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POLITICAL SANDBAGGERS

How the Republicans Used the Prohibition Issue in the State Legislature to Carry St. Louis at Municipal Elections

Last November the Republicans captured the State of Missouri. The House of Representatives is now composed of 73 Republicans and 69 Democrats.

During the first days in April the Prohibition bill came up for debate in the House. The politicians were afraid to open the debate and force the House to a vote in view of the important municipal election in St. Louis. After considerable wirepulling, and amidst exciting scenes on the floor and in the galleries, the statesmen succeeded in bringing about postponement of the Prohibition debate until April 8, i. e., two days after the St. Louis elections.

Thus the Prohibition issue was used by the Republican politicians as the proverbial sword of Damocles to carry the St. Louis elections. With overwhelming majorities the Republicans captured the municipal administration. High pressure was applied, especially in the brewery districts of South and North St. Louis. "If you don't vote for Kreismann and the entire Republican ticket St. Louis will go to the dogs!" was a common expression of the Republican spellbinders. "We must get even with Folk, Mulvihill and the Democratic gang who are responsible for the present lid troubles!" These and similar expressions tell the story of the Republican campaign in St. Louis. Fully 2,500 Socialists were caught in the Republican high pressure work. They stayed away from the polls to escape the secret blacklist, or submitted to the inevitable and voted for Kreismann and the Republican ticket in order to save the city and state from Prohibition. In our strongest Socialist wards our vote was about cut in half, while the Republican vote was more than doubled. It was a Republican landslide caused by extraordinary political pressure from "higher up" under extraordinary conditions.

What happened two days after the St. Louis elections?

The House of Representatives in Jefferson City met, discussed the State Wide Prohibition bill, and passed it. At this time (Wednesday afternoon) the same bill is up again in the House for debate and final vote. What the outcome will be remains to be seen. Meanwhile we hereby reproduce a special dispatch to the well-informed Globe-Democrat:

Jefferson City, Mo., April 13.—To-night the prediction of Republican and Democratic House leaders is that the prohibition amendment will be adopted in that body to-morrow. Figures are given by some of the members. Representative Brassfield, one of the conservative Republican members, counts on twenty-eight or thirty Republicans who will vote for the amendment, while Representative Lloyd is of the opinion that not more than twenty-one Republicans will vote for submission.

Representative Barker says not fewer than forty-five Democrats will support the prohibition resolution. Both sides have been counting noses, and it is expected that neither the Brassfield figures nor those by Barker will be far from the actual number of votes which the amendment will get from the respective parties.

It will require seventy-two votes to carry. If the Democrats cast forty-five and the Republicans twenty-eight, the resolution is safe, with one vote to spare. The St. Louis delegation and that from Kansas City and St. Joseph will solidly oppose the amendment.

The brewing and liquor interests are alarmed. If the amendment could have been submitted with a tax rider they believe it would fail of adoption. But they are making no noise in their opposition. The Senate, according to Senators McDavid and Mayer, will submit prohibition. They figure eighteen Democratic senators and three Republican senators will certainly support the amendment. The Senate Committee on Constitutional Amendments is awaiting action in the House before reporting out the amendment.

The people of St. Louis were sandbagged once more on April 6. There is no sense in getting excited about it, because political sandbagging has been the regular order of business in St. Louis for the last twenty-five years. That the same old sandbaggers were again at work was no secret. Hence the St. Louisans have no one else but themselves to blame for the results.

Later: Jefferson City, Mo., April 14.—House passed Prohibition Bill by vote of 86 to 51.

Masking Their Treachery

The Would-Be Labor Press and the Douglas Shoe Boycott.

A number of "labor" journals that have accepted the advertisement of the W. L. Douglas Shoe Co. are endeavoring to justify their treason by questioning the methods of President Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Previous to the Boot and Shoe Workers becoming involved with the Douglas Shoe Co. of Brockton, Mass., these so-called labor journals indulged in no criticism of the president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. It was only after being given a quarter-page advertisement from old "\$3.50" that the frailties of Tobin became visible to the discerning eye of labor editors, who yearn for "the mess of pottage."

