

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

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## ST. LOUIS ELECTION RESULTS

**Returns of Socialist Vote Incomplete--Comrade Dr. Emil Simon Elected Member of Board of Education--Wm. Preston Hill Polls 18,618 Votes For Freeholder on Socialist Ticket, G. A. Hoehn 5,510 and Wm. H. Priesmeyer 5,516 Votes--Owen Miller Gets Highest Vote for Freeholder Owing to the Fact That He Received the Full Socialist Vote--Republican Machine in Absolute Control of Administration.**

The St. Louis municipal elections are over. Our comrades made one of the most energetic campaigns in the history of our local movement. For six weeks meetings were held every evening, and Comrades Clark, Thompson, Gaylord and Oneal, assisted by local speakers, were making as good a campaign as the conditions would permit. It is true: some of the meetings were poorly attended, but it must be remembered that in the last campaign we avoided taking expensive halls, and never before had we arranged so many meetings in one campaign.

Good Socialist campaign literature, adapted to local municipal conditions, was circulated in several hundreds of thousands of copies, and the comrades did their work well.

At the time of going to press the exact Socialist vote is not yet known, except the vote for Freeholders, which is given as follows:

	Dr. Hill.	G. A. Hoehn.	Priesmeyer.	Estimated General Soc. Vote.
Ward No. 1	679	213	194	259
Ward No. 2	450	143	144	98
Ward No. 3	257	27	27	22
Ward No. 4	167	52	50	26
Ward No. 5	171	48	43	42
Ward No. 6	267	124	119	62
Ward No. 7	348	208	194	120
Ward No. 8	361	237	234	245
Ward No. 9	676	470	439	374
Ward No. 10	854	496	403	451
Ward No. 11	1355	747	748	388
Ward No. 12	741	390	316	332
Ward No. 13	756	180	157	87
Ward No. 14	210	36	38	73
Ward No. 15	219	132	129	37
Ward No. 16	596	106	112	62
Ward No. 17	556	154	149	177
Ward No. 18	340	154	161	85
Ward No. 19	695	185	209	128
Ward No. 20	627	78	87	44
Ward No. 21	932	81	107	28
Ward No. 22	284	58	68	57
Ward No. 23	612	72	75	41
Ward No. 24	1200	290	298	105
Ward No. 25	823	114	129	208
Ward No. 26	980	131	193	67
Ward No. 27	1499	395	381	287
Ward No. 28	1963	210	306	117
	18,618	5,510	5,516	4,022

It is expected that the official count will be completed by Saturday.

**Comrade Dr. Emil Simon Elected Member Board of Education.**

The surprise of last Tuesday's balloting was the election of Comrade Dr. Emil Simon as member of the Board of Education. In our last week's editorial, "Playing With Fire," we stated the circumstances under which the Republican party machine placed our Socialist Party candidate Dr. Emil Simon's name on their School Board ticket, without the knowledge or sanction of the Socialist Party or of the candidate directly concerned. The work was done at the very last minute before the expiration of the ten days' limit for withdrawing, changing or substituting candidacies.

It is plain that the placing of Comrade Dr. Simon's name on their ticket was a clever campaign trick, played for several purposes. In the first place, of course, the Republican machine was up against it under the bipartisan School Board agreement when the Democrats presented the name of ex-Excise Commissioner Mulvihill as a bipartisan candidate. How could the Republican machine, so liberally "oiled" by brewery proprietors under Otto Stifel's manipulations, accept Mulvihill, the man who made life miserable for the poor, honest saloonkeeper, and so tolerably pleasant and lucrative for the influential Lid Club people? This was a problem for the Republicans whose efforts were directed to monopolize the "Personal Liberty" vote, alleged to be represented by the German-American Alliance. In rejecting Mulvihill the Republicans would not have hesitated one moment to nominate another Republican in his place, but this could not be done for this reason:

Boss Howe's reputation was not the very best. To add another Republican to the list of School Board candidates would have given the Democrats a powerful argument against Howe and his machine. Hence that scheme had to be abandoned. But the vacancy had to be filled, and the time for doing so expired within a few minutes.

The German-American Alliance, at one of its regular meetings, had endorsed Dr. Emil Simon, Socialist candidate for Board of Education, as a man who deserved the support of every honest citizen who had the welfare of our public schools at heart. Of this endorsement Boss Howe was aware, and since the Republicans were very anxious to monopolize the support of the German-American Alliance, it was only natural that in their opinion the double candidacy of Dr. Simon, the Socialist, might get them out of their troubles, at the same time counteracting the influence of Mulvihill, whom the Democrats placed on their ticket.

Howe and his "cabinet" did not care a continental for Dr. Simon, as an individual, nor did they place his name on their ticket to please the Socialists.

It was a vote-catching proposition with the Republicans, not a question of securing Dr. Simon's election to the School Board. We met old Republican politicians in the polls on Tuesday evening, at the time of closing the polls, who could not even then imagine that Simon had any show of being elected. It seems that they took the nomination as a clever campaign trick of Jephtha Howe, and for the rest, they considered the entire matter as a good political joke.

That the "clever campaign trick" did its work for the Republican ticket, at least to some extent, may be accepted as a fact. We take it for granted that at least one thousand half-baked Socialists and sympathizers were swung to the other side. A close race between the Democratic and Republican candidates was expected, and Howe & Co. figured out that "every little helps," especially in view of last fall's state election, when about three dozen or less votes for the lieutenant governorship necessitated a partial recount of the 700,000 votes cast for said office.

The Republicans were playing with fire, and they burned their fingers. What would have seemed an absolute impossibility three weeks ago, is now a reality. A Socialist will enter the St. Louis Board of Education. Although elected with the help of Republican, Democratic and independent votes, he owes no allegiance or obligations to either of the capitalist parties, or to any capitalist class interests.

He did not seek the Republican endorsement or double-nomina-

tion; he was placed on the Republican ticket without his or the Socialist Party's consent; he was not even aware of such endorsement or double-nomination until several hours after the expiration of the ten days limit for making changes on the tickets, for filling vacancies or for withdrawals.

Comrade Dr. Simon is today what he was before election: a member and representative of the Socialist Party, standing on the Socialist Party platform. He made his position plain in a statement published in every daily paper of St. Louis as soon as the endorsement by the Republicans became known. That same statement also appeared in last week's St. Louis Labor.

Dr. Emil Simon enters the Board of Education as a Socialist. He deceived none of the citizens who voted for him, because he had stated his Socialist position plainly and fearlessly.

A powerful daily press, like Joe Pulitzer's Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Republic, openly appealed to the voters to defeat Dr. Simon by voting for Mulvihill. The Globe-Democrat, the Republican organ, had nothing to say in favor of the Socialist. Under these circumstances it was but natural that even experienced old party politicians did not expect to see Dr. Simon elected. But the surprise came soon enough.

Comrade Dr. Simon polled the third highest vote of any candidate on any of the tickets, his vote being 66,953. He was scratched by a certain element who have little use for a progressive manage-

**All Comrades holding tickets for Festivals held at Social and Concordia Turner Halls are requested to make prompt settlement on same in order that the secretary can make his full report and have accounts closed by the Auditing Committee as early possible.**

**OTTO KAEMMERER,**  
Secretary.

ment of our public schools, but this scratching was overcome by over five thousand Socialist votes that went solidly for Simon.

Thus political situations are created over which we have no control. Perhaps Jephtha Howe figured like this: I place Dr. Simon's name on the Republican ticket; this will cause a rumpus and break-up in the ranks of the Socialists during the last hours of the campaign, with a general demoralizing effect on the Socialist voters, and the Republican party would then reap the harvest. However, the St. Louis Socialists saw the old political trick and prepared to hit back as hard as they could by rallying only more enthusiastically to the support of their candidate, Dr. Simon.

'Tis a pity that Theodore Roosevelt went to Africa; he might perhaps have prevented the election of a Socialist to the St. Louis School Board.

While the straight Socialist Party vote is below our well justified expectations, there were several hopeful and encouraging features in connection with last Tuesday's elections. Owen Miller's election as freeholder and Dr. Emil Simon's election to the Board of Education.

Miller polled 111,918 votes for freeholder, i. e., 23,304 more votes than the Republican boss, Howe. Miller was also scratched in some localities where Citizens' Industrial Alliance was showing itself. However, these "wounds" were more than healed by the 5,000 or more Socialist Party votes that were thrown on the scales in Miller's favor. Thus Owen Miller, the president of the Central Trades and Labor Union, enters the Board of Freeholders on Charter Revision with the highest vote of any candidate on the ticket.

Miller represents the growing power of the Trades Union movement, while Dr. Emil Simon will take his seat in the Board of Education as a representative of a rapidly growing Socialist Party movement.

Neither Owen Miller nor Dr. Simon can claim their victory as individuals. They were placed where they are today by the influence of the Trades Union and Socialist Party movements. It is these movements which the politicians of the old parties fear and are compelled to recognize and respect; as a result of the growing power of these movements these two men have been put on the tickets and elected to public office.

Dr. Wm. Preston Hill led the Socialist freeholders with 18,618 votes, while G. A. Hoehn had 5,510 and Wm. H. Priesmeyer 5,516 votes. To the Socialists belongs the credit of having forced the Charter Revision question to the attention of the voters of St. Louis during the campaign.

The 18,618 votes of Dr. Preston Hill weigh a dozen times heavier than the 108,412 of Devoy, and the 5,500 votes of Hoehn and Priesmeyer outweigh the 88,614 of Jephtha Howe. Neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties paid the least attention to Charter Revision, until the trio, Hill-Hoehn-Priesmeyer, appeared in the arena supported by a small, but enthusiastic, army of Socialists and other progressive citizens.

The Charter Revision fight has just begun, and the "dreamers" who made things lively during the last few weeks of the campaign will be heard from again before a new Charter will be submitted for a general vote of the people of St. Louis. The votes cast for Dr. Hill and his colleagues in defeat will stand a living protest against a machine-made City Charter.

## WORKING WOMEN OF ST. LOUIS AND VICINITY

These lines are addressed to the women of St. Louis, especially to the working women.

Your husband is a workingman. In order to support his family he must work hard and give the best part of his life to his daily work.

You go to the bakery and you will find that the 5-cent bread is not as big as it was years ago; that you get less cake for a nickel. You go to the shoe store and there you will find that shoes cost more than they used to.

Ten years ago you could buy more meat, bread, shoes, etc., for \$5 than you can buy today for \$8.

Why is everything so high-priced? Some slick fellow may tell you: "The high wages of the workmen are the cause of it!" This is not true.

And now comes the Bakery Trust and attempts to run the bakery business of St. Louis!

American Bakery Co. has gobbled up the following bakeries:

- Heydt Bakery Co.
- Condon Bakery Co.
- St. Louis Bakery Co.
- Freund Bakery Co.
- Welle-Boettler Bakery Co.
- Hauk & Hoerr Bakery Co.

## CATHOLIC LABOR SOCIETIES ORGANIZED

**Under the Direction and Guidance of Priests for the Purpose of "Protecting the Trades Unions Against Socialism."--The Work Started in Three St. Louis Congregations--One Branch Planned for Every Catholic Parish--Reverend Wegmann's Sensational Prophecy.**

On Monday, March 8, Reverend A. Wegmann, a Catholic priest from Germantown, Ill., delivered a lecture at Goller Hall, St. Louis, on the subject: "The Catholic Workingman in the Trades Unions." Our German organ, Arbeiter-Zeitung, published the lecture, as it had been reported in the columns of the Catholic daily paper, "Amerika."

We translate some of Rev. Wegmann's remarks for the benefit of those of our comrades who do not understand German. The reverend gentleman said:

"The time is passed when there were many Catholics who looked with distrust upon the labor unions. No human being, nothing in the world, has contributed more to the improvement of labor's economic conditions than these very trade unions. Labor's condition today is by no means as bad as formerly. And it is in these very unions where the Catholic workman must fulfill his duty as a missionary. In line with the doctrines of the Church he must be active, and by his example he must show to those of other religious faith and to those who do not believe, how work can be made a pleasure instead of a burden. These he cannot accomplish by agitation and advocating schemes of rebellion and revolution, as Socialism would like to teach. And it is just right there where the Catholic workman must interfere, in order that the Trades Unions will not become the hothouses for Socialism. Until now, of course, the unions have remained fairly distant from Socialism; the Church, Christianity, has interfered and prevented Socialism from getting the upper hand. But the danger does exist, the danger is confronting us, the oppressive atmosphere is weighing upon us and threatens with the breaking loose of the thunderstorm.

"I am sorry to admit that we Catholics, from the Episcopate down to the clergy and laymen, are too indifferent, too superficial and careless. Bishops and priests should take up the question more and more, and with good example and inspiration cause activity. And this activity must be exercised by the workman. He must inform himself, and must listen to information, and then he must go into the unions and there, by his example, put into effect the true and only saving principles of the faith and of the Church. He shall be in a position to take part in the business transactions of the unions, to take the floor, just as well as the Socialists, who keep themselves posted and who usually monopolize the floor, or at least, try to monopolize it."

Since the above lecture was delivered a subscriber sent us a circular addressed to the Catholic workmen of the St. Louis parishes calling upon them to organize in accordance with the aims pointed out by Rev. Wegmann in his lecture, as quoted above. The circular says that this latest organization of Catholic workmen among themselves was necessary in order to protect the individual brother against the possibility or danger of being sidetracked and erring about in the wilderness where he might join those who aim at revolutionizing the present order of things. "We must endow the Catholic workmen with a noble class consciousness," says the circular, "of course, not with that class consciousness which seeks its strength in the hatred against other classes."

The circular is signed by "The Organization Committee: Franz de Sales Goller, Papal House Prelate, Spiritual Adviser; J. J. Ball, John E. Haefner, George Hallermann, Isidor Herleth, Franz Micka, Christof Nathe, Otto Pfeiffer, and Henry Poetz."

