a "charity" organization, its individual members somehow manage to co-operate in such a manner as to give something better often than the miscalled "charity" seekers here.

Mr. Lane, the acting secretary of the International Workers' Union for the Unemployed, has resigned, but President Wilson and Vice-President Smith still hold offices.

In the interval of the above organization materializing, Mr. How conducts his Employment Bureau unaided by anyone, and at least gives a man a chance to make an effort at the noon hour. Of course, the "weary Willies" never visit here when work is to be sought, they only look in to "rest."

ELLA C. KELLY, Secretary.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(and OTHERS)

The Public.

The Turner case is revealing the anti-Anarchist law which Congress enacted last winter as a menace to personal liberty of the most extraordinary character. The old "alien and sedition laws," which have been a hissing and a by-word for a century, were very pearls of liberty in comparison with this so-called anti-Anarchist law. It is doubtful if even in Turkey, much less in Russia, the material for a story so significant of absolutism could be gathered.

But the worst is not told there. Besides what is told there and what we described last week, we find this law a complete reversal of the American theory of arrests. Except in time of war, or when the writ of habeas corpus is suspended, the executive department of the general government is supposed to have no power of arrest. Think of the anomaly of a Presidential order of arrest in time of peace! Orders of arrest are judicial writs, issued upon proof duly made, and subject to judicial investigation. But under this law the order of arrest is issued by a member of the President's cabinet. It may be issued by him against any alien who has not lived in this country more than three years. The person arrested can be immediately taken from any part of the country to Ellis Island; be there examined privately, without witnesses or counsel, by three men who are appointed and can be dismissed by the cabinet officer issuing the warrant; and if two of them report to this cabinet officer that they believe the arrested man "disbelieves in all organized government" the cabinet officer can send him back to the country of his birth without allowing him to see friends or family or to settle his business affairs. From this

decision there is no appeal to any court or jury. The practical result will be to put every alien who may take part in political or trade union agitation against the policy of the administration at the mercy of the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor for three years after arrival, and open a door to blackmail by federal officers.

Erie People.

It might be just as well to state at this juncture that while the capitalist press is anxiously watching what the A. F. of L. Convention will do with the Socialist resolutions that are certain to be presented, the Socialists of the country are losing no sleep over the matter. Nor do they delude themselves with the idea that the vote received at Convention last year really represented a clear demand for Socialist political action. We are in no hurry. Socialism cannot be forced on the working class by political manipulation, nor can it be advanced through dissenting bodies voting for it as a protest against the action of individual leaders. Only when it becomes the clear, determined, intelligent expression of the representatives of organized labor, will it be worth considering. And we can wait for that time to come, as come it undoubtedly will.

Cleveland Citizen.

President Gompers in his annual report, again, as of old, calls the attention of the wage-workers to the fact that all efforts to secure legislation beneficial to their interests had failed without prescribing any remedy. Is it possible that Sam still believes that begging from the Hannas, Quays, Platts, and the rest of the plutocratic Senators is going to enact laws for the working class? In every other civilized country the trade unions are assisting in the election of wage-workers to pass these laws for themselves, and the experience of the A. F. of L. during past years ought to at least teach the officials the futility of begging legislation from the capitalist class.

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 race 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 proper tied 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.

The Bartenders' Protective and Benevolent League,

NO. 51, A. F. of L.

Wishes to announce to the Trade that reliable and competent BARTENDERS will be furnished on application for all occasions, Saloons or extra engagements, etc. Send all orders to

W. EDWARD HORNE, Secretary and Business Agent, Imperial Building, 918 Pine St. KINLOCH B-1890.

Don't patronize Saloons where the Union Bar Sign or Blue Union Button is not displayed.

STRICTLY UNION.

Telephone Bell, Sidney No. 810.

Concordia Turner Hall,

Thirtieth and Arsenal Streets.

HALLS FOR RENT FOR BALLS, CONCERTS, MEETINGS, Etc'

Bar Supplied With Finest WINES, LIQUORS AND CIGARS

I. J. BAUER, Manager.

FROM PITTSBURG, PA.

A LETTER.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Dec. 1.—The campaign being over, it might interest the comrades elsewhere to know what work has been done and what the results in Allegheny County have been. This county has been the stronghold of the S. L. P. and the Socialist Party never made much headway until the present year. But during the last year there have been five locals organized, all of which are flourishing, and five branches, one of which has about seventy members in good standing. There have been held on the streets about twenty meetings addressed by Comrades Kolowsky and Zmudowitz in Polish; about forty addressed by Comrade Mervis and others in Yiddish, and about two hundred by English speakers, Comrades Adams, Cohen, Wright, Williams, Newcombe, Delp, Swartz, and Wagenlander, and Taylor of Philadelphia and Knopf-nagel of Peoria. About one hundred meetings were also held in halls.