When comparative peace reigned between Douglas and his employes these so-called labor journals received no patronage, but when Douglas conceived the idea that by resorting to jugglery in his establishment he could increase his profits, he concluded that he could rely upon pseudo labor journals to aid him in his treachery. Douglas has not been mistaken in his estimate of a number of labor journals that flaunt the flag of unionism for "revenue only."

The weakness or shortcomings of Tobin are not involved in the battle between Douglas and the members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and the labor journal that raises the matter of Tobin's questionable methods in distributing the label of the organization of which he is president is merely attempting to obscure the fact that such a journal has prostituted its columns for the dirty dollars that come from the Douglas coffers.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is fighting a battle in which the very life of the organization is involved, and if the Douglas Shoe Co. is victorious these so-called labor journals can be given some of the credit for helping Douglas to dig a grave for the interment of a labor organization.—Miners' Magazine.

This week's St. Louis Labor contains some interesting letters from England and Australia concerning the Socialist and general labor movement in these countries. In England and in the Australian colonies the conditions resemble so much the conditions in our own country, and the Socialist and Trade Union movement there seems to develop in about the same direction as ours. For these reasons our comrades will no doubt appreciate the information and read with special interest the communications from London and Brisbane in this issue of St. Louis Labor.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.

Milwaukee Socialists Victorious

Action of Milwaukee Priests Gives New Angle to the Suffrage Issue.

Milwaukee, Wis., April 9.—In looking over the election it appears that in the contests for members of the School Board the Roman Catholic priests influenced the women members of their churches to vote "The Citizens' Anti-Socialist ticket." This was unavailing, but it gives a new angle to the "equal suffrage question."

The Social-Democrats in electing Emil Seidel alderman-at-large carried eleven wards—two more than they ever carried before. The Socialists also elected two members of the School Board—Mrs. Victor L. Berger and Frederic Heath, editor of the Social-Democratic Herald.

Damper on Rose Forces.

The victory is the more encouraging since it puts a decided damper on the Rose forces. A leading issue of the campaign was the school bond question. Mayor Rose vetoed the school bonds which were voted by the people. [The Social-Democratic aldermen voted against the veto and put up a strong fight in the council for the full amount of the bonds. The result therefore comes as a marked rebuke to the illegal and high-handed action of the mayor and the reactionary forces.]

In all the Roman Catholic churches last Sunday little dodgers headed "Citizens' Anti-Socialist Ticket" were distributed, containing the list of six anti-Socialist candidates. Many of the priests from the pulpit urged the women to get out and vote this anti-Socialist ticket. Accordingly Tuesday about five thousand women appeared at the polls carrying these anti-Socialist tickets in their hands. The Social-Democratic women appeared in much smaller numbers, although some of them did excellent work in getting-out their friends and neighbors.

Splendid Reply to Trick.

The introduction of the system of having aldermen-at-large in addition to the ward aldermen was introduced in Milwaukee to injure the Socialists. It was supposed that the Social-Democrats could not carry the entire city, and therefore could not elect aldermen-at-large. The election of Seidel is a splendid reply to this trick.

Seidel served four years as alderman from the Twentieth ward and made an excellent record as one of the Socialist leaders in the council. He ran for mayor of Milwaukee last spring and polled a large vote. His election gives us ten Social-Democratic aldermen in the present council.

The vote for alderman-at-large was as follows:

Seidel, Social-Democrat	8,555
Schneider, Rose Democrat	7,576
Meisenheimer, Republican	6,625
Bechtner, Independent	1,070

Returns from the state come in slowly. Racine doubled its vote of last spring, giving W. A. Jacobs, Social-Democratic candidate for mayor, 1,172 votes. Manitowoc lacked only 380 votes of electing a Social-Democratic mayor. The Manitowoc campaign has been a most interesting one. The capitalist forces combined against the Social-Democrats and put only one ticket in the field in opposition to ours. They carried on a whisky and cigar campaign and refused to meet our men in argument. Walter Thomas Mills held large and enthusiastic meetings there last Friday and Saturday, but in vain were the capitalist politicians invited to be present and debate with him. Considering the amount of money used against us, the result in Manitowoc is gratifying.

A WORLD ALLIANCE.