The daily "Amerika" of March 31, 1909, reported of a meeting held at the School Hall of the St. Agatha Church, where Branch 1 of the Catholic "Labor's Welfare" was organized. Mr. Rudolf Krueger, Secretary of the German Roman Catholic Central Federation, addressed the meeting. The call of the organization committee, written by the editor-in-chief of the Catholic daily organ, "Amerika," Mr. Kenkel, was read and endorsed, and an interesting debate followed. Rev. Kuper, of the St. Agatha Congregation, made some inspiring remarks, and then it was decided to organize the first branch of the Catholic Workingmen's Federation "Arbeiterwohl," which means "Labor's Welfare," the object of which is to fight Socialism in the trade unions. The election of officers resulted as follows: Chairman, Leonard Forster; vice-chairman, Andrew J. Hennerich; secretary, John Otto Pfeiffer; treasurer, Chris. Nathe; trustees: Henry Biedermann, Anton Esswein, Isidor Herleth. The old organization committee, consisting of J. Boll, John A. Haefner, G. Hallermann, Isidor Herleth, Franz Micka, Christ. Nathe, John Otto Pfeiffer and Hy. Poetz, received a vote of thanks, and was instructed to immediately arrange for affiliation with the Missouri Catholic Union. Editor F. P. Kenkel of the "Amerika" was instructed to draft, without delay, a Declaration of Principles, and submit the same to the committee.

The "Amerika" of April 2 reports of a meeting of Catholic workmen held at the hall of the German Trinity Church in North St. Louis, where Branch 2 of the new federation was organized. Rev. erend Lubeley, Mr. R. Krueger and Editor Kenkel addressed the meetings. Speeches were also made by Messrs. J. Herleth and John Haefner, who were present as a committee from the St. Agatha Congregation branch of the "Labor's Welfare." Messrs. Conrad Obergossel, Simon Tomaschetz, Hy. Gaferick, August Fressmeyer and Borgmeyer were elected as committee to take charge of the organization work of this second branch of the "Labor's Welfare."

Our German organ, "Arbeiter-Zeitung," appeals to the trade unionists and workingmen in general not to permit the introduction of religious sectarianism in their organizations. Trades Unions stand on higher grounds. Whether Catholics or Protestants, Hebrews, Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians, all are welcome in the ranks of Organized Labor. If every one of the 150 religious sects were permitted to use the labor movement for its specific purpose, there would soon be little of a labor movement left. Instead of brotherly co-operation there would be religious dissensions and fights carried right into the labor unions much to the detriment of the entire movement. We have neither Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Baptist, nor Methodist labor unions, but a national and international trades and labor movement.

**Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1908.**

Contains a complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the entire session. It presents the entire argument upon every question that was discussed. It is handsomely and durably bound and contains a complete alphabetical index. Fifty cents per copy; no reduction in quantities.

**Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.** By William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax. Chicago. Chas. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. 'Tis a splendid little volume which should find its way into every public and private library.



## THE RECALL ELECTION IN LOS ANGELES

**Our Comrades Issue Post-Election Statement --Some Figures and Comparisons in May-orality Vote of Last Week and Those of Previous Elections.**

Comrade Fred C. Wheeler to the Voters of Los Angeles.

Los Angeles, Cal., April 3.—"I understand from unofficial returns that Mr. Alexander has been elected by a small majority.

"I entered the fight without financial assistance save the few dimes and dollars subscribed by the Socialist Party and trade union friends. Our total expenses did not exceed \$225. Against this we had a powerful organization which spent \$250,000, having a large and influential press at their command. They influenced the public mind by false and malicious statements. Against this great aggregation of capital and organized effort we had practically nothing save a few volunteer workers. We did not spend a dollar for carriage or automobile hire or for precinct workers.

"For twenty years I have been a worker for the rights of the common people and though defeated in this contest I bow to the will of the voters and will continue to do in the future as I have done in the past. To those who gave me their support I am grateful, and against those who did not I cherish no bitterness.

"I will continue to agitate and educate, and believe that in a short time the people will recognize that the only way to secure clean government is to remove the causes that create the evil conditions from which we suffer.

"The Socialists were the originators and pioneers of the recall law, and we caused its adoption into the present city charter. Had the people known this fact it would have materially changed the result."—Fred C. Wheeler.

Common Sense publishes these items, which give a fair picture of the political situation to the outside comrades:

Total vote cast at the municipal election of 1906 was 31,388, distributed as follows: Harper (Dem.) 10,604, Gates (Mun. League) 8,465, Lindley (Rep.) 6,926, Wilson (Public Ownership) 3,877, Marck (Soc.) 868, Philips (Pro.) 611.

Total vote cast at the presidential election of 1908 was 41,813, distributed as follows: Taft (Rep.) 23,519, Bryan (Dem.) 13,753, Debs (Soc.) 2,688, Chafin (Pro.) 1,409, Hissen (Ind. L.) 444.

Total vote cast at Recall election 26,715 (total registration about 65,000), of which Alexander received 13,936 and Comrade Wheeler 12,421 votes, giving Alexander a plurality of 1,515, with a couple of hundred scattered votes. The wards of toil, exploitation and of the victims of system went for Wheeler as follows: Second ward, Wheeler 1327, Alexander 1187; Sixth ward, Wheeler 2851, Alexander 2724; Seventh ward, Wheeler 1662, Alexander 617; Eighth ward, Wheeler 532, Alexander 110; Ninth ward, Wheeler 1008, Alexander 978. Pure Alex won in the wards of the slinkers, of the victimizers under the system, of the sanctimonious semi-retired ones as follows: First ward, Alexander 1431, Wheeler 1221; Third ward, Alexander 1289, Wheeler 868; Fourth ward, Alexander 2460, Wheeler 1453; Fifth ward, Alexander 3142, Wheeler 1499. These figures are unofficial, vote not yet being canvassed at date of writing.

The real Socialist vote cast is probably safely to be between the combined Socialist (868) and public ownership-union labor (3877) votes of 1906, amounting to a total of 4745, and the Debs vote of 1908: i. e., about 3000. The remainder of \$421 votes cast for the Socialist candidate was an unholy combination of "outs" (composed of disgruntled and graft-greedy Reps. and Dems.) of more or less awakening union labor men, of the S. P. machine, of the liquor interests, of the other "interests" of shame, of the descendants of nationalities which have no use for hypocritical puritanism because not in need of guardianship in the use of stimulants, and, as the Herald reports, of the vice-ignoring Los Angeles police force!

How rotten must conditions be at bottom to unite one set of the exploiters and victimizers into unholy alliance even with the victims and enemies of the system against another set of the exploiters, in frantic fear of exposure. It is a splendid test of the firmness of convictions on the part of the comrades, that, instinctively realizing the unholiness of the "friends of a day," and in spite of the hard financial struggles of the local, all offers of money from the varied conglomerate interests were refused point blank. The party emerged untainted. A few "Socialists" are reported as having electioneered for our Simon-pure Alexander in mistaken fight for "clean" government.

There would not have been much honor in an election of our comrade by such a combination, but much impetus was given to our cause under the circumstances, and much propaganda might have resulted, should Wheeler have been seated, to go on record time and again in his attitude towards measures submitted to the council. He would have brought a new viewpoint into that body; the question: "does the proposed measure benefit the conditions, or is it in the interests of the many; the producers of surplus value, or does it benefit the lesser number who pay taxes out of the surplus value accumulated for them by the many?"

There was talk of possible corruption. Let it be admitted. We know that a good apple could not reform the rotten ones in a basket. But in the signed blank resignation of the candidate out party, and the voting toilers represented in it, possessed a means not only to prevent infection but to localize, if not stop, the process of civic putrefaction in the community. And once an evil is isolated and a sore openly exposed, further remedies can be thought of.

The real apple of discord which caused the machine to attempt at the last hour to swerve its forces into line for our comrade was the Owens river graft. The "ins" were being ousted, and rather than let the "outs" get their fingers in the pie, the "ins" stood for no steal at all; hoping within the short period of nine months to recuperate for another chance at the drippings from the Owens river gold field.

For the international, but far more for the national movement, Wheeler's election would have meant a great deal with regard to the application of Socialist principles as far as such is possible under capitalism. Los Angeles might have rivalled Milwaukee as a field for experiment and study for the adherents of our doctrine from the most radical "impossibilists" to the extremist "opportunists."

## THE FACT IS

the Court of Equity of the District of Columbia declared against the boycott and ordered the American Federation of Labor to discontinue in the columns of the American Federationist under the "We Don't Patronize" list the name of

## The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

This court decision does not make this nor any other unfair concern fair; neither does it make the Union men and women of America forget the fact that Mr. Van Cleave is still fighting the Labor Unions, and that so long as he is pursuing his present Union-killing work he can not expect them to forget the fact that he

## Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

Judge Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, to whom the case was appealed, sentenced

**GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON**

to twelve, nine and six months' jail imprisonment for alleged violation of the injunction, which would mean that Organized Labor shall be deprived of the freedom of press and speech and that a union man or woman would not even be allowed to think of the possibility to

**BOYCOTT THE BUCK STOVE & RANGE CO.** or any other firm that may be unfair to Organized Labor.

## Three Significant Court Decisions

There were three significant decisions in the courts this week. The most important from the labor standpoint, handed down by the United States Court in Missouri, in declaring the two-cent passenger and maximum freight rate law unconstitutional, laid down the principle that corporations were entitled to a minimum of six per cent profits. Stick a pin there, Mr. Workingman. If a corporation is lawfully entitled to a minimum profit, why are YOU not entitled to a minimum rate of wages?

Perhaps if you get it through your thick think-box it will dawn upon you that decisions can be rendered in your favor, as well as the corporations are now receiving privileges, when you have gumption enough to vote the capitalistic parties and politicians out of power and place labor people in control.

The other two decisions had to do with Standard Oil. The United States Court rehearing the \$29,000,000 fine case reversed the Landis decision and pronounced the Standard an innocent party, and thus practically smashed the Elkins law as well as the Sherman anti-trust law—except, of course, where the latter statute may be enforced against some hungry labor crowd.

The Missouri decision was the comical one. The New Jersey and Indiana branches of Standard Oil are peremptorily forbidden from selling their products in that state. But the Waters-Pierce Co., 60 per cent of the stock of which concern, as was shown in the proceedings, is controlled by the Standard, was permitted to do business in Missouri as usual.

After all of this judicial buffoonery, is it any wonder that the plute bunch, from John D. down to the meanest little parasite with a capitalist mind, are holding their sides for fear of breaking their ribs with laughter?

Let us not look with contempt upon the monkeys in the jungles of Africa or any who may land there in the near future.—Cleveland Citizen.

### GRAND EIGHT-HOUR DEMONSTRATION IN STAUNTON, ILLINOIS.

The United Mine Workers of Staunton, Ill., celebrated their annual Eight-Hour demonstration on April 1 at the City Hall Park, where an immense crowd assembled to listen to the speakers and enjoy the concert music rendered by a Union band. Local Union President Bro. Lawn Sewell acted as chairman. Addresses were delivered by State President Duncan McDonald, G. A. Hoehn, John H. Walker and Prof. L. Zozwick.

### SUCCESSFUL MARCH FESTIVAL AT SOCIAL TURNER HALL.

The March festival of the St. Louis Socialists at the Social Turner Hall was a decided success. Comrade Thompson's speech was appreciated by all who heard it; we publish a synopsis of same elsewhere. The workingmen's singing societies, Freiheit, Herwegh Saengerbund and Arbeiter Saengerbund, attended and contributed much to the success of the festival.

### ATTENTION!

**To the Working People of the Eighteenth Ward:**

The Label Section of St. Louis will give a public entertainment with stereopticon views, at Plummer's Hall, Thirteenth and Benton streets, Monday evening, April 12, at 8 o'clock. Interesting address by Mr. Owen Miller, president of Central Trades and Labor Union. Come one! Come all! Admission free.

### ATTEND THE GRAND EUCHRE AND HOP

Given by the Central Trades and Labor Union on Tuesday, April 27, at Ashbroedel Hall, 3535 Pine street. Tickets 50 cents. The affair is given for the benefit of the locked-out hatters of the East. One hundred prizes will be given. Make this festival a success.

### GOMPERS ASSAILS TAFT'S POLICIES.

**President Is Trying to Justify Action on Labor While Judge, Editorial Says—Cites Address of 1907—Departure From Roosevelt's Ideas Is Charged in Federationist Editorial.**

Washington, March 25.—Charging that President Taft has departed from the Roosevelt ideas with regard to labor, and that Roosevelt himself ceased his attacks upon "malefactors of great wealth" during the last campaign in order to secure the support of the business interests for the Republican candidate, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor attacks the labor policy of the present administration in an editorial in the April issue of the American Federationist.

Gompers calls attention to an address made by Taft in Seattle in 1907, before he left for the Philippines, in which he stated his views on the injunction. There was no occasion for this utterance of the present President at that time, says Gompers, except to catch the vote of the manufacturers.

### To Give "Trusts a Hint."

"Judge Taft, while proclaiming that he would follow the 'Roosevelt policies,' took the opportunity," says the editorial, "to give the corporations, trusts and employers hostile to labor a broad hint as to where he might be found. What better subject as an indication that he was a 'safe' man than to declare against labor's contention for equality before the law."

Speaking of Roosevelt, Gompers says: "In speeches and messages to Congress he recommended and urged Congress by legislation, to abate the abuses of the injunction and remedy the wrong. It is likely that, had he not been so deeply interested in the election of Mr. Taft, he would in due time have agreed with labor as to the remedy upon which it insists."

Gompers' analysis of that part of Taft's inaugural address that deals with the anti-trust law declares Taft wishes the law amended only in so far as it affects trusts.

He says the difficulty with Taft is he is trying to be consistent with his labor decisions while a judge.

**Here Is a Good Pamphlet for Democratic and Republican Workingmen to read after the Nov. 3 elections: "What Help Can Any Workingman Expect from Taft or Bryan?"** Price 5c a copy. This pamphlet is better now than before the day of election. Gradually the "free-born sovereigns of labor" are sobering up and a little reading on these lines may make thinking men out of them.

**Socialism in Theory and Practice.** By Morris Hillquit. New York. The Mac Millan Co. Price, \$1.50. The author is well known in the American movement and well acquainted with International Socialism. In theory and practice his knowledge is far above the average, and the students of the social problem will find the work a source of valuable information.

### DEBS' LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Our book department has a good stock of the Debs' book on hand. It contains a biography, his writings, speeches, and some appreciations by well-known individuals. The book is well illustrated and finely bound and printed. Every Socialist will need it for reference. Every friend of liberty and progress will prize and cherish it. Get a copy for your library. Price \$2.

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### THOMAS McGRADY'S LAST WILL.

This Is What His Pamphlet On "The Catholic Church and Socialism" May Justly Be Called.