Our vote in the county increased from 523 to 1,075 in the year, while that of the S. L. P. decreased from 1,231 to 260, although they had a weekly organ.

This decrease in their vote brought from them the complaint that there had been "a lumping of herculean efforts in Allegheny County to bring about unity by destroying our militant and uncompromising class-conscious organization."

The credit for the work done is due to the comrades of Allegheny County entirely. We have had no outside assistance. The "lumping of herculean efforts" was not to destroy their organization, but to educate the working class. We have not attacked the S. L. P., but have taught Socialism. When the workers get to understand Socialism they vote for it. Then the S. L. P. is left in the lurch.

These self-styled "militants," believing (like the more ancient Utopians) that the test of the value or truth of a doctrine is to be found, not in itself, but in its advocate, have busied themselves making attacks upon members of our party and the epithets "crook," "fakir," "Populist," "middle-class grafter," etc., have not been neglected.

Last year the S. L. P. of Pennsylvania seceded from the regular S. L. P., and set up a "National Executive Committee" of their own, believing that the money which goes to the N. E. C. in New York gets into the wrong hands, and that the "logical center" for it is in Pittsburgh. They are Anti-De Leon De Leonites; that is, they are of the De Leon school, but are opposed to Daniel himself. They still care more for the privilege of dominating the movement than for the education of the working class; hence they spend their money in hopeless lawsuits instead of in agitation; hence also their efforts to keep the Socialist Party spending money on lawsuits, so as to keep our agitation in check. They contested our right to the sole use of the word "Socialist" on the state ballot, when the Socialist Party was an official party and when many of them knew it was just throwing money away. One of them unwittingly explained why they forced this suit when he told the writer, "We will make it cost you something, anyhow." They made a frantic attempt to keep our county ticket off the official ballot, and this suit cost our County Committee \$50. We won. They must have expected it to cost us much more, for one of them could not conceal his disappointment when told the amount. They invoked the aid of the law and then when defeated they hysterically denounced the law as "capitalist law" and "judge-made law."

The underhand tricks which capitalist politicians usually resort to are here resorted to by these people who claim it to be their function to guard the name of Socialism from being "dragged into the capitalist swamps." We know of at least one of our agitators (a married man, at that) whom they tried to have discharged in the hope that he would leave the city. His employer told our comrade that prominent members of the S. L. P. had approached him, and tried to have this man discharged for his activity in the movement. A newly organized branch of our party meets in the office of a dentist who is a sympathizer. This friend has been twice approached by them and asked to withdraw this privilege. The second time two of them came apparently as a committee, demanding that our meetings there be stopped, but were turned away with scorn.

And this party claims to be out to educate the working class! Curious methods of educating are now in use.

Several months ago they claimed to have 250 members in the county and the "membership is growing steadily," too! Yet they had not more than 228 straight votes. Their educating is literally "out of sight."

Envy of the success of the Jewish branch caused them to make a systematic attempt to break it up. But they were always answered to the satisfaction of the audience, which finally got tired of the doleful siren (or parrot) song that the "hero" sang and closed him up quite effectually.

A year ago, when these militants (perhaps realizing the impotence of their organization) were casting about for something to unite with, they were greatly insulted because our State Committee told them they were welcome to join the same as other class-conscious workingmen. They wanted to be admitted as an organization; to be received with a beating of drums and tom-toms, instead of quietly taking the place where they could do the best work for the emancipation of their class. They think, if they joined as individuals they would be losing prestige, and they seem to care more for their prestige than for the welfare of the working class.

If we believe them, the distinctive feature of the Socialist Party is its "mere bulk." But they were very angry when the Socialist Party refused to add mere bulk to itself by taking their whole organization. The Socialist Party knew that there was some material which would add bulk but not strength to a Socialist organization.

However, the Socialist movement is making great progress in Allegheny County. It is a good thing that this movement does not have to depend on a few men in order to advance. Behind it are social forces which make its progress not only possible but imperative—the forces of social development. And this shows the Utopian character of those who think that any "crook" or "fakir" can block its advance, or that "good men" can ensure its success.

GUY WILLIAMS.

Brooklyn Eagle.