(Translated from the French of Jean Paul De Beranger by Kate

Brownlee Sherwood and published in the New York Call.)

I saw the goddess, Peace, descend from high,
Strewing with golden glory hill and plain;
With holy calm she hushed the war god's cry,
And tumult ceased on many a war-scourged main;
"Men," she proclaimed, "equal in power and pride,
French, English, Belgian, Russian, German, stand!
Men, form a World Alliance, side by side,
And give a brother's hand!

"Men, long down-trodden, crushed by pomp and pride,
Forced, fleeced and frightened, eyes a stranger to sleep,
Rise, claim your own; the world is good and wide;
Beneath the sun none need to wail or weep;
Cast off the galling yoke of fratricide,
And march, erect, as men who claim the land;
Men, form a World Alliance, side by side,
And give a brother's hand!

"Against your kin you wage wild war and wrack,
And tempests wake and wrath and ruin spread;
And then your mad exploiters drive you back,
With shattered arms to earn your bitter bread.
In sight of your high heritage, in vain described,
The blood of innocence stains stream and strand,
Men, form a World Alliance, side by side,
And give a brother's hand!

"Tyrants in sight of harried homes aflame,
With their proud boasting number great and small,
And draft your sons to reeling ranks of shame,
Whence all their ghastly triumphs loudly call.
Like sheep unto the slaughter shorn and tied,
You wait in dumb despair and trembling stand.
Men, form a World Alliance, side by side,
And give a brother's hand!

"Down with the hell-born god of war and dread!
Hail to the comradeship of kindlier age!
No more let brother's blood by man be shed,
Though kings command and petty tyrants rage,
Their evil stars pass downward with the tide,
They pale and sink upon the sea and land;
Men, form a World Alliance, side by side,
And give a brother's hand!"

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.

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.

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.

SOME ELECTION SURPRISES

In Their Efforts to Defeat the Socialists the Milwaukee Clericals Elect a Socialist Woman to School Board.

Milwaukee, April 10.—For the first time in the history of the Social-Democratic party we have actually carried the city of Milwaukee.

True, it was only a by-election. Only an election to fill a vacancy for an alderman-at-large. Only an election for two judges. Only an election to elect six members on the School Board—and this latter was non-partisan.

However, the fact remains that we carried the city for an alderman-at-large on the Social-Democratic ticket, and that we elected two members of the School Board. These, while they ran on a non-partisan ticket, had been selected by the referendum of the membership of the Social-Democracy and by their very names made it plain enough that they were Social-Democrats.

For one of the comrades so selected is Mrs. Beta Berger, wife of Victor L. Berger. And the other is the well-known editor of this paper, Frederic Heath.

Nor were Milwaukee capitalist paper slow in making the identity of the Social-Democratic candidates known. For over two weeks before election almost all the papers of Milwaukee pointed out the fact that the Social-Democrats of Milwaukee had nominated a "partisan ticket" for the School Board. And a few days before election these papers even issued a sort of a "riot call."

That our six candidates were on the ballot without any party denomination or any other mark that would distinguish them from the other eighteen candidates counted for naught in these capitalist papers.

And therefore the all-day and the all-night Sentinel, and the before midnight and after midnight Free Press—and even the old Auntie Wisconsin and the German Germania and Herold—solemnly warned the people that the Social-Democrats had barefacedly set out to capture the School Board. And that awful things were going to happen should they succeed.

That the Social-Democrats are the friends and the most fearless defenders of the public schools—that they had always proven themselves to be such, particularly so in this last fight—all this our dailies did not seem to consider.

In all, or nearly all, of the Roman Catholic churches in Milwaukee—and there are many of them—there was an Anti-Socialist ticket given out on the Sunday before election. In some instances the congregation found the Anti-Socialist Citizens' ticket distributed over the pews of the church. In other cases they were handed out at the church vestibule or at the school hall, or at the church door.

But in almost every case the priest took special pains to call the attention of the women to the fact that they could vote on the school election. And he told them that it was their duty toward God and their church to go out and vote together with their husbands and friends for that Anti-Socialist ticket.

And did these women vote? We should say so!