One of the best (if not THE best!) pamphlets written by Rev. Thomas McGrady is "The Catholic Church and Socialism." It is an eye-opener. It is his last will, if we may call it so, for it was written in July 1907, only a few months before his death. It is a presentation of facts, free of any tendency of ill feeling or abuse. Hundreds of thousands of copies of this valuable little pamphlet should be circulated. It is equally instructive to Socialists and non-Socialists. The pamphlet contains an introductory comment by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, and introductory notes by the editor of The Arena, who first published the article in July, 1907.

It was when Comrade Debs had just handed the copy of his comment to the printer, to be set up for this edition of the pamphlet, that he received the sad news of the sudden death of the brave comrade and friend Thomas McGrady. This makes the little pamphlet only more valuable.

The retail price of the pamphlet "The Catholic Church and Socialism" is advertised as 10 cents; but we have made special arrangements whereby we are in a position to sell it for 5 cents a copy, and mail it to any address, postage prepaid. Read it! It is good! Labor Book Department, 212 S. Fourth St., St. Louis, Mo.

**Vital Problems in Social Evolution.** By Arthur Morrow Lewis. Chicago. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. This little work contains a series of ten lectures delivered by the author.

## St. Louis Socialist Municipal Platform

**CITY CHARTER REVISION** In view of the fact that our present City Charter has become antiquated and contains many serious obstacles to a healthy growth and progress of our municipality; therefore be it

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party demands the immediate revision of said charter in conformity with the city's urgent needs;

**Resolved**, that we favor the election of thirteen freeholders, in accordance with the provisions of our State Constitution, who shall at once proceed with said charter revision work.

**MUNICIPAL FREE BRIDGE** Whereas, the citizens of St. Louis, in June, 1906, by a referendum vote, decided in favor of a municipal free bridge;

Whereas, for the last two years every possible effort has been made by powerful corporation interests to prevent the people of this community from carrying out the plan of building said free bridge; therefore be it

**Resolved**, by the Socialist Party in Convention assembled, to call upon the citizens of St. Louis to insist that said municipal free bridge must be finished and opened for public use not later than January 1, 1911.

**MUNICIPAL LIGHTING PLANT** The Socialist Party insists on the immediate establishment of a system of municipal stations for producing light, heat and power for public and private use, to be managed and operated on the same basis as our municipal water works system. The Municipal Assembly shall not grant any more new franchises to private corporations for light, heat or power purposes; neither shall the present franchises held by private corporations or individuals be extended.

**INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL EXTENSION** Whereas, the St. Louis Industrial School is badly in need of new building, school and other facilities for the safety and welfare of the children whose misfortune it is to become inmates of said institution;

Whereas, not only are the buildings of said Industrial School inadequate, but the present location of the institution is such that the much needed improvements cannot be satisfactorily carried out;

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party proposes the removal of said Industrial School to some favorably located, healthful grounds in St. Louis County, upon which the so-called cottage or group system of buildings can be successfully established.

**MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL REFORM** For years it has been recognized that the system of management and control of our City Hospital and Dispensary service is exceedingly faulty and objectionable. The safety of the health and lives of the city's sick depends on the chance of political fortune, which is inhuman. We must guarantee to the sick poor the best possible care under every and all conditions; therefore, be it

**Resolved**, That the Socialist Party insists on the following reforms: (1) Separation of the Health Department from the Hospital Department; (2) Vesting of control over the hospitals in a Board of Trustees, similar to the School Board and elected by the people; (3) Provision for an executive superintendent; (4) Provision for a medical staff of experienced physicians, appointed by the Board of Trustees for a term of years; (5) Provision for an interne body of physicians, to be chosen on the basis of competitive examination conducted by the staff. Such internes shall be responsible to and under the guidance of the medical staff.

### MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME.

Municipal ownership of street railway service.  
Municipal home rule.  
Public toilet stations.  
More public bath houses.  
Rigid pure food inspection.  
Abolition of grade crossings.  
More small public parks and play grounds.  
A warm meal to be served at public schools during noon recess.  
Establishment of municipal lodging stations for the unemployed.  
Municipal ice plant in connection with City Water Department.  
Municipal employment bureaus; private employment agencies to be prohibited.  
Free medical inspection of all children attending all public and private schools.  
Free legal advice and service to wage workers in suits for wages and against mortgage sharks.  
City Forestry Department to have charge of planting of and caring for shade trees along residence streets.  
Residence building permits to be granted only on condition that dwellings be provided with bath and toilet facilities.  
Abolition of contract system in public works; eight hours workday under **Union** conditions, and civil service for all municipal employees.  
While the street cars are still operated by private corporations we insist on the enforcement of these rules: No seats, no fare; cars must be kept in good sanitary condition, well heated and ventilated; eight hours to constitute a day's work for all street railway employees.  
In order to relieve the serious condition of the thousands of unemployed in this community, we urge the inauguration and pushing of such public works as have already been decided upon or as may be undertaken, thus enabling these unfortunate wage workers to properly sustain themselves and those dependent on them.

### RESOLUTION.

We reiterate our allegiance to the Socialist Party of the United States and endorse its platform. We appeal to the working class, and to all who are in sympathy with the principles above enunciated, to join in this great movement for economic and social freedom.



## WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

### TWO SPEECHES BY INDUSTRIAL WOMEN

Edited by Harriot Stanton Blatch.

On February 6, 1907, at half-past two, a hearing was given by the Joint Judiciary Committee of the Assembly and Senate of the State of New York on a concurrent resolution which proposed to strike the word "male" from Section 1 of Article II. of the Constitution.

The hearing was held in the Senate Chamber and was a noteworthy occasion, as it was the first time women of the industrial class had appeared before a legislative committee at Albany to plead their own cause.

Miss Mary Duffy of the Overall Workers' Union and Mrs. Clara Silver of the Buttonhole Workers' Union were the representatives of labor. They went to Albany as members of the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, and as delegates from the Central Federated Union of New York City. The latter body, it should not be forgotten, is a federation of all the men's and women's trade unions of Greater New York, and is a power in the labor world.

When Mary Duffy rose to address the committee there was an ominous hush in the Chamber, for there was no one present but felt that the occasion was historic. Here for the first time a simple working girl was standing before a body of law-makers to tell them of the realities of her life. Artificially dropped into the background, each hearer seemed to be summoned to lay aside prejudice and privilege and step down into a world of direct, human relation.

Every member of the committee was alert, every ear in the great Senate Chamber strained to catch the words of this young woman from the teeming East Side of New York. She made but one argument, and that as briefly as possible, but it was an argument that rested on her own daily experience. With shyness that was quite apparent, but which only served to emphasize her determination and her devotion to things outside herself, Mary Duffy began:

"Trade unionism is not very popular with some of you; but, gentlemen, it is the only protector we working women have. Why, that law to protect women from night work which some of our friends worked so hard to pass has just been declared unconstitutional. We have no votes to change the constitution. We must depend on our union to protect us. We are ruled out in the State, and why shouldn't our trade union get all our feeling of patriotism?"

"Miss Schneiderman, who wanted to come here today, but could not leave the city, sent you a message by me. Rose Schneiderman is a cap-maker. She is a Russian, but has been a long time in America. She told me to tell you how we women who were born in America or have lived here a long time and have learned to understand the laws in this country feel when we see some man from Europe who knows nothing of free government and is too old to learn just put right over our heads."

"And, gentlemen, this shows in our working life. That man learns his lesson quickly, and thinks himself superior to every woman. He won't take his place in any organization according to his ability, but wants to push in and lead, when he is not up to it."

"Some one asked me the other night at the League of Self-Supporting Women if my union aimed to make women's wages equal to men's. Why, I told them, the whole effort was to keep men's up to ours."

"In some of the clothing trades almost all the workers a little time ago were women, and women who had been born in America, or who had lived here a long time. They were self-respecting women, and skilled in their trade. Then came the foreign men. They knew nothing about the country or the conditions here, but the State told them they knew everything better than any woman. Well, in such unions we women have a tough job bringing the men up to our standard. The State has much to answer for in filling those men full of conceit."

"Gentlemen, that training school of mine, the trade union, has taught me that men and women must stand as equals. The big, strong man doesn't want any advantage over us; and the small man ought not to have any advantage in citizenship, for it only makes him overbearing."

"Two million of the big, strong men, the men in the National Federation of Labor, have declared that they want us working women to be their equals in the State. And I bring this resolution from the Central Federated Union in New York asking you to help us get the vote:

**Whereas**, Women workers are handicapped as wage earners through being deprived in the State of New York of full citizenship; be it therefore

**Resolved**, That the Joint Judiciary Committee of the Senate and Assembly be urged to report favorably the concurrent resolution which proposes such an amendment to the Constitution as shall give women the same protection which men now enjoy as voters."

As Mary Duffy stood, tall and slender, holding out a copy of the resolution to the chairman, she added in a voice full of emotion: "One of the ladies in opposition has just asked you to save her from the cares of citizenship and leave her free to carry on her charity and philanthropy. Charity for whom? Why, for such as me! But, gentlemen, we don't want charity, we want justice."

An impressive silence held the Senate Chamber, a silence vibrating with profound respect and sympathetic interest as Miss Duffy took her seat and Mrs. Silver was introduced to the committee. One could feel the unspoken demand on every side for more of this direct touch on the facts of every-day life.

Mrs. Silver is English and speaks with a winning English accent. Her voice is very low, but it possesses that quality which carries every word distinctly to her most distant hearer. Her manner is quiet, and it was evident that she was making her maiden effort; but the little touch of embarrassment only made her story the more vivid and appealing. She said: "I came to this country some twenty years ago. I had been trained for the tailoring trade. And I had had some training in politics, too. My home was in Birmingham, and my father and mother often took me to hear John Bright. I can remember as a child standing in a crowd on the platform, packed in tight, and listening to our great orator. And when I was older I joined the other women and canvassed for our candidate. I worked for Joseph Chamberlain once in that way. He was a radical then. My mother was a great politician. Some people think that doesn't do for wives and mothers; they say it makes us neglect the home. Well, my home was always neat and orderly. And my mother is living today, a hale and hearty old lady of over eighty with nine sons and three daughters. Politics and home life seem to be a pretty good combination."

"Perhaps, to think of things outside themselves makes both men and women stronger and more self-reliant. Anyway, I notice it is more difficult to organize women in my trade in New York than in England. In my union, that is the needleworkers, the women are almost all foreigners. They come from places in Europe where even the men don't know much about suffrage or liberty of any kind. Such women are rather meek, willing to submit to anything the boss asks. And these women are not good housekeepers and mothers. My experience teaches me that it is the upright and downright woman that makes the best home and the best worker. The meek woman is ready to knuckle under to anything, for she has no self-respect."

"We working women are often told that we should stay at home and then everything would be all right. But we can't stay at home.

We have to get out and work. I lost my husband. He was a diamond setter, a fine workman, and he earned good money, but he fell ill and was ailing a long time. I had to go back to my trade to keep the family together. Gentlemen, we need every help to fight the battle of life, and to be left out by the States just sets up a prejudice against us. Bosses think and women come to think themselves that they don't count for so much as men. I think that the ladies who just asked you not to give them suffrage lack self-respect. I was sorry to hear them speak of women as they did in front of men. They seem to look for all the vices and not the virtues of their sisters."

"A little political power doesn't seem to lessen respect for us. I knew women at my home in England who voted and were highly respected. I had an aunt who used to vote. She owned her home and voted for the School Board and all the local officials. (You know, the women in England are entitled to all the votes except the parliamentary.) Election day was a great event. A fine carriage always came for my aunt, and she drove away to the polls. As a child I can remember hanging on the gate and looking up at her as she drove away. She seemed like a queen, and I dreamed I would be a voter some day and a queen, too. But the dream didn't come true, for I came to America. The women don't meddle with politics here, they stay at home, and I don't see any great respect paid to them. I have never seen a fine carriage drive up to their doors to take them anywhere."

"I didn't find that voting did my aunt and the other women any harm. And I am sure that if we had the vote here we could better help our brothers as well as our sisters."

When it came time for the anti-suffragists to make their reply, one of their principal speakers said: "I have been given today much to think about. I am not convinced, but I am silenced." And instead of making the expected argument in reply she sat down. Later, in the corridor, two representative anti-suffragists approached Mrs. Silver and Miss Duffy and congratulated them on their speeches. They expressed deep sympathy with working women. "Then help us to help ourselves," was the quick response.

The cornerstone of the suffrage movement today in America is, no doubt, the self-supporting woman. In Europe wherever there is political upheaval and women are found in the heat of battle with men, bearing with men imprisonment and death for the common cause, there the enfranchisement of women follows as a logical result. The women in Finland have stood shoulder to shoulder with men in the battle for freedom, and today women with men gain the crown of citizenship.

Our struggle in America is an economic struggle, and it is the women that are in the throes of war, who form part of the industrial army, who to the number of 5,000,000 are the fellow-workers of men; it is such women, the self-supporting women, who are destined to win political freedom for their sex.

#### ATTENTION, SUFFRAGE WOMEN!

The hearing on the Chicago Municipal Suffrage Bill will occur at 3 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, April 14, 1909, in the House of Representatives at Springfield, Ill., before a joint session of the committees of which Representative James M. Kittleman and Senator Edward C. Curtis are respectively chairmen.

#### Special Train.

The Chicago delegation, with their nearby friends, will go on a special train at 10:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, April 13, over the Chicago & Alton railway. Tickets can be secured on April 12 or 13 from Mr. C. R. Davidson, Assistant General Passenger Agent, at the Clark street ticket office in the Rector building, or from the clerks in the Union depot, Canal and Adams streets, from which the train will start.

The round trip from Chicago will be \$5.55 on the special train. New cars will be furnished and a cafe car attached. The tickets for returning will be good on any regular train until midnight of Saturday, the 17th. Special sleepers for those desiring to return Wednesday evening will be reserved for the delegation.

This special train will stop for half an hour at several of the principal towns en route, where the Woman's Clubs have requested us so to do, and suffrage speeches will be made from the rear platform to the audiences gathered by local suffragists. Some of the most brilliant women of Illinois will be in the party.

#### Suffrage Contest.

On Tuesday evening the visiting delegation will attend the Illinois College and University Suffrage Oratorical Contest, held in the State House. The first prize is \$100 and the second \$50, through the generosity of Mrs. Elmina E. Springer.

Wednesday morning the visiting women will go early to the State House to meet their respective legislators before the session begins at 10 o'clock. It greatly encourages a lawmaker to know that his efforts in behalf of Woman Suffrage are appreciated by his women constituents.