Hello! What's this? The Socialists swamped? And in Massachusetts, too! This is astonishing. In the Bay State the Socialists have been a more important political factor than in any other part of the Union. They said it was because the people of the old commonwealth were more intelligent and moral than people of the other states, and that Socialism appealed most convincingly to the best element. Has

Massachusetts lost its morals, then, or has the standard of its schools relaxed? We fear there is another reason, and it is this: The Socialists and labor unionists are one. The labor unions may be composed of the most intelligent and moral people in the community, but they have a mighty queer way of showing it. One cannot shoot into street cars, and blow up houses of free workmen, and boycott shops and churches, and threaten the United States government, and outlaw members of the military force without getting himself disliked. The labor unions of Massachusetts have been less rampageous than those in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, but they have caused immense losses to manufacturers and investors, they have disturbed the state's finances, they have shaken public confidence; in Haverhill they have held up important industries, not because they had any cause against capital, but because rival unions took to fighting with themselves.

Two New Propaganda Pamphlets.

WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO by Ben. Hanford

"One of the very best pieces of propaganda literature we have." (The Worker, New York)
 "One of the best campaign pamphlets ever printed" (The Toiler, Terre Haute, Ind.)
 Another good propaganda pamphlet by the same author
HANFORD'S REPLY TO HAVEMEYER
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PATRIOTISM AND SOCIALISM.
 24 pages, illustrated, pocket size, with red parchment cover. Price 5 cents; 25 copies 50 cents; 100 for \$1.50. To shareholders of the Comrade Co-operative Company at half these rates. Any socialist may acquire by monthly payments of 50 cents a \$5.00 share in the Comrade Co-operative Publishing House and thereby enjoy special rates for the Comrade and other Socialist Literature
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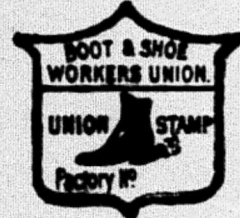
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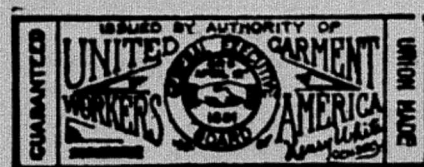
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Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

Central Trades & Labor Union.

At last Sunday's meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union Delegate DeBarry submitted his report of the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. The report was correct in all its details.

Secretary Kreyling reported that the Marble Workers' strike was still on. He also called attention to the work of the Citizens' alliance, and urged the unions to watch this capitalist organization very closely.

Brothers J. Wade, Chas. Kassell and G. A. Hoehn were elected delegates to represent the C. T. & L. U. at the annual convention of the Missouri Federation of Labor, to be held in Springfield January 11.

The Shoe Workers' controversy caused considerable discussion. Several communications were read concerning the trouble. In a letter from the locals it was announced that the shoe workers opposed to the Boston executive board had joined the American Labor Union. Brothers Kreyling, Hoehn, Alexander, Gebelein, Sarber, Negele, Miller and others, regretted the action of Shoe Workers of St. Louis, especially so since the central body

had done its duty in trying to secure justice for the men, and that such treatment as the Central Trades and Labor Union now received from the local Shoe Workers' union was certainly not deserved. The shoe workers themselves now compelled the central body to withdraw its further support, as it could not tolerate the splitting up of the local labor movement by a rival organization like the A. L. U. Delegate Lawrence spoke in behalf of the shoe workers, and repeated the history of the trouble. Delegate Hoppenjon stated that the shoe workers fully appreciated what the St. Louis central body had done for them.

A motion to allow the A. L. U. shoe workers to keep their seats in the C. T. and L. U. was voted down by a vote of 52 against 25.

BOYCOTT

Against Welle-Boettler and McKinney Bread Co. Indorsed by the A. F. of L.

TO ORGANIZED LABOR:

The Boston convention of the A. F. of L. reaffirmed the boycott against the Welle-Boettler and McKinney Bread Co. Organized labor will please take notice. BAKERS' JOINT COUNCIL.

Frank Lemaster is secretary.

At the charter election, in Denver, December 8, the Socialist ticket polled 814 votes—a gain of 215 since the state election of one month ago.

Local Denver has initiated a movement to hold a monster "meeting of protest" in the Coliseum in the near future. The various labor organizations of the city have been invited to participate, and the most of them will co-operate actively. The object of the meeting will be to protest against the outrages which are being committed against workingmen in Colorado by the mine owners and employers of labor through their pliant tools, Gov. Peabody, Adjt-Gen. Sherman Bell and the underlings of the tin horn brigade, alias the Colorado national guard. It is expected that there will be an outpouring of the people that will pack the large hall to the doors. The date has not yet been definitely announced.