Although they have absolutely no other interest in the public schools than to wish them destroyed because they are by them considered "Godless and immoral"—these women came out almost 5,000 strong.

And it was mainly the Irish and the German Catholic women who thus voted. In one of the precincts of the Eleventh ward (mainly German) no less than 150 women voted against us. In another precinct of the same ward (also German) about 140 women; in a precinct of the Sixteenth ward (Irish) there were also about 140 women voting against us. In one precinct of the Seventeenth ward (mainly Irish) about 100 women voted the "Anti-Socialist Citizens' ticket."

How do we know this? Well, women had to be registered on a separate sheet, and these Roman mothers came in crowds with the same Anti-Socialist Citizens' tickets in their hands, and asked the inspectors for assistance — — —

Nor was the church very careful in picking the material for that Anti-Socialist ticket.

It was anything to beat the Socialists.

Besides putting on their ticket men like Keogh, and Gaffney, and Jenkins, simply because their names seem to indicate that they are Catholics, they also put on their ticket a photograph named R. J. Miller, who was expelled from our party about seven years ago, and who neither in business nor in private life could bear close inspection.

Then there was also on that anti-Socialist ticket the name of Mrs. C. B. Whitnall, a club woman and a lady of high standing in the community—no doubt in order to lend respectability to the ticket.

However, the good priests or politicians who made up this anti-Socialist ticket did not know that Mrs. C. B. Whitnall has applied for membership in our party and that her application has simply been kept on file over election in order to avoid even the appearance that she had joined the party (of which her husband has been a member for the past dozen years) in order to gain Socialist votes. And the same tactics prevailed in the aldermanic and the judicial election.

Joseph Donnelly, a prominent candidate for the office of county judge, continuously advertised in the daily papers what a terrible disaster it would be for the people to have a Social-Democratic judge. He sent out innumerable circulars with a story to the same effect, signed by prominent Roman Catholics, pointing to the church as the "bulwark against Socialism." And it is stated by good authority that the very same Donnelly has not been inside of a church for twenty years.

The Democratic candidate for alderman-at-large, Mr. John Schneider, played the same string on his harp. The presidents of all the Roman Catholic societies sent a signed letter to the members of that church—which was mailed so as to reach them just on election day. In this letter the "dangers" of a Socialist victory were described and their religious duty to vote for the church and for Schneider very vividly explained. The Dave Rose machine and the saloons were supposed to do the rest.

However, in spite of it all, Emil Seidel, the Social-Democratic candidate, carried the city.

But enough of that.

We are not quite satisfied with the outcome of the election. While this election day was not a holiday, and most of our people went to work—and while it rained hard between 6 and 8 a. m., and poured fearfully between 5:30 and 7 p. m., just at the time when working people who work are supposed to go to the polls—and while we made little or no campaign—all of this can not be an excuse for the very small Social-Democratic vote that came out last Tuesday. (Only less than half the regular Socialist vote was cast this time.)

However, we carried the city for the first time in our history. And this is a very good omen for our next municipal election.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

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.

LETTERS FROM AUSTRALIA

Jack London Causes Lively Debate in Socialist and Labor Union Ranks--The Brisbane Labor Organ Takes Decided Attitude.

Brisbane, March 1, 1909.—Jack London arrived in Australia. He looked over the field for a few days, and then he saw fit to criticize the Australian Socialist and Labor movement. Whether this was good policy on his part, or whether he, as a foreigner, not acquainted with local conditions, was justified in his criticism, is not the question which interests us just now. The important feature of the matter is that Jack London's utterances, coming from one of the "Literary Giants of International Socialism," has caused a general discussion of the principles, policy and tactics of the Socialist and Trade Union movement.

In this general debate "The Worker," the official organ of the Brisbane Labor organizations, takes a leading part. The arguments advanced by "The Worker" are instructive and will be read with considerable interest by our American comrades. The conditions in Australia and America are similar in many respects. Hence many of "The Worker's" arguments also hold good for the United States of America.

The Brisbane Worker articles are hereby reproduced in full:

Jack London on the Labor Party.

Jack London is "an International Revolutionary Socialist." So are we.

He "stands square on the fact of the class war, and the consequent exploitation of the working class." So do we.