#### Hearing.

The great hearing will occur at 3 p. m. Wednesday, in the House. About twenty women will make speeches four or five minutes' long.

One of the most frequent objections to Woman Suffrage is that women do not want it. A thousand women coming up to the capitol will help remove this objection. Therefore send me the names of your wisest and most influential women for this trip. Women from towns near by can profit by coming to Chicago and sharing our special rate.

#### Hotels.

On account of the burning of the principal hotel, Springfield accommodations for travelers are insufficient. Delegates who have Springfield friends had better accept their hospitality. For those who prefer to pay, rooms can be secured in private homes by writing in advance to Suffrage Headquarters, 320 Fifth street, Springfield.

#### Reception.

On Wednesday evening, Governor and Mrs. Deneen will tender a reception to the visiting Suffragists from 8 to 10 o'clock. Delegates who do not come in on the Chicago special train may apply for cards for the reception to me or to the Springfield Suffrage Headquarters.

#### Our Three Measures.

There will be altogether three Woman Suffrage measures before the Legislature. The largest is the one for the amendment of the Constitution. This is in charge of Senator W. M. Brown. This would allow women complete suffrage rights throughout Illinois. The next in value is Senate Bill 119, introduced by Senator Billings. It would allow women Municipal and Township Suffrage, and a vote for a few other officials throughout the State. It has received the unanimous recommendation of the Senate Elections Committee, and we hope that it will pass the Senate before our great Hearing.

The third measure, the Chicago Municipal Suffrage Bill, would give only Chicago women the right to vote at Municipal elections. If Senator Billings' bill should become a law the Chicago bill would be unnecessary, but if the Billings' bill should not pass, Chicago women are determined that they must have the right to vote, even if the women of the rest of the State are not equally favored.

CATHERINE WAUGH McCULLOCH,

Chairman Legislative Committee Illinois Equal Suffrage Ass'n. Evanston, Ill.

**The Open Shop.** By Clarence Darrow. Chicago. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, 10 cents. An able exposition of the most vital problem in the American trade union movement.

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They tell you and their customers they are your friends and are friends of organized labor. Yes, they are your friends as long as they can get your money; but for the men in the bakery they have no use, if they belong to their respective unions.

Therefore, union men and women and citizens, show that you are opposed to slavery and that you are further opposed to a concern which tries to monopolize the bread market of St. Louis.

Therefore, we ask the public in general for their support; you can give us your support by asking for bread with the Union Label.

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Herman Winters of Kansas City is now in St. Louis as special organizer of the Bakers' International Union. He is doing good work for his Union, and with the assistance of Peter Beisel and others he is succeeding in getting many new members.

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46



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

#### SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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

#### SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

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

## Republican Campaign Lie

That Socialism played an important role in the last municipal campaign, and that both the Democratic and Republican parties were afraid of a heavy Socialist vote which might swing the election either one way or the other, was strikingly illustrated by the publication of a made-to-order editorial in the Globe-Democrat of Sunday, April 4, i. e., two days before the day of election. It was an anti-Socialist editorial of the kind that Theodore Roosevelt published in The Outlook before departing for his crocodile-hunting trip to Africa.

We reproduce the editorial in full. It illustrates most strikingly as to what extent the capitalist press will carry the work of misrepresentation and lying during a campaign in order to accomplish the purpose.

Our readers are requested to keep in mind the fact that the Globe-Democrat is the organ of the same Republican party which, at the last hour, put Comrade Dr. Simon's name on their School Board ticket, secretly, and without any permission or sanction on the part of the Socialist Party, or of Dr. Simon, our Socialist candidate for School Board. The G.-D. editorial certainly proves conclusively, if any further proof was required, that the Republican machine was not actuated by any sincere motives when placing a Socialist candidate's name also on their ticket at a time when withdrawal had become impossible. It was simply a clever trick to get the best over the Democratic wirepullers, to make it appear that Boss Howe and company were absolutely fair in regard to the composition of the School Board membership, and above all, to catch the votes of a considerable portion of formerly old party voters whose sympathy were strongly with the Socialists, and especially their School Board candidate, Dr. Emil Simon; who had the official endorsement of the German-American Alliance, of which organization he is an active delegate, representing the Turners' and Freethinkers' Societies.

Now, as to the G.-D.'s ante-election editorial against Socialism, here it is in full:

#### Socialism at a High Price.

The French Republic, which has been dabbling in Socialism for a year or two, is beginning to count the cost. Its budget for the present year reaches \$800,000,000, which is a large figure for a country with only half the population of the United States. And the starting point has only been touched. A vast scheme of so-called "reforms," by which the state is made to contribute a share toward the support of everybody, has been undertaken in France, and some of her statesmen, even of the socialist type, are taking a rather gloomy view of the situation. By the new income tax a portion of the enlarged expenditure is expected to be met. Aside from this, however, tribute has been levied on everything which can be made to yield any revenue which will pay the cost of its collection.

On the other side of the British Channel Socialism is also making trouble for the taxpayers and the government. The old-age pensions are taking more money out of the treasury in Great Britain than had been counted on in the beginning. The government officials are said to be surprised at the drain, but they were warned against this legislation before it was enacted, and thus went into the trap with their eyes open. Under the best possible conditions the burdens of government in the British Islands sit heavily on the taxpayers, although the income tax furnishes a considerable portion of it.

Despite the boasts of its advocates Socialism has not yet secured much of a hold in the United States. It is making some conquests here and there in cities, and wins an occasional triumph in state elections. In the national field, however, it has not become a serious factor here. While it made a large proportionate gain in the vote for president in 1904 over 1900, its strength has been virtually stationary ever since. In 1904 the two sections of the Socialist party polled 433,000 votes in the aggregate, while their combined poll in 1908 was 435,000. In warding off Socialism the United States has been far more fortunate than have the leading European countries. In Germany the Socialist is the largest of all the parties. That cult has a strong following in the British, French and Italian parliaments. The French are the most thrifty people in the world, in their personal habits, yet circumstances compel their government to make large outlays. But their statesmen are beginning to see that a halt must be ordered in the outlays which Socialism exacts. In that direction bankruptcy lies.

The reader will ask: What is the object of such a misleading, lying editorial two days before a municipal election?

Why, it is very plain. The Socialist Party of St. Louis submitted to the citizens a fine municipal program setting forth the necessary reforms and improvements in the management of our municipal affairs. This program was widely circulated and favorably commented upon by many who formerly had never paid any attention to the Socialist propaganda work. Something had to be done to check that growing Socialist sentiment on the eve of an important Socialist campaign. Many well meaning workingmen and a considerable per cent. of the small business men might vote the Socialist ticket, hence they must be scared off by giving a false alarm or showing the danger signal.

Thus the Globe-Democrat, under the "influence" of the powerful public utilities corporations, announced to the citizens of St. Louis that Socialism was bankrupting France, England and Germany by all kinds of Socialist reform schemes, for which the taxpayers would have to pay an exorbitant price. In England "Socialism was making trouble for the taxpayers and for the government, etc." The Old Age pensions and other reforms for the benefit of the working people would empty the public treasuries, etc., etc.

In order to scare the mass of small proprietors and business people away from the Socialists and rally them to the support of the G. O. P. the St. Louis voters were informed that the same danger of Socialism and bankruptcy was also confronting this country. The French "statesmen are beginning to see that a halt must be ordered in the outlays which Socialism exacts, and in that direction bankruptcy lies."

Clever Republican campaign work! A splendid Republican campaign argument in favor of the powerful public utilities corporations. We suspect that the above G.-D. editorial was written in the general office of the North American Co. monopoly.

The Globe-Democrat very cleverly fails to inform its readers that the bankruptcy and troubles of the governments and taxpayers in France, England and Germany are not caused by Socialism and the Socialist and labor movements, but by the enormously expanding machinery of capitalist militarism.

## WHAT ROOSEVELT DON'T KNOW ABOUT SOCIALISM

Address by Carl D. Thompson at Social Turner Hall Saturday, April 3, 1909.

When Theodore Roosevelt tackles Socialism he bites off more than he can chew. He may be able to handle nature fakers, or to hunt elephants in Africa, but he is out of his class when he grapples a great public question like Socialism.

If his recent editorial on Socialism in the Outlook is an example of the way Roosevelt does things, he must be a colossal blunder.

There are arguments that can be made against Socialism. And some of them are good ones. But they are scientific and the matter requires some intelligent consideration. Roosevelt has not found a single one. He delivers himself of several columns of stuff about what he terms Socialism, but he doesn't quote a single Socialist authority.

The platforms of a party are its authoritative utterances. Roosevelt doesn't refer to a single one. And when he quotes he gives names that most of us in the Socialist movement never heard of.

I have been a student of Socialism for ten years and have read everything that has been written upon the subject in the English language. Since reading the Outlook article I have appealed to the best-read Socialists in America and none of them ever heard of Carl Pierson or Flinders Petrie as Socialist writers.

One wonders whether Roosevelt knows anything about the subject. In his whole article there is not one word from the real authorities. Not a word from Marx, Engels, Vandervelde, Ferri, Kautsky, Jaures.

And what is worse, Roosevelt is utterly ignorant of the scientific literature that has been written against Socialism. If he had taken fifteen minutes in any good library and read a few pages from men who are really worthy opponents of Socialism he would not have made such a fool of himself.

Professors Schaffle and Sombart of German and Professor Ely of the Wisconsin University have written some really good books against Socialism. They have pointed out some real objections and raised some real difficulties. But Roosevelt is as innocent of these things as a babe.

He informs us that the Socialists propose to pay all alike. To prove it he quotes a certain book and a certain page. On that page of that book I find these words: "Equality of remuneration is not an essential condition of the Socialist regime." On another reference which Teddy cites as proof positive that his argument is true I read: "Under Socialism the worker would get all his earnings."

One would think that a man who has been president of a nation of people that have universities and libraries would at least look up his references before he rushes into print. Teddy is near-sighted.

As a matter of fact Socialism proposes to give every one who works the full products of his labor. This is its final aim, and no Socialist ever proposes equal pay.

Mr. Roosevelt tells us that the Socialists claim that all wealth is produced by manual labor alone. Now that is a ridiculous blunder. I will guarantee that the children in the eighth grade in the public schools of Milwaukee would not make that blunder. And yet he uses up a whole lot of paper and ink in showing how absurd it would be to hold such a position.

But he is at his worst when he comes to the consideration of the moral and ethical part of Socialism. Here he puts on the real Teddy-Terrible air. Socialism is free love, anarchy, despotism, licentiousness and murderous violence.

We were accustomed to hear such things as this ten years ago. But there isn't a reliable newspaper or magazine in the country that has not learned better than this years ago. There isn't a scientific student or teacher that has not told the people better than that. Even Albion W. Small of the Chicago University is astonished at Roosevelt's ignorance on this point and says,—"He has slobbered over."

As to free love everybody knows that the capitalist system, which Roosevelt so furiously defends has very largely destroyed true love and the home relationship among the upper classes. Divorce, prostitution, free-love are all widespread. Will Roosevelt deny it?

And now that same system by crushing childhood, ravishing womanhood with long hours of toil, by robbing the manhood of the returns of his labor, is steadily disintegrating the home life of the

working classes. The rich do not resist. But the workers of the world with all their might are fighting to save their homes and their virtue. Socialism is the struggle of the workers of the world against the forces that are robbing them of everything dear and precious to them.

"No Socialist," says Ely, a man who is not a Socialist, but a man who has sense and fairness, "has claimed that there is anything higher than the pure monogamous marriage." Schaffle says the same. Any fair statement of the case will say the same.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica declares that "the ethics of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them." Perhaps Roosevelt never heard of the Britannica.

He declares that Socialists are blind to everything except the merely material side of life. Professor Ely writes,—"The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily, habitual life of the average man and woman as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of early Christianity." Socialism and Social Reform, page 146.

But the trouble with Roosevelt is that he is neither impartial, nor has he ever submitted his wild rampant nature to the culture of social sentiments or the softening of the sympathetic social conscience.

But what can we expect of a man whose chief amusement is killing things, and whose highest ambition is war? Roosevelt is not the type of mind to deal sympathetically with any spiritual aspiration of the oppressed or the poor. He is superficial and ignorant on economic problems. He has hardly read history.

He insults nine millions of the workers of the world. I will guarantee that he does not know that there are 740 representatives of this movement he seems to be so furious about in the national parliaments of the world. And of course he does not know that every student of current history bears abundant testimony to the remarkable efficiency, and to the high ideals of these men.

Any school boy would know that the Paris Commune was not Socialism. Roosevelt does not. And what is worse he evidently has never read such a work as Lissagaray on the Commune. He still peddles the slander of the working class of the great tragedy and heaps insult upon the dead. Modern historians tell us a different story about the Commune now. But Teddy doesn't read. At least not the workingman's side.

This man has professed to be the apostle of a square deal. I question whether he knows what a square deal is. Some of our comrades after reading his article in the Outlook asked for space to reply. The Outlook refused. They said that the reply did not show proper respect for Roosevelt. This man is looking for lions and crocodiles in Africa but dare not face the Socialists at home.

But after all, why should the Socialists complain? Roosevelt has rendered our cause a great service. In the first place he has stirred up the whole newspaper and magazine world again on the subject of Socialism. Everybody is discussing it now.

And besides he has shown all of us how pitifully weak is the case against Socialism. If this is the best that even the famous roughrider, president of the United States can do against Socialism then the future is secure.

From my experience and knowledge of the labor movement I feel sure the ordinary, even non-Socialist workingman in the labor unions in Milwaukee and St. Louis know enough about Socialism to know that Roosevelt's article is ridiculous. The Outlook may risk such stuff on its educated readers if it thinks wise, but it won't go among the working classes.

## JAN JANOFF POUREN IS SET AT LIBERTY

Commissioner Hitchcock Dismisses Case Against Russian Revolutionist Who Was Imprisoned for Nearly Fifteen Months—Czar's Bloodhounds Fought Again—Right of Political Asylum Upheld.

New York, March 31.—Jan Janoff Pouren is a free man. Commissioner Samuel Hitchcock rendered his decision to-day, denying extradition. Coudert Bros., who have been representing the Russian government, have taken their defeat gracefully and have congratulated the attorneys for the defense, Professor I. A. Hourwich and Simon O. Pollock, on their victory.

Pouren was arrested fifteen months ago on the petition of the Czar and was demanded on charge of murder and arson. But the defense showed clearly that he was a political offender and that all his activities were as member of the executive committee of the Brothers of the Woods.