Fraternally,

J. W. MARTIN, State Secretary.

The responsibility for corruption in trade unions may be laid at the doors of the conservative, apathetic or stay-away members. If you desire the union to take a definite action on any matter it is your duty to participate in its meetings and raise your voice and cast your vote to fortify your position. The questions discussed will be more intelligently comprehended by all when each member does his duty.

The members of the Citizens' Alliance are Democrats and Republicans. How can workingmen consistently vote for and with the avowed enemies of their class.

**PATRONIZE
ALL
Union Labels.**

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

All Comrades and Organizations are hereby informed that a

Commune Celebration and Ball

BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY

For the Benefit of the Labor Press—the "LABOR" and the "ARBEITER ZEITUNG"—is being arranged and will take place

SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 12, 1904

at the
SOUTH ST. LOUIS TURNER HALL
10th and Carroll Sts., St. Louis

A Lecture, illustrated with thrilling Stereopticon Views of Parisian Street Scenes at the time of the Commune, will be a feature of the celebration. Organizations are requested to consider arranging Festivals Accordingly.

THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE

PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

National Headquarters, Socialist Party.
Omaha, Neb., Dec. 14, 1903.
ELECTION OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

The national secretary desires to call attention to the constitutional provision which requires that the term of office of the national secretary "be for one year, to begin on the first day of February of each year." The national quorum, at its recent meeting, instructed the secretary to call for nominations on January 1 for the election of secretary, should the motion passing the national committee meeting be adopted. The motion was adopted, but to call for nominations on January 1 would leave only 31 days in which to nominate and elect, unless the time of election was extended beyond February 1. In order, therefore, to bring about an election so that the term of the secretary can begin February 1, the national secretary proposes that he call for nominations on December 22, ten days earlier than the time specified by the quorum, and that the nominations be closed January 8, 1904; that until January 18 (ten days) be allotted within which those nominated can accept or decline, and that the election take place from January 18 to January 31, inclusive, which would leave 15 days for election.

Unless objections are made the national secretary will call for nominations December 22, and the method above outlined will be followed.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM MAILLY,
National Secretary.

INDIANAPOLIS PROPOSED.

Moved by Massey, of North Dakota: "Moved that 'Referendum B,' amending section 1, article 2, of the national

constitution, be declared out of order, as it conflicts with section 2, article 9, and therefore no vote can be recorded on same."

MOTION NO. 3.

By Reynolds, of Indiana: "Resolved that the national convention be held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., June 15, 1904."

Comment on Motion. Indianapolis has never been involved in any of the factional disputes of the party, and the same is true of the state. It has the best of hotel and railroad facilities and is easily reached from all parts of the country.

In addition to the objections offered by Berger, of Wisconsin, against St. Louis because of the World's fair, is the fact that in all probability either one of the two capitalist parties will hold their conventions in Chicago about the time selected for the Socialist convention. St. Louis and Chicago are the two leading citizens bidding for those conventions.

Indianapolis is as centrally located as either of the two cities that have been suggested, and there is no possibility of conflict with a capitalist party convention, or of having delegates' attention attracted to a World's fair.

If delegates wish to attend the fair at St. Louis coming to or going from Indianapolis they can do so, as it is close to that city, and rates will be low.

NEWS NOTES FROM COLORADO.

A local of ten members has been organized at Loveland. P. L. Case is secretary.

A local of six members has been organized at Read, Delta county, by State Committeeman William Ash.

FIRST ANNUAL RECEPTION

GIVEN BY

The 7th and 8th Ward **SOCIALIST CLUBS**

At **NEW NATIONAL HALL (Small Hall)**

Allen Ave. and Dolman Street.

Saturday Evening December 19, 1903

Admission, (including gent and ladies) 25c.

Socialist Party

Local St. Louis, Mo.

HEADQUARTERS—Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut Streets. Wm. Dilno, 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. Wm. Dilno, 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.

Fourth Ward—First and Third Wednesday, Eleventh and Locust streets, Frank Rohan, secretary.

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

Eighth Ward—Third Wednesday, 2301 South Broadway, G. Bohlring, 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, 1900 Lami street, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—Second and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Wm. F. Crouch, 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—First and Third Saturday, 2927 Cass avenue, F. W. Wehking, secretary.

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

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

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

Twenty-Seventh Ward—South Branch Second Tuesday, 2812 Arlington avenue, Chas. Kaemmerer, secretary.

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

Comrades! Frequent only such places where your Organ, LABOR, is on file, and Patronize such Business Firms Which Advertise in LABOR.