He also "holds firmly to the materialistic conception of history." We are with him there, too.

But he doesn't believe in the methods of the Australian Labor party, and appears to consider them as diametrically opposed to Revolutionary Socialism. And as we are up against him on that point, the statement of his views has set us to wondering whether we are right or he is right.

That either one or the other is laboring under a serious misconception is obvious. And as it seems somewhat important to know which, the following comments on Jack London's criticisms, as contained in an interview published in Melbourne "Socialist," are offered with the object of defining the situation and helping to a conclusion on the matter.

It may be well to begin with the acknowledgment that Jack London has earned the right to be listened to. He is a Socialist who has achieved what is known as "success in life" without modifying his Socialism to suit his improved conditions. He has not toned down the aggressive Red of the Flag to an agreeable rose-pink.

His kind are not numerous. The author of "The War of the Classes" is one of the few who contrive to rise superior to their economic surroundings, and prove by the exceptional character of their case the tremendous molding power of environment.

What Jack London says must therefore be heard with respect. When, however, he speaks of Revolutionary Socialism as something irreconcilable with the Socialism of the Labor party we are bound to enter an emphatic dissent.

The Socialism of the Labor party is revolutionary. All Socialism is revolutionary. The use of the word as a descriptive adjective is entirely superfluous. A Socialism that is not revolutionary is unthinkable.

Unless employed to indicate a belief in a catastrophic method of bringing Socialism to pass, the word is simply a waste of wind. In what sense it is meant by those who have it forever in their mouths, and who use it to differentiate themselves from all others who profess Socialism, we are unable to make out.

They can't mean that they are for a revolution by violence, for they have no arms, and they do not drill.

If it is merely a conquest of political power they are after, then they are not nearly so revolutionary as the Labor party, which is storming the electorates everywhere, while they hold back and sulk in their tents like Achilles.

If it is the organizing of the working class for victory in the class war that the word "revolutionary" connotes, then again the Labor party is more revolutionary than they are, for it is forming the workers into unions, calling them together under the banner of class interests, and teaching them how, by class unity and purpose, to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Perhaps what we are to understand by the word "revolutionary" is antagonism to palliative measures; perhaps they mean that when the necessary majority is behind them they will use the political power thus obtained to institute Socialism at one swoop.

If so, we have no hesitation in saying that again the Labor party's methods are more truly revolutionary, more truly warlike, for it moves into action at once, and by the winning of detached victories, and the capture of position after position, it approaches to the final triumph armed with experience, with a public mind accustomed to Socialism in practice, and with trained veterans to give vital form to the work which the revolution has accomplished.

Also—and here again the Labor party is more revolutionary than the "revolutionaries"—it is likely that Capitalism will be brought to an end more quickly in this way.

Jack London is of a different opinion. He says the Labor party is "trying to prevent Capitalism from ripening, trying to head off a logical action." And he goes on:

"Capitalism should be permitted to ripen; a newer system can only grow out of the decay of the older. I am not an advocate of palliatives. Your Labor legislation seems to me to have headed off and retarded that development which implies the growth of a revolutionary spirit in order to effect a revolutionary purpose. You can't create a 'complete change,' or establish a new social order, until the economic processes bring things to a head. Why, your phenomenal advance, as it is described—heralded throughout the world—has already almost reached the inescapable climax of collapse. You are static. That's what happens when you try to prevent a process."

Does this mean that the "Revolutionary" Socialist would do nothing to alleviate the cruel conditions of the workers? Does it mean that he would let women and children go on suffering in the toils of Capitalism, and decline to raise a finger to help them by legislation? Does it mean that he would not have old age pensions, or workers' compensation, or restraining factory laws, or anti-sweating enactments of any kind?

We have no wish to misrepresent, or to strain the sense of words, but if that is not the correct interpretation of what Jack London says, then he has not said what he means, or there is need for a revolution in the English language.

And if it is a correct interpretation, then Jack London and his fellow "revolutionaries" are not only opposed to the Labor party, but to every Socialist party of consequence in Europe, and to the teaching of the greatest Socialist writers, from Karl Marx to Kautsky.