During the trial the Russian government has shown all determination to torture Pouren by prolonged imprisonment. It fought the case with its usual shrewdness and brutality.

The first hearing came up before Commissioner Shields in November, 1907. At that time the defense did not think it advisable to risk the lives of many witnesses by producing their testimony and relied mainly on the documents of the investigations made by the first Duma in which it was shown that the "confession" in the case of Pouren as well as in the cases of other political had been obtained by torture.

The defense also submitted documents from many sources proving that Pouren was a political prisoner. So much was the evidence to support their side of the case that they were certain that extradition would be denied.

But they were disappointed. Shields decided that Pouren should be sent back to Russia. The decision spread like wild fire all over the world and a strong campaign was begun.

The case attracted wide attention as it was understood that the Russian government was making a test that, if successful, would be followed by the extradition of hundreds of political exiles who fled to this country. The Russians, all through the United States, have made a strong effort to defeat the Czar's attempt to turn this country into an agency for despotism and oppression. Thousands of liberty-loving Americans have been attracted by the necessity to protect the right of asylum in this country and a strong campaign was made in defense of Pouren. Congressman Herbert Parsons conducted the case without charge and hundreds of journalists have taken part in the movement which resulted in the freedom of the Russian Revolutionist.

Thousands of signatures were attached to a petition to ex-President Roosevelt, asking him to reverse the decision. A delegation consisting of William English Walling and his wife, was sent to Washington with the petitions, and the President referred the matter to the then Secretary of State, Elihu Root, who ordered that a re-hearing be granted.

At that time Commissioner Shields asked to be excused from further duties on this case and Samuel Hitchcock was directed to take his place.

The second hearing was a very sensational one. Ten members of the Brothers of the Woods, who had acted with Pouren, came forward and gave their testimony, which consisted in telling of Pour-



en's activity in the revolution, and of Russia's brutality in checking it. After the hearing the Russian Government asked for time to deny the testimony.

In this manner is prolonged the trial from the beginning of this year until to-day, when the decision that freed Pouren was rendered by the Commissioner.

While the fight for Pouren was going on there was a case of a similar nature in Chicago, that of Christian Rudowitz, who was demanded on the same charges. Rudowitz was ordered released by Secretary Root in spite of the fact that Commissioner Mark A. Foote, of Chicago, recommended that he be extradited. The two victories in the cases of Pouren and Rudowitz are of the utmost importance as it will check further efforts on the part of the Russian government to molest the escaped fighters in the revolution.

The efforts of the Russian government to get Pouren and Rudowitz, as explained by the attorneys in these cases as being significant not only in punishing the revolutionists, but in showing to the people in Russia that there is no safety in running away to America.

At present the United States and England are the only countries in which a political offender is safe from Russia. This accounts for the determined efforts, too, of the Czar to shut off the avenue of escape by turning Uncle Sam into an agent to work for the infamous third division—Russia's greatest spy system.

## A Few Judas Iscariots in the Western Federation of Miners Exposed

In the last issue of the Miners' Magazine, we exposed the treason of M. E. White, the financial secretary of Trinidad Miners' Union of Trinidad, Colorado. A cut of the serpent was presented, in order that the membership of the federation might memorize the features of the Judas who sold his honor for the dirty, blood-stained dollars of a detective agency. It has been deemed advisable to again place his picture in this issue of the official organ, in order that White may not soon be forgotten by men who despise and loathe a traitor. White has been identified with the labor movement of the West for a number of years, and on account of unusual activity, was able to create the impression among a vast number of the members of organized labor, that he was a stalwart and worthy of the fullest confidence of the working class.

White, having gained the trust and confidence of his fellow associates, was able to command official recognition in the Western Labor Union, and when that Union became absorbed by the American Labor Union, White was still able to command a seat on the executive board. White was always anxious to impress upon the membership of organized labor, that his life was consecrated to the down-trodden and oppressed; and when denouncing "predatory wealth," he almost went into convulsions. The spasms of White, were merely to cloak his villainy and to better hide from his fellowmen, his brazen treachery and shameless duplicity. In the last annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, the delegates will remember that during the first few days of the session, White was somewhat noisy and to some extent, played the role of the orator, but suddenly, White became mute, as he scented the fact that he was then under suspicion. While White attended the last convention, he did not fail to report every night to his paymaster, Superintendent Stewart of the Thiele Detective Agency, and this Benedict Arnold, did not seem to realize, that while he was in Denver attending the convention, that his every move was shadowed. The officers of the Federation, however, were in no hurry to unmask this villain, and continued to trail his movements, until the evidence against him was so overwhelming and convincing, that no attempt upon the part of White, could remove the fact of his guilt and perfidy. White was only anxious to maintain an organization in the southern coal fields of Colorado, in order that the United Mine Workers of America might be unable to regain its former foothold. While he used all his cunning to prejudice the coal miners against the United Mine Workers, and in so doing, had the support of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, backed by all the gunmen and hired thugs employed by these corporations to uphold "law and order." In fact, when organizers of the United Mine Workers were beat up by thugs in the Southern coal fields more than a year ago, White was cognizant of the plot that was hatched, and with this knowledge, the paid hireling of the Thiele Detective Agency quietly exulted as he learned of the brutal assaults being carried out successfully.

Shortly after the adjournment of the last convention of the W. F. M., a rumor was circulated that organizers of the U. M. W. of A. were to invade Gallup, New Mexico, for the purpose of endeavoring to build up a local union of the United Mine Workers. As soon as the coal companies of Gallup heard of the rumor, White was immediately called to Gallup, and urged to organize a local union of the W. F. M. in order that the United Mine Workers might be baffled in their attempt to effect an organization among the coal miners. The coal companies entertained the opinion, that any local union organized and established by White, could be controlled and handled by White in such a manner, that the coal corporations of Gallup would be safe in tolerating such a local union. White has been expecting the storm, and at present writing is in Denver, as his cowardly heart fears the indignation of the men who paid him a salary for three years.

We are likewise presenting another picture of a traitor who is now in Trinidad, Colorado, to fill the place made vacant by White's departure.

Andrew N. Olson is a member of the W. F. M. and is likewise a member of the U. M. W. of A. In December, 1907, Olson was sent to Hastings, Colorado, to report the names of union men to the Victor Fuel Company. He secured work in the mines and served

Victor Fuel Company faithfully, by reporting the names of all union men. While the mine operators of the northern coal fields of Colorado and the coal miners were holding a conference in Denver last summer, Olson was called to Denver by his paymaster, and made it his business to mingle with the members of the United Mine Workers' committee. He made his reports every night to Attorney Blood of the northern coal companies. Olson was faithful, and while hanging around the Markham Hotel, the headquarters of the Miners' Committee, was successful in abstracting a number of telegrams that came from President Lewis of the national organization at Indianapolis. Olson then went to Victor, Colorado, and worked in the Golden Cycle mine. His duty was to keep an eye on all miners suspected of high-grading. While Olson was in Victor working in the Golden Cycle mine, he was assisted by Erickson and Nelson, two other sleuths whom we will mention ere we close this article on degenerates in the employ of detective agencies. It will be remembered that about two years ago or more, A. W. Gratius was exposed as a sleuth for the Pinkerton agency. Gratius was a member of the Smelters' Union at Globeville, and was a delegate to the annual convention of the W. F. M. in 1904.

Gratius was sent to Fairbanks, Alaska, during the summer of 1908 and remained there until September. He then returned to Denver, and about December, was sent to Cobalt, Ontario, and worked in a mine there, until the latter part of December, when he again returned to Denver. Gratius holds cards in the W. F. M. and U. M. W. of A. and travels under the names of A. W. Green and Robert T. Locke. About the 10th of January, 1909, Gratius was sent into the coal fields of the East to play the Judas against the United Mine Workers.

C. A. Erickson who has already been mentioned was detailed last November to go to the Cripple Creek district and secure employment in the Golden Cycle mine near Victor, in order that he might be able to furnish some evidence against suspected high-graders. Erickson, as a sleuth, was a failure, as the miners "got next" shortly after his appearance in the mine. He was forced to come back to Denver, and at the present writing, is hanging around Denver hoping that the Thiele Agency may be able to use him for some other dirty work.

H. G. Stoddard is another degenerate who hungers for the money of a detective agency. Stoddard holds a card in the Cripple Creek District Union, No. 234, and during the months of November and December, he was watching the Dante mine. Stoddard is looked upon as crafty and cunning, and will probably wend his way to Nevada in the near future. Stoddard is at present in the Cripple Creek district.

M. B. Duncan, another member of the W. F. M. operated at Morenci, Arizona, from June, 1907, until about the middle of the year 1908. When he returned to Denver, he was sent into the Cripple Creek district with instructions to secure the books of No. 234 for the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association. He failed in his mission and was soon recalled and sent to Bisbee, Arizona, to report proceedings of the union meetings and to furnish the names of union men to the Calumet and Arizona M. Co. Duncan sometimes goes by the name of C. K. Smith and is now at Leecompton, Kansas.

C. S. Crawford is another foul wretch who used his card in the W. F. M. to draw a salary from the Thiele Detective Agency. Crawford was in Bisbee for nearly two years and reported the union meetings and furnished the names of union miners to the Copper Queen Mining Company. While in Bisbee, he was engaged in the restaurant business as a blind to cover his infamy. Crawford sometimes assumes the name of B. I. Brown, and made himself so popular in Bisbee, that he was elected vice president of the local union. Crawford is now in Denver waiting to be sent to some new field to earn blood-money.

H. Yonkers is another bird that befools his nest. Yonkers is equipped with cards from the W. F. M. and U. M. W. of A. Yonkers was sent into Morenci, Arizona, in June, 1908, to relieve his pal, Duncan. He is now employed in the company's store (Detroit C. M. Co.) and his duties are to keep his eye on union affairs and to scrutinize closely the management of the company's store.

F. T. Herzinger is another undefiled apostle of the detective agency, who used his W. F. M. cards to corner "easy money." Herzinger was formerly marshal at Telluride and was stationed at Morenci for two years. While at Morenci, he served as shift boss and reported union meetings. When the activity of unionism abated some what at Morenci, Herzinger, after taking his family to Los Angeles, went to Naco, Arizona, to investigate the alleged revolution movement and to report his findings to the Moctozuma Copper Co. In December, 1908, he appeared in Bisbee and in January, 1909, he was sent to Courtland, Arizona, as a salaried spotter.

F. W. Nelson, who has been formerly mentioned, holds cards in the W. F. M. and U. M. W. of A. Nelson operated in Moyie, B. C., where he fell in with R. M. McClellan, who sometimes for convenience, assumes the name of R. M. Anderson. Nelson carried on his operations at Lafayette and Louisville, Colorado, and during the conference between the miners' committee and the mine operators held at Denver last summer, served as a kind of a valet to A. N. Olson, who has already been mentioned. Nelson spent some time around Trinidad, Hastings and Aguilar, and about November, 1908, was sent to Bisbee, where he is now "doing business."

Ray Sickles is another "guy" who is fond of the dirty dollar and who has used his W. F. M. card to commit treason to his fellowmen. Sickles was at Lowell, Arizona, for about eighteen months and reported the names of union miners to the Calumet & A. M. Co. In September, 1908, he was transferred to Victor, Colorado, and instructed to secure employment in the Golden Cycle mine. Sickles was suspected of being a sleuth and it became so warm for him, that he sought another berth at Colorado City, but for some reason was unable to secure employment in the Golden Cycle mill. Sickles is still in Colorado, waiting for "something to turn up."

There are a number of others who are in the employ of the Thiele Detective Agency who are taking a prominent part in a number of the local unions of the W. F. M. and will be exposed in the official organ, just as soon as the evidence justifies exposure. While there are a number of men in the Western Federation of Miners against whom circumstantial evidence is strong, yet, these men will not be uncovered, until the evidence against them is indisputable. To mention the name of any man to whom suspicion points would be an injustice, for according to law, every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty.

This issue of the Miners' Magazine should be preserved by the members and used as a reference, in order that those who have been exposed, may not be able to impose further upon the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners.

## The Socialist Party in Danger

There are many men in the Socialist party, who are beginning to realize that the party is in imminent danger of being wrecked. It is folly for intelligent men in the party to close their eyes to the dangers that are apparent. In almost every state in which the party has taken a foothold, factional strife reigns rampant and energy is wasted in life efforts of one faction to subjugate or destroy the other.

It is not the rank and file of the party that are breeding internal dissension, but the men and women who have attained prominence and who have been looked up to as intellectually and morally strong, who are responsible for the disruption, which if not checked in the near future, means a numerical decrease in membership that will require years of effort to regain.

It is idle to expect men and women to cling tenaciously to the principles of the Socialist party, while the impression is being forced upon them that men high in the councils of the party are but wolves in sheep's clothing. It is absolutely necessary that men of prominence who claim to be Socialists shall be reasonably clean in their private lives. No man or woman whose private life is dripping with moral filth, can long retain the respect and confidence of the membership of the Socialist party, when it becomes known that such man or woman is inoculated with the microbes of moral degeneracy.

There is another element that has crawled into the Socialist party which is even more dangerous to the party, than that element which closes its eyes to a high standard of principle and honor. During the past year or two, there can be noticed numerous sharks who use their membership in the Socialist party in order that they may more easily impose upon the credulity of the membership.

Selling stock in mines in California, and South America while professing loyalty to the principles of Socialism, will scarcely build up the party that is heralded to redeem a world from the profit system and wage slavery.

Disposing of stocks in airships in Girard through circulars addressed by the endearing name of "Comrade," will hardly inspire confidence in men who have posed as the Samsons of the Socialist party.

The game of speculation and gambling under the name of "Comrade," must be halted by the national officers of the Socialist party, and the men who are guilty of the expert methods of the modern pirate, must be given to understand that the Socialist party cannot be prostituted to subserve the personal interests of the promoters of get-rich quick concerns.—Miners Magazine.

**Not One Cent for the Jobless!**—The Sixtieth Congress enacted 287 general laws, besides two or three thousand special pension acts, and made appropriations aggregating \$2,056,941,203.06. But not one cent did it appropriate and not one act did it pass for the relief of the millions of workingmen in all parts of the country who, during the last seventeen months of the life of the Sixtieth Congress, were vainly begging for a chance to work and were being driven to destitution and desperation by the industrial crisis into which, under the rule of the Congress and President Roosevelt, capitalism had plunged the country.—New York Call.

Socialist Sunday School.