The program of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain includes palliatives—demands for labor legislation, for the eight-hour day, for the public ownership of gas, water, etc., for the nationalization of trusts.

The programs of the French, Belgian and Austrian Socialist parties also demand those palliatives which our "revolutionary" friends condemn as "preventing the ripening of Capitalism."

The German Social Democratic party goes strongly for measures purely palliative, in this respect following the lead of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels.

The methods of the Australian Labor party, be it noted, are in complete harmony with the methods laid down in that famous docu-

ment, the most educative and inspiring ever issued in the Socialist cause.

Here is an illuminating extract from it:

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."

"BY DEGREES!" What say the "revolutionaries" to that? And what say they to this, which follows on the above:

"Of course in the beginning this can not be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures therefore which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production."

In that passage is an entire statement of the Labor party's position, and its complete justification. It may be summed up in a phrase—the accomplishment of revolutionary ends by evolutionary means.

Even in details, such as the plank, "Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State," and the demand for the establishment of a "National Bank," the "Communist Manifesto" is anticipatory of Labor party methods.

And it was certainly not the intention, it certainly has not been the effect, of the "Communist Manifesto" to "prevent capitalism from ripening" to its ruin.

The evil results of the economic process can be mitigated without in the least hindering the development of the process. That is what our "revolutionary" critics have got to learn. The class war on which they take their stand, as we do also, must go on, but that is all the more reason why we should welcome the ambulance brigade and the hospitals, and laws to govern the conduct of the belligerents, and other palliative measures assuaging the horrors of war.

When they point out the danger of parliamentary Labor parties becoming so absorbed in the pursuit of palliatives as to lose sight of the objective, we are with them.

When they subject backsliding Labor politicians to critical castigation we are with them. But to denounce palliative measures per se because of the undue prominence given to them by mistaken or designing men, or because of defects inherent in such legislation, is unscientific to the verge of foolishness.

We are, we repeat, aware of no great Socialist party that repudiates the palliation of evils pending their eradication. We are aware of no great Socialist party that refuses to attain Socialism by gradual approaches, and insists upon standing still until it can get there with a rush and a leap.

How natural is the evolutionary method of bringing about the required change is indicated by the form of speech which Jack London uses in stating his case. "Capitalism," he says "should be permitted to ripen; a newer system can only grow out of the decay of the older."

It will be at once seen by the intelligent reader why we have emphasized the word "grow." Growth implies a gradual transformation; so gradual in fact as to be imperceptible. So that in the very act of arguing against the evolutionary method Jack London proves it!

Let the "revolutionaries" tell us precisely what they mean by the designation. Let them say in what sense they are revolutionary that other Socialists are not.

The "Worker," for its part, is revolutionary in any way that will best serve the cause. If the day ever comes when bullets are needed to back up ballots, we shall be there with our little gun. If, on the other hand, Capitalism will permit us to achieve the Revolution bit by bit, a little today, and some more tomorrow, and will allow us to quietly overturn its system and dispossess it, we shall be glad to leave the gun at home, and call ourselves piecemeal if not peaceful revolutionists.

But at present what we are most concerned about is the creation of the socialistic environment, without which Socialism is impossible.

Capitalism will ripen to decay by the extension of the State's functions as capitalist, by the taking over of industries, and the gradual but persistent encroaching of the State upon the domain now occupied by private employers. And these are the measures we are after all we know how.

In this purpose we are fortified with the support of Engels and other Socialist thinkers. While the capitalistic method of production more and more converts the great majority of the population into proletarians," says Marx's great collaborator, "it is creating the power which is compelled, on pain of perishing, to achieve this revolution. While it more and more forces the great socialized means of production to be converted into State property, it is itself pointing the path for this revolution's achievement."

The conversion of the great socialized means of production into state property means by gradual methods (the "more and more" of Engels) is essentially the Labor party's policy. It is in this way that Capitalism will ripen, that Socialism will grow from its decay, and that the Revolution will be achieved.

That, at any rate, is what the Labor party means by the Revolution. The "revolutionaries," so far as we can make any sort of order out of their chaotic utterances, object to the very process by which the Revolution is to be consummated!