Fifteenth Ward Socialist Sunday School meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at 1823 Carr street.

## Poverty and Drink

Among modern charity workers there is a growing disinclination toward expressing causes of poverty in terms of percentages or, indeed, to trace any given case of destitution to a single cause, for instance, intemperance. That the liquor habit makes for poverty is as clear to them as it was to their less well-informed predecessors in philanthropy. But the recognition is gaining ground that too much is often made of it because of its very obviousness. It lies on the surface and seems so indisputable. In seeking an answer to the question, how far intemperance is the cause of want, it is easy to overlook its correlative, how far intemperance is the result of want? To know that the person who knocks at the almshouse door is now, or has been, intemperate, is not enough; one must also ascertain whether the drink habit undermined economic efficiency in the first place, or whether, prior to becoming a cause of misery, it was the effect of wretched social or industrial conditions or resulted from mental weakness. Of course, whether intemperance has its origin in despondency over impending want or in despair over present destitution or other troubles, it soon ceases to operate as a result and becomes a cause of acuter distress. But it is a long way from such general admissions to a statement of the precise extent to which intemperance causes poverty. It is easy to ignore the more subtle factors in the face of a single bad habit which visualizes a cause of poverty.

There are chiefly two things, broadly speaking, which condition a state of destitution: one is opportunity and the other is capacity. Lack of opportunity to earn a living as a widespread cause of destitution is not simply a socialistic doctrine. This needs no further demonstration than the every-day experience of charity workers in times like those through which the country passed during the winter of 1907-8. That the most abject poverty directly traceable to general economic conditions can exist in countries whose inhabitants are noted for abstemious habits, may be witnessed today, for instance, in Italy and Japan.

Only very recently has serious consideration been given to lack of capacity as a cause of destitution. Reference is not so much to the lack of capacity due to absence of industrial training, which has long been recognized, but the incapacity resulting from want of normal physical and mental powers. This kind of incapacity as a prolific source of poverty has hitherto largely been ignored; in particular has its relations to habits of intemperance been overlooked. To state the proposition differently, it has been overlooked that intemperance so often is a result of mental deficiency. This can no longer be regarded as a question of opinion, but must be accepted as an authoritative fact. Dr. Branthwaite, the inspector of inebriates' homes in Great Britain, states that 62 to 63 per cent of all the cases committed to state reformatories are mentally defective. To quote his words, "mental incompetence stopping short of insanity, holds a prominent position in the cause of habitual drunkenness. . . . It is morally certain that the large majority of the cases included in the defective section of the table (1124) start life handicapped by weakness." Dr. Gill, the medical director of the Langho Inebriates' Reformatory in England, states that 66 per cent of those committed are mentally defective, and quoting Dr. Branthwaite's figures as corroborating his own, goes on to say that these figures are of the greatest importance "and reveal a state of affairs that has never been suspected." These statements apply, to be sure, to persons committed to reformatories for "inebriates;" but even of the inmates of the so-called "retreats," a higher class, Dr. Branthwaite says that the fact of their having become slaves to drink "is in itself evidence of the existence of some defect in power of judgment and control over impulses."

Mental deficiency is, however, not the only cause of drunkenness which has received much less attention than deserved. Dr. Branthwaite in his report to the Home Office on this question says: "In addition to transmitted tendency, willful indulgence, and early environment, there are some other causes for drunkenness which have been forced upon our attention, the most important being ill health, accident and old age. It is perhaps, hardly realized how potent ordinary disease and ill health are in the making of inebriates. Predisposition, in the shape of hereditary defect, may be present, and undoubtedly is present, in many persons who nevertheless manage to live sober lives. Although sometimes it necessitates a life-long fight against inclination, their resisting power enables them to keep clear of that which would otherwise be their ruin. But when disease or ill health impairs vitality, this resisting power is lessened, and predisposition assumes unchecked sway.

Concerning the relation of old age to intemperance, Dr. Branthwaite says: "There is every reason to believe that 65 per cent (of aged inmates) have, in their early days, lived decent, useful lives, and that their drunkenness of later years has been due to naturally reduced vitality, with an accompanying defect in power of control. The sequence of events is the same in most old-age cases: Loss of work from incapacity due to approaching age, consequent idleness, poverty, friendliness, impaired power of control, drunkenness. The history is one which might well be as common amongst the higher as amongst the lower classes of society and would certainly be so but for the fact that, in the former, there is usually some interested relative in a position to assume guidance during the later years of life; in the latter there is neither relative able to assume control, nor money to provide hired supervision."

These conclusions from a scientific and unprejudiced investigation can scarcely be said to be reflected in current statements concerning the relation of poverty to drink. Of course they find no place in the sweeping assertions made by those who connect every social ill with intemperance, but they have not in the past received sufficient attention from those whose work it is to understand poverty and relieve it.

The applicability to our condition of the English inquiries concerning the cause of inebriety can not be questioned. If mental weakness, ill health, accidents and old age, in short incapacity, are at the mottom of so much habitual intemperance, it follows that our estimates concerning the extent to which poverty is caused by drink must be rigidly revised, for they have not considered sufficiently the origin of the drink habit, but, having discovered its existence, cheerfully set it down as a cause regardless of its genesis. In other words, accepting the view of the English medical authorities, it is impossible to establish a definite relation between poverty and intemperance from which generalization can be made because so many confirmed inebriates are unfit to struggle with normal persons in competition for a livelihood, or because drunkenness originates in conditions which of themselves are sufficient to produce poverty.

The currently accepted statement in regard to intemperance in this place some of the most trustworthy results of special investigations of the subject shall be briefly referred to.

Mr. Charles Booth, in his investigation of poverty, found that in the workhouses at Stepney, London, 26 per cent of the 634 inmates had been pauperized by drink and 21.9 per cent of 736 cases at St. Pancras workhouse.

These figures are quite at variance with the results from various other European investigations. The German Imperial Statistical Bureau found in 1885 that only 2.1 per cent of 1,367,347 cases were pauperized by drink. Dr. Bohmert, in his study of poor relief in 77 German cities, found only 1.3 per cent. Even smaller percentages resulted from investigations made in the cities of Magdeburg and Stuttgart. Austrian statistics led to similar conclusions, namely, that intemperance is the cause of pauperism in from 1 to 3 per cent.

Among investigations in this country the one conducted some years ago by the Committee of Fifty takes first rank as a careful and unbiased study. As a final result of this inquiry it was found that of 29,923 cases reported by charity organization societies and other organizations dealing with the poor in their homes, 18.46 per cent are attributable to the personal use of liquor; 2.07 per cent to the intemperate habits of one or both parents; 0.45 per cent to in-



temperance of legal guardians, and 7.39 per cent to the intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians. Thus the average percentage of poverty due directly or indirectly to drink was 25.06 per cent, with 6.03 per cent of the total number of cases unaccounted for. In contrast, Mr. Charles Booth, pursuing an investigation in England on the same lines, finds that among 4,000 cases of poverty in East London, 13 and 14 per cent were due to drink, the higher percentage being connected with a greater degree of poverty. In another investigation made by him comprising 5,000 cases of persons living poor and irregular lives, he found 10 and 11 per cent of their poverty attributable to drink, dropping to only 5 per cent for another 3,000 cases of persons who were poor but not so irregularly employed.

Among a total of 8,420 inmates of fifty almshouses representing ten states, the Committee of Fifty found the general average percentage of pauperism due directly or indirectly to drink to be 37.05, with 5.03 per cent of cases unaccounted for. It is stated that this average "simply stands for an approximate expression of the truth."

The divergence between these statistics resulting from special investigations made at various times and in various countries is altogether remarkable and sufficiently illustrates the difficulty of arriving at accurate statements. There is absolutely nothing in any of them to substantiate the views of extremists, and in the light of the more recent investigations of the relation between the drink habit and physical and mental deficiency, it is altogether probable that even in conservative statistics intemperance has been given too prominent a place as a cause of poverty. Only within very recent times has due weight been given to other causes of drunkenness, with the results cited. The obstacles to an intensive study, with a view to determining the percentage of poverty due to drink, are almost insurmountable. It requires, among other things, an expert diagnosis of mental conditions and a complete history of each case. The conservative inquiries made in the United States lack this basis and have, therefore, in all probability, given intemperance an exaggerated place as a direct cause of poverty.

**Pauperism in Prohibition States.**

There is, however, another aspect of the relation of the liquor question to poverty which is pertinent to notice. If intemperance is, as many contend, the most prolific source of poverty, then one should look for a marked diminution of the rate of public pauperism in territories from which it is alleged that the liquor traffic has been excluded. If this is not found to be the case, then only one of the two conclusions is possible: Either the assumed operation of intemperance as the most direct and prolific cause of pauperism does not exist, or the liquor traffic has not been suppressed.

In support of this view the latest official statistics may be cited. The next table is drawn from the United States Census report on Paupers in Almshouses and shows the almshouse population by states in December, 1903, the number admitted during 1904, and the numbers in both groups per 100,000 of population.

The rate of pauperism in almshouses is, of course, more or less determined by a variety of local conditions, which are unaffected by the liquor trade. The question of administration and of the provisions made for the poor is an important one. In states, with a large urban population, where the pressure of competition is keen, the rate will usually be higher than in purely rural states. For purposes of exact comparison these and many other factors must be taken into account. Here the only question is whether the prohibition of the liquor trade is in any way reflected in the pauper returns. That is, through a diminution of the proportion of paupers. There are only three states that can come under survey, namely, Maine, Kansas and North Dakota.

Maine had in December, 1903, a number of paupers in almshouses equal to a rate of 163.1 per 100,000 population. This may be contrasted with a rate of 148.9 for all the North Atlantic states; of 119.1 for Vermont; of 139.8 for New York; of 94.9 for New Jersey (low license), and 135.6 for Pennsylvania. In fact, of all the states, only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Ohio, Nevada and California show a larger number of inmates of almshouses per 100,000 of population than the state of Maine. To dwell in detail on the local conditions and peculiar causes explanatory of the divergence in rates as between different states, would carry us too far afield.

If the number of paupers admitted to almshouses in the course of an entire year be taken as the standard of comparison, Maine shows up better alongside the other North Atlantic states, but it still has a rate in excess of Vermont and New Jersey and very nearly the same as that for Rhode Island. On the other hand, only one of the nine South Atlantic states, namely, Maryland; only one of the eleven great license states of the North Central division, namely, Ohio; and not one of the states of the South Central group show so large a proportion of paupers admitted to almshouses in the course of a year as the state of Maine. In the far western states, where conditions are less comparable, we find larger rates in a majority of instances.

**Population in Almshouses, 1903, the Number Admitted During 1904 and Number per 100,000 of Population.**

State.	1903.		1904.		1903.		1904.	
	General Population.	No. in Almshouses.	No. per 100,000 Population.	No. Admitted.	No. per 100,000 Population.	No. per 100,000 Population.	No. per 100,000 Population.	
Continental U. S.	80,651,957	81,764	101.4	81,412	100.9			
Maine	706,427	1,152	163.1	828	117.2			
New Hampshire	424,150	1,140	268.8	646	152.3			
Vermont	347,660	414	119.1	231	66.4			
Massachusetts	3,008,304	5,934	197.3	8,398	279.1			
Rhode Island	458,214	788	171.9	551	120.2			
Connecticut	966,528	2,067	213.9	2,336	241.7			
New York	7,722,443	10,793	139.8	12,073	156.3			
New Jersey	2,040,882	1,936	94.9	1,589	77.8			
Pennsylvania	6,676,216	9,054	135.6	9,738	145.8			
Delaware	190,556	278	145.9	183	96.0			
Maryland	1,240,236	1,633	131.7	1,617	130.4			
Dist. of Columbia	296,035	230	77.7	148	49.9			
Virginia	1,925,208	1,915	99.5	2,159	112.1			
West Virginia	1,029,035	881	85.6	719	69.8			
North Carolina	1,992,661	1,519	76.2	863	43.3			
South Carolina	1,408,100	686	48.7	432	30.6			
Georgia	2,352,132	1,032	43.9	726	30.9			
Florida	577,677	124	21.5	380	65.8			
Ohio	4,331,414	8,172	188.7	7,091	163.7			
Indiana	2,632,582	3,120	118.5	1,800	68.4			
Illinois	5,148,163	5,635	108.8	4,446	85.8			
Michigan	2,518,659	2,594	103.0	2,472	98.1			
Wisconsin	2,203,671	1,606	72.9	1,092	49.1			
Minnesota	1,909,459	517	26.6	517	27.1			
Iowa	2,346,361	2,019	86.0	896	38.2			
Missouri	3,259,845	2,465	75.6	1,123	34.4			
North Dakota	365,070	184	50.4	163	44.6			
South Dakota	420,550	159	37.8	150	35.7			
Nebraska	1,067,606	464	43.5	174	16.3			
Kansas	1,485,683	780	52.5	555	37.4			
Kentucky	2,250,567	1,678	74.6	1,013	45.0			
Tennessee	2,111,310	1,812	85.8	1,460	69.1			
Alabama	1,941,678	761	39.2	748	38.5			
Mississippi	1,645,035	517	31.4	227	13.8			
Louisiana	1,475,880	149	10.1	75	5.1			
Texas	3,340,100	913	27.3	901	26.9			
Indian Territory	467,982	...	...	...	...			
Oklahoma	512,946	52	10.1	87	16.9			
Arkansas	1,337,265	575	41.7	982	73.4			
Montana	279,308	314	112.4	759	270.2			
Wyoming	103,272	...	...	...	...			
Colorado	585,011	398	68.0	694	118.6			
New Mexico	207,861	...	...	...	...			
Arizona	135,361	146	107.9	436	322.1			
Utah	300,388	184	61.3	124	41.3			
Nevada	42,335	171	403.9	347	819.6			
Idaho	188,010	70	37.2	168	89.3			
Washington	575,749	306	53.1	420	72.9			
Oregon	447,876	257	57.4	545	121.7			
California	1,582,396	4,140	261.6	8,330	526.4			

The validity of comparing the relative number of paupers in an old state like Maine with that of a newer state having a more youthful population and an undeveloped almshouse system, is open to some question. It has been shown, however, that Maine exhibits an unfavorable pauper rate also when brought into contrast with states where such differences do not count.

For Kansas and North Dakota comparisons may be confined chiefly to states within the same geographical division. The number of paupers found in almshouses in Kansas in December, 1903, for each 100,000 of population was 52.5. This is considerably in excess of such numbers for the neighboring state of Nebraska (high license), South Dakota 37.8 and Minnesota 28.6. The relative number of admissions affords figures even less favorable to Kansas, as her proportion is not only larger than that in the states just mentioned, but also larger than in Missouri and practically equal to that in Iowa.

More striking in some respects are the figures for North Dakota, a new state without a single city of importance, and having a youthful population engaged largely in agriculture. Yet it had in 1903 a relatively larger pauper population than found in Nebraska and in the two neighboring license states Minnesota and South Dakota. What is more significant, the relative number of admissions to almshouses in 1904 was also larger than that in Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri, and not much behind Wisconsin. Further comparisons would be superfluous.

Once more it must be emphasized that the ratios advanced can not be accepted as accurate measurement of the comparative extent of pauperism. Their meaning as bearing upon the general problem of poverty does not enter into the discussion. They do, however, refute completely the notion that pauperism is visibly less in prohibition states than in states under license. Therefore, persons holding to the belief that practically all pauperism is due to intemperance find themselves in this dilemma so far as Maine, Kansas and North Dakota are concerned: Either they must abandon their claims about the amount of poverty caused by drink, or they must admit that the prohibitive legislation fails utterly in one of its most cherished aspects.

A wider application might be made of the same line of argument. Year by year the legalized trade in intoxicants has been excluded from over an increasing territory. Meanwhile, other and more potent agencies for moderation in the use of intoxicants have been at work. But the effect is nowhere shown in constantly diminishing rates of pauperism. Nor is it apparent anywhere that private effort to counteract and relieve poverty can afford to be relaxed. To attribute this state of things solely to lack of enforcement of law would be as unreasonable as to contend that intemperance is not prominent among the causes of want. The truth is that a condition of poverty may exist and the poor may multiply in consequence of economic and other influences quite independent of personal habits in respect to the use of intoxicants.

**UNFAIR LIST**

of the

**American Federation of Labor**

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

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

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

- BREAD—McKinney Bread Co., American Bakery Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Gordon & Pagel, Detroit, Mich.; The National Biscuit Co., branches throughout the country.
- CIGARS—Carl Upman of New York City; Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer of New York City, manufacturers of the Henry George and Tom Moore Cigars.
- FLOUR—Washburn-Crosby Milling Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; Valley City Milling Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.
- GROCERIES—James Butler, New York City.
- TOBACCO—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.
- WHISKY—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.
- CLOTHING—N. Snellenberg & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Clothiers' Exchange, Rochester, N. Y.; B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Chicago.
- CORSETS—Chicago Corset Co., manufacturers Kabo and La Marguerite Corsets.
- GLOVES—J. H. Cowrie Glove Co., Des Moines, Ia.; California Glove Co., Napa, Cal.
- HATS—J. B. Stetson Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; E. M. Knox Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Henry H. Roelof & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
- SHIRTS AND COLLARS—United Shirt and Collar Co., Troy, N. Y.; Van Zandt, Jacobs & Co., Troy, N. Y.; Cluett, Peabody & Co., Troy, N. Y.; James R. Kaiser, New York City.
- BOOKBINDERS—Boorum & Pease Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.
- PRINTING—Hudson, Kimberly & Co., printers of Kansas City, Mo.; Times, Los Angeles, Cal.; Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Bulletin; The Butterick Pattern Co., New York City.
- POTTERY AND BRICK—Northwestern Terra Cotta Co. of Chicago, Ill.; Corning Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Co., Corning, New York.
- CEMENT—Portland Peninsular Cement Co., Jackson, Mich.; Utica Hydraulic Cement and Utica Cement Mfg. Co., Utica, Ill.
- GENERAL HARDWARE—Landers, Frary & Clark, Aetna Co., New Britain, Conn.; Brown & Sharpe Tool Co., Providence, R. I.; John Russell Cutlery Co., Turner's Falls, Mass.; Henry Disston & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; New York Knife Co., Walden, N. Y.
- IRON and STEEL—Illinois Iron and Bolt Co. of Carpentersville, Ill.; Casey & Hedges, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Lincoln Iron Works (F. R. Patch Mfg. Co.), Rutland, Vt.; Singer Sewing Machine Co., Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.; Pittsburg Expanded Metal Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; American Hoist and Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Standard Sewing Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Manitowoc Dry Dock Co., Manitowoc, Wis.
- STOVES—Wrought Iron Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.; United States Heater Co., Detroit, Mich.; Gurney Foundry Co., Toronto, Ont.; Home Stove Works, Indianapolis, Ind.; Buck Stove and Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.
- BAGS—Gulf Bag Co., New Orleans, La., branch Bemis Brothers, St. Louis, Mo.
- BROOMS and DUSTERS—The Lee Broom and Duster Co. of Davenport, Ia.; M. Goeller's Sons, Circleville, Ohio; Merkle-Wiley Broom Co., Paris, Ill.
- WALL PAPER—William Bailey & Sons, Cleveland, O.
- WATCHES—Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; Jos. Fahy, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Watch Case Co., Sag Harbor; T. Zurbrugg Watch Case Co., Riverside, N. J.
- WIRE CLOTH—Thos. E. Gleason, East Newark, N. J.; Lindsay Wire Weaving Co., Collingwood, Ohio.
- BILL POSTERS—Bryan & Co., Cleveland, O.; A. Van Buren Co. and New York Bill Posting Co., New York City.
- HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.
- RAILWAYS—Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co.
- TELEGRAPHY—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger Service.
- D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.
- C. W. Post, Manufacturer of Grape Nuts and Postum Cereal, Battle Creek, Mich.
- FIBRE WARE—Indurated Fibre Ware Co., Lockport, N. Y.
- FURNITURE—American Billiard Table Co., Cincinnati, O.;

- O. Wisner Piano Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Krell Piano Co., Cincinnati, O.; Derby Desk Co., Boston, Mass.
- GOLD BEATERS—Hastings & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Keeley, New York City; F. W. Rauskolb, Boston, Mass.
- LUMBER—Reinle Bros. & Solomon, Baltimore, Md.; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co., Tacoma, Wash.; Gray's Harbor Commercial Co., Cohnopolis, Wash.
- LEATHER—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

**SOCIALIST WOMAN'S CLUB.**

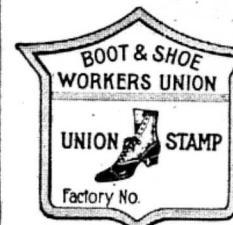
Hereafter the Woman's Socialist Club will meet at 8 p. m. on the first and third Friday evening of the month at the Socialist Headquarters, 212 South Fourth street. Please not this change in date of meeting. Strangers cordially welcomed. Come and bring your friends. E. M. BASSETT, Secretary.

**Socialism and Modern Science.** By Enrico Ferri. International Library of Social Science series. Translated by Robert Rives La Monte. Chicago. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, \$1.00. Ferri is one of the ablest writers of the International Socialist movement and it is superfluous to say that this latest work will be welcomed by the English reading public interested in the study of social science.

**Fight for Your Life.** By Ben Hanford, late candidate for vice-president on the Socialist Party ticket. First edition. Published by Wilshire Book Co., New York. Price, 25 cents. Hanford's reputation as a forceful writer is already established and any additional praise would appear like favoritism. We can recommend this little work to every student of the great question of the day.

**Now Is the Time for Democratic and Republican Union Men** to read Benson's pamphlet, "What Help Can Any Workingman Expect from Taft or Bryan?" The election excitement is over, and while waiting for the advent of prosperity you may take this little dose of brain food.

**Work for the Success of the Socialist Party Ticket in the Municipal campaign.** Get busy, comrades!



**By Insisting Upon Purchasing UNION STAMP SHOES**

- You help better shoemaking conditions.
- You get better shoes for the money.
- You help your own Labor Position.
- You abolish Child Labor.

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

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

**Boot and Shoe Workers' Union**  
246 Summer St., Boston Mass.  
John F. Tobin, Pres. Chas. L. Baine, Sec.-Treas.

**Cigars** { PEN MAR - 10c  
SUNRISE - 5c

**Brandt & Stahl** 319 Walnut Street

**ASK FOR MANEWAL'S BREAD**

**Because It is Strictly Union-Made**  
and as good as money and skill can make it. We are the only large Independent Union Bakery in the city, so when you buy Bread insist on getting MANEWAL'S, as every loaf bears the Union Label.

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Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button

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**DRINK ONLY UNION BEER**

(Fac-Simile of Our Label)

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

**Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made**

UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE

**Blue Union Label**



# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx.

### XII.

The first mode of expressing the rate of profit is the only one which shows you the real ratio between paid and unpaid labor, the real degree of the exploitation (you must allow me this French word) of labor. The other mode of expression is that in common use, and is, indeed, appropriate for certain purposes. At all events, it is very useful for concealing the degree in which the capitalist extracts gratuitous labor from the workman.

In the remarks I have still to make I shall use the word Profit for the whole amount of the surplus value extracted by the capitalist without any regard to the division of that surplus value between different parties, and in using the words Rate of Profit, I shall always measure profits by the value of the capital advanced in wages.

#### General Relation of Profits, Wages and Prices.

Deduct from the value of a commodity the value replacing the value of the raw materials and other means of production used upon it, that is to say, deduct the value representing the past labor contained in it, and the remainder of the value will resolve into the quantity of labor added by the workingman last employed. If that workingman works twelve hours daily, if twelve hours of average labor crystallize themselves in an amount of gold equal to six shillings, this additional value of six shillings is the only value his labor will have created. This given value, determined by the time of his labor, is the only fund from which both he and the capitalist have to draw their respective shares or dividends, the only value to be divided into wages and profits. It is evident that this value itself will not be altered by the variable proportions in which it may be divided amongst the two parties. There will also be nothing changed if in the place of one workingman you put the whole working population, twelve million working days, for example, instead of one.

Since the capitalist and workman have only to divide this limited value, that is, the value measured by the total labor of the workingman, the more the one gets the less will the other get, and vice versa. Whenever a quantity is given, one part of it will increase inversely as the other decreases. If the wages change, profits will change in an opposite direction. If wages fall, profits will rise; and if wages rise, profits will fall. If the workingman, on our former supposition, gets three shillings, equal to one-half of the value he has created, or if his whole working day consists half of paid, half of unpaid labor, the rate of profit will be 100 per cent, because the capitalist would also get three shillings. If the workingman receives only two shillings, or works only one-third of the whole day for himself, the capitalist will get four shillings, and the rate of profit will be 200 per cent. If the workingman receives four shillings, the capitalist will only receive two, and the rate of profit would sink to 33 1/3 per cent, but all these variations will not affect the value of the commodity. A general rise of wages would, therefore, result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but not affect values. But although the values of commodities, which must ultimately regulate their market prices, are exclusively determined by the total quantities of labor fixed in them, and not by the division of that quantity into paid and unpaid labor, it by no means follows that the values of the single commodities, or lots of commodities, produced during twelve hours, for example, will remain constant. The number or mass of commodities produced in a given time of labor, or by a given quantity of labor, depends upon the productive power of the labor employed, and not upon its extent or length. With one degree of the productive power of spinning labor, for example, a working day of twelve hours may produce twelve pounds of yarn, with a lesser degree of productive power only two pounds. If then twelve hours' average labor were realized in the value of six shillings in the one case, the twelve pounds of yarn would cost six shillings; in the other case the two pounds of yarn would also cost six shillings. One pound of yarn would, therefore, cost sixpence in the one case, and three shillings in the other. The difference of price would result from the difference in the productive powers of labor employed. One hour of labor would be realized in one pound of yarn with the greater productive power, while with the smaller productive power six hours of labor would be realized in one pound of yarn. The price of a pound of yarn would, in the one instance, be only sixpence, although wages were relatively high and the rate of profit low; it would be three shillings in the other instance, although wages were low and the rate of profit high. This would be so because the price of the pound of yarn is regulated by the total amount of labor worked up in it, and not by the proportional division of that total amount into paid and unpaid labor. The fact I have before mentioned that high-priced labor may produce cheap, and low-priced labor may produce dear commodities, loses, therefore, its paradoxical appearance. It is only the expression of the general law that the value of a commodity is regulated by the quantity of labor worked up in it, and that the quantity of labor worked up in it depends altogether upon the productive powers of the labor employed, and will, therefore, vary with every variation in the productivity of labor.

## Socialist News Review

### A Polish Socialist Weekly.

Milwaukee now has a Polish Social-Democratic weekly. Its name is the "Naprzod" (Forward).

### Socialist Platform in Foreign Languages.

The Socialist platform is printed in foreign languages as follows: Bohemian, Croatian, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish, Lettish, Norwegian, Danish, Polish, Russian, Slovak, Spanish and Swedish. Price \$2 per thousand, postpaid.

### Comrade W. W. Baker to Leave St. Louis.

We regret to report that Comrade W. W. Baker with his family will leave St. Louis during the last week in April. He will go to Los Angeles, Cal., where he expects to establish his family home for the near future. Poor health in the family compels Comrade Baker to undertake this important change. The St. Louis comrades extend their best wishes to the departing friend and to his family.

### A People's Home for Milwaukee.

The fund for buying a People's Home to belong to the Social-Democratic Party in Milwaukee is progressing finely. Over \$7,200 of stock has been already subscribed and the lot purchased. The plan is for the Home to contain the Social-Democratic headquarters, the printing plant and newspaper offices, offices for the unions and an assembly hall. As soon as the lot is paid for the building will be begun. More than half the amount necessary to pay for the lot was subscribed in the first two weeks.

### The National Party Dues.

The comparative receipts of the National Office for dues for the quarter ending March 31 were for 1908 \$6,235.10, and for 1909 \$6,504.93, an increase of \$269.83. The receipts for the month of March just closed were \$2,453.78. This exceeds the receipts for any month in the history of the party except that of October, 1908, at the very height of the campaign. The increase here shown is most gratifying considering the prevailing condition of unemployment and the fact that the receipts for dues were unusually large in the first quarter of 1908, the representation in the national convention being based upon the receipts of January and February of that year.

### International Peace and Socialism.

From the literature of the Peace Congress which is to meet in Chicago May 3-5, 1909, the following is taken: "Over and over again Socialism, in all civilized lands, has lifted up its voice against the waste and wickedness of militarism. The workingman has to fight the battles, pay the burdensome war taxes and carry the crushing burden of enormous war debts. With great clearness of economic and ethical vision Socialism exerts its utmost influence against militarism, knowing that where militarism is dominant industrial democracy is repressed. On the other hand, when the working people of the world once come into the enjoyment of their proper rights, war and competitive arming will be banished and the peace problem solved. Peace workers gladly recognize in Socialism one of the most potent and effective peace forces in the world. The coming Peace Congress will give special recognition to Socialism by generous provision in the program for messages from some of the foremost representatives of the great Socialist movement."

### Progressive Journal of Education.

Prof. Richard T. Carlton of Albion College, in the April number of the new Socialist periodical, the Progressive Journal of Education (Chicago), has an article on "The Influence of Trade on Education" that will be of interest to all Socialists and trade unionists. Prof. Carlton begins by asserting that "Education has ever furnished the training demanded by the dominant classes in the community," and goes on to say that four standards are now struggling for supremacy in the American schools, as follows:

(1) The "practical," comprising the demand of big business interests for industrial training.

(2) The "cultural," which is the old, out-grown classical form of education.

(3) The "psychological" standard, urged by scientific students of child life and calling for a well-rounded development of the child.

(4) The "social" standard, based on the demand for racial efficiency and for a broad understanding of society.

After fully explaining these four standards of educational demand, Prof. Carlton says:

"The United States stands today at the parting of the educational ways. Is education to be primarily for the purpose of training workers or young men and young women? Is education to be commercialized? Will the demands of 'big business' or the demands for good citizenship and racial efficiency dominate? This is the problem which confronts our educational workers at the present time. Fundamentally it is a problem of educational ideals and values, or, in other words, a problem of class versus mass interests, or of occupational versus social welfare."

"Our school system from kindergarten to graduate school is in a process of rapid modification in regard to educational ideals, aims and methods. Which of these two strong forces—business or social interests—is to become predominate? Are our schools to become cheap and efficient instruments for training youth for commercial and industrial jobs; or will they be studios for the training of efficient workers AND intelligent citizens? Is the school to be a mere trade school; or is it to be an engine for improving human beings, for developing men and women who will be more than mere cogs in our great industrial mechanism?"

"The struggle which is now going on for the control of the American educational system is a very significant one. If education becomes a factory industry; if economy, system and the needs of industry become the leading educational ideals, then will the school system lose its value as a democratizing element in our civilization. If, on the other hand, the school develops into a studio, citizenship and racial efficiency, rather than mere technical skill, will become its watchwords. The educational system may then be an instrumentality in the hands of an alert democracy to break down social and economic inequality; and education may accept its true position as the servant of sociology—the science of social progress."

"The educational reformers and the wage earners should unite with the trade interests in demanding that vocational training be made an important and integral part of the work of the public schools. But they ought also uncompromisingly to resist any attempt to use the school to smash unions, to continue or to deepen medieval class demarcations, or to differentiate education into practical and cultural forms. The truly practical should be cultural, and the cultural practical."

"To control the educational system is important, as it may be used to delay or to hasten the process of social and industrial change through which this nation is passing. The welfare and happiness of great masses of living and unborn individuals are concerned. The educational problems of the present are of primary importance to the students of industrial and social evolution and of human betterment. A fundamental requisite for the reduction of these problems to their lowest terms is a definite acceptance of the view that educational ideas and values are formed as the result of the interaction of class and occupational interests, and of traditional imperatives. And the latter are the result of a balance of forces which obtained in the past."

### Look Out for the Scoundrel Who Represents Himself as "Rudowitz."

While Christian Ansoff Rudowitz, the Russian refugee who was recently freed from the clutches of the Czar through the efforts of the Socialists of America, is quietly practicing his trade as a carpenter in South Chicago, coming home every evening to his lodging house at 1205 1/2 South Halsted street; an impostor representing himself as the now famous refugee known to three continents is bilking Ohio and Kentucky Socialists, according to advices which have come into the office of the Chicago Daily Socialist.

This most brazen of scamps, who is trading on the name of a bona fide Social-Democrat around whom a great international struggle was centered, is operating around Cincinnati, O., and Covington, Ky., where he is swindling Socialist locals and sympathetic persons with the most plausible tales.

When this impostor first appeared in Cincinnati he went to Nicholas Klein, a well-known Socialist, and represented himself as Rudowitz. Klein believed him and rushed into the papers with an interview from the supposed refugee. He also took him in, fed and clothed him and made him prominent, very prominent, in Socialist circles. It was only when he became too suave that Klein's suspicions were aroused and he sent to Chicago for information. This was after the man had had his picture in the Cincinnati papers as Rudowitz.

The operations of this scoundrel are particularly raw, owing to the fact that he looks about as much like the real Rudowitz as he does like St. Peter of the Keys. He is a short, dark man, with black hair and mustache, well educated, speaking English and German fluently, and is well posted on all the essential points of Socialism. He took out his first naturalization papers a few days ago in Rudowitz's name, despite the fact that the real Rudowitz took out his first papers in Chicago more than three weeks ago.

The real Rudowitz is a man of medium height, slightly stooped in the shoulders from labor, with reddish hair and mustache. He is nothing but a peasant, although exceptionally intelligent for one of his class. He speaks no language but Lettish and a few words of Russian.

His knowledge of Socialism is confined to the fact that he, along with others, revolted from sentiment after Red Sunday in Russia. Of the economic basis of Socialism he knows next to nothing. He is a good, clean citizen, incapable of deceit, a man of deep feeling and as unlike his Covington imitator as one man could be unlike another.

The impostor shows a card in a Lettish branch of the Socialist Party in the name of Christian Rudowitz, with all dues paid. This card is a forgery. Rudowitz has his own card, which was taken out just previous to his arrest here.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

Hereafter the Douglas shoes will not bear the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. For years this firm was friendly to Organized Labor. All should bear in mind this change when making such purchases.

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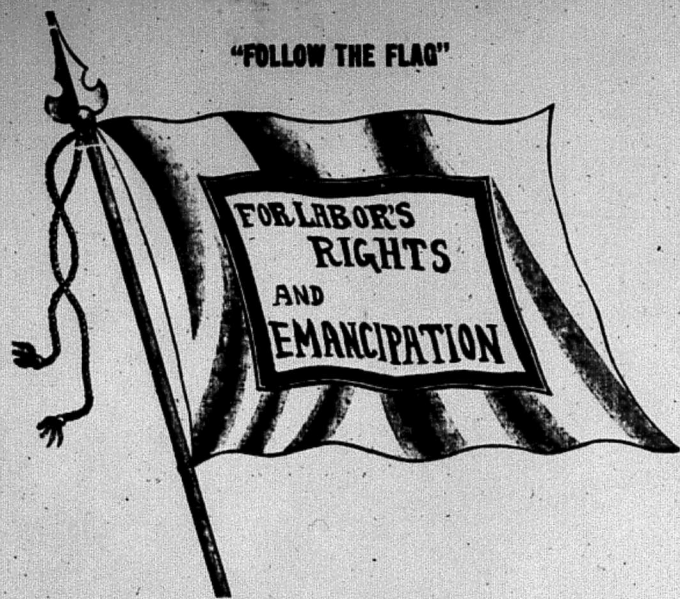
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"FOLLOW THE FLAG"



NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

The work of securing new subscribers is kept up by the Comrades. Twenty-seven new subscriptions for the week! Keep up the good work! New subscriptions have been secured by the following comrades and friends, for—

St. Louis Labor: Comrade Wolz, 1; O. Pauls, 1; J. C. Shannessy, 1; M. E. Kirkpatrick, Illinois, 4; Fred Wedel, 1; H. G. Mueller, 1; C. D. Thompson, 1; A. J. Reshek, 1; J. R. Teel, 2; H. J. Morrison, 1; Hy. Schwarz, 1; W. Le Coinard, 1; Jas. Oneal, 1. Arbeiter-Zeitung: Wm. F. Crouch, 3; Conrad Roelchen, 2; P. O. Canute, Washita, Okla., 1; Valentine Stieb, 1; Rudolf Zsak, 1; G. F. Knollmann, Evansville, Ind., 1. Total, 27.

gallantly came to the relief of the railways by declaring the two-cent rate unconstitutional and letting the roads fix any old rate that they think the people will stand for. The two-cent rate was quite a help to our agitation work, but now we will have to pay three cents. The railroads need the money. You see, when a road worth \$1,000,000 issues stock to the amount of \$3,000,000, it takes quite a large net income to pay dividends on the whole lot. To be sure, ordinary workingmen can not see the justice of paying dividends on bonds equal to two or three times the real value of a railroad. But the honorable judges know who pays their campaign expenses and they readily see the necessity of dividends on every share of stock that the printing presses can turn out. The railroads decided to issue mileage books at two cents per mile. These will come in handy for the big fellows who travel a great deal. The workingman who travels short distances will pay the limit, three cents, for every mile. The only satisfaction about the whole business is that the people are getting what they voted for. The average worker, who has no property at all, is always sure that we need corporation lawyers elected to the bench to guard the sacredness of private property. Naturally, when elected, these agents of property interests can see nothing but property; they seem to be unaware that human beings come first and that property should be a secondary matter.

The Woman Suffrage Petitions.

Each local has been sent some petitions for the securing of signers for the petition that is to be presented to Congress in behalf of the right of suffrage for women. Accompanying the petitions are printed slips of directions. This gives the comrades a chance to agitate for one of the measures in our national platform, and the petitions should be filled out and returned to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 29 East 29th street, New York, not later than June 1. The mere circulating of the petitions will have an educational effect and bring the question up for discussion. This is probably the most valuable part of the petition work. Not a single reasonable argument can be made against woman suffrage and all that is needed is a persistent agitation to awaken the people. Get busy and put in a few licks in your town for the cause.

Here and There.

U. S. Barnsley, the Socialist cutlery man of Monett, sends in dues for the local and says the boys are not displaying much activity, but keep the local going just the same. In addition to making first-class cutlery of all descriptions, Comrade Barnsley always has a knife up his sleeve for that animal called "capitalism," and never fails to boost Socialism at every opportunity.

Locals Cardwell and Morehouse are taking in new members at nearly every meeting. The Socialist idea seems to be on the spread down in that corner of the state.

Mindenmines, Liberal and fantha have applied for McAllister dates. Other places that want to have him should write the state secretary at once. He is particularly strong on making the farmers see the error of their ways in voting a moss-grown Bourbon ticket.

The state constitution has been reprinted and locals desiring copies can secure same at two cents per copy. The reprinting had been delayed on account of lack of funds, but all orders will now be promptly filled.

SOCIALIST PARTY MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN.

All comrades holding campaign lists are urged to turn them in promptly. Let every Socialist make one more contribution to this fund; this additional help should enable us to meet all the obligations incurred in this campaign and give us a free start for the greater battle of 1910.

Table listing contributions for the Socialist Party Municipal Campaign, including names like Peter Weis, Geo. Waugh, Mrs. Jos. Wallner, etc., and amounts.

Table listing names and amounts for the Ancient Society, including L. Kober, M. A. Duerhammer, Otto Kaemmerer, Frank Klenzel, and H. Newman.

ANCIENT SOCIETY.

There is just one American who is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's greatest scientists. That American is Lewis H. Morgan, and his title to greatness is found in a book first published thirty years ago. Its title is:

Ancient Society; or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization.

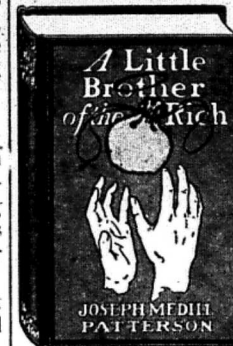
It is the classic statement of a long series of vitally important facts without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It traces the successive forms of marriage that have existed, each corresponding to a certain industrial stage. It proves that the laws governing the relations of the sexes have constantly been changing in response to industrial changes, and thus explains why it is that they are changing still. It shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which amiable reformers have wailed in vain. It points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

Cloth, 586 pages. \$1.50 postpaid.

Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth Street, St. Louis.

SOME BOOK BARGAINS.

A Little Brother of the Rich.



Joseph Medill Patterson has thoroughly exposed the rottenness and degeneracy of "high society" in his latest book, "A Little Brother of the Rich." It has created a sensation and Comrade Patterson has seemingly portrayed conditions as he actually found them. Get a copy and be ready for the next individuals that tells you of our "upper classes." Price, \$1.15.

The Moneychangers.

This latest book from the pen of Upton Sinclair is a sequel to "The Metropolis," which appeared some time ago. Sinclair delves deep into the doings of our "best citizens" in Wall Street. He depicts the panic of 1907 as being caused by rival speculators quarreling over the possession of a woman. Price, \$1.20.

- List of book titles and prices: The Metropolis, The Jungle, The Iron Heel, Bitter Cry of the Children, Looking Backward.

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Advertisement for THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, A monthly magazine that applies Marx's historical method to the things that are happening now.

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

Financial Report for March. Table with columns for Dues, Supplies, Expenditures, and Referendum Assessment, listing various locations and amounts.

Clark Stirs Them Up.

Cardwell.—I am happy to report that the local here is thriving and that we are doing things. We had Stanley J. Clark speak for us on the street. Something like 200 people listened, enraptured, and the applause testified to their appreciation. The collection amounted to \$8.20; book sales over \$5, and he would have doubled that had he not run out of books. Clark certainly is a wonder. Several have been converted and others are ready to listen to Socialist arguments. I hope to be able to report having elected some, if not all, of our municipal officers next week. Our enemies are doing the talking now, and from the drift I judge we have them going some. A fund is being raised to get speakers here as often as we can get good talent. The business depression is being felt more and more every day and it may crush us, financially. It is reported that Morehouse merchants have threatened to boycott all voting the Socialist ticket. Well, we know the three greatest forces at work today for Socialism are Education, Agitation and Starvation. "Lay on, McDuff!"—W. H. Warren.

We wish to express our thanks to you for sending Comrade Clark to this place. He delivered a good lecture and it was very interesting. We had 250 to 300 at each meeting.—A. J. Harris.

Kirksville Notes.

We are trying to make a city campaign here, and find it an uphill business with an hostile press and no money, though the Daily Express has published our meeting notices and some other matter. The attendance at our regular monthly meeting was not large, but satisfactory. The weather man, at least, is treating us very nicely. Comrade Barton, formerly of Ohio, delivered a very good address. I am sorry to say that we have some differences among the members. Some want to run a church and some want to make a temperance society out of it, forgetting that we are a political party.—T. C. Haller.

Back to Three Cents Again.

The poor, oppressed railways in Missouri have convinced the courts that the two-cent rate in this state is confiscatory. The judges saw the point without much trouble (they always do) and