There must be no palliatives, no restraining legislation, no extension of the functions of the State. Does it come to this, then that their "revolutionary" creed is only the old discarded doctrine of the Liberals in a new dress—"Laissez faire"—let be, do nothing?

Does it mean that they have given their adherence to the theory of increasing misery?

Bebel, the German Socialist leader, speaking against this now exploded fallacy in 1901, quoted Marx against it.

"Marx," he said, "took the view that by organization the working class can counteract the depressing tendencies of capital, and if by the strength of their organization they succeeded in inciting the State to take such steps—(which Jack London and the "revolutionaries" say they must on no account do!)—then it was not merely a great moral advance, but the victory of a new principle."

So that in opposing palliatives, and advocating that Capitalism should be left free to develop itself, our self-styled "revolutionaries" are in opposition to Karl Marx, August Bebel, and the greatest Socialist parties in the world.

They seek to arrogate to themselves the grand name of "revolutionary," and squeeze a profit out of it. It is a form of monopoly and exploitation we are by no means disposed to allow.

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.

LETTER FROM ENGLAND

Socialists and Labor Party Get Wholesome Lesson in the Croydon Election--Defeat Will be Beneficial to party in Future.

London, April 2.—The Labor party and the Socialists were badly defeated in last week's elections.

Croydon has proved the most disastrous of all the battlefields of Labor fought by the Labor party. Our forces have been defeated crushingly, and there is not a single feature of the fight, except Mr. Frank Smith's fine chivalry through it all, and the undaunted zeal of his helpers, which can afford us a ray of satisfaction. The Labor poll, which reached the handsome figure of 4,007 at the general election, has fallen to 886 in a total poll of 20,916. This is relatively the lowest poll ever yet recorded for an I. L. P. or Labor party candidate, and recalls the inglorious Land Restoration and Social-Democratic polls of 24 years ago. The only recent contest which ranks below it is the Social-Democratic candidature of Mr. Dan Irving in Northwest Manchester a year ago, when the figures fell to 276 in a total poll of 10,681.

The Labor candidature was a blunder. For what else than a blunder can it be to engage in a contest at great expense of money, only to lower a poll of 4,007 to 886, and proclaim to the world how utterly futile our Socialist and Labor appeal to the people has been. But a blunder is not a crime, even though its consequences may be more harmful.

The Croydon candidature was the outcome of the so-called "militant" spirit which has been fretting the ranks of the party ever since the successes of the general election. In almost every instance in which a vacancy has occurred in a constituency where a previous Socialist or Labor battle has been fought, the demand has been that the seat must be again contested irrespective of consequences. In cases where, as at the by-elections in Dundee, Newcastle and Pudsey, the Labor Party Executive or the I. L. P. Council have resisted this impatient impulse, their advice has been discarded by the local organization, and the seats have been fought without official indorsement. It is, of course, easy to be wise after the event, and say that it would have been better had the Executive put down its foot against running a candidate a Croydon. But had the I. L. P. Council done so there would have been a loud outcry that the Council had deliberately abandoned 4,007 solid Socialist and Labor voters to the capitalist parties and was defying the general as well as the local opinion of the party.

Croydon will prove a blessing in disguise if it results in establishing a stronger and more courageous spirit of self-restraint in the movement, and of re-establishing the responsibility and authority of the I. L. P. Council and the Labor Party Executive in deciding for or against the running of candidatures where full and sustained preparations have not been made. Unless this is done the whole movement will be plunged back into the feeble and fruitless electioneering experiences of the initiatory stages of the movement.

Editorially the Labor Leader comes out in plain and unmistakable language, at the same time severely criticising the Jingo spirit of Blatchford and Hyndman. Under the caption "Socialism and Jingoism," the L. L. says: Worse than many Croydon defeats is the latest eruption of Jingoism by Robert Blatchford and H. M. Hyndman in the Clarion. The egregious war brandishments of both these writers in connection with the "German war" scare last summer, not to speak of Mr. Blatchford's "Rule Britannia" dithyrambs during the Boer war, was quite a sorry enough blot on the escutcheon of the British Socialist movement. Here in this country we have passionately avowed for twenty years on tens of thousands of platforms that Socialism stands for peace and internationalism. We can no longer do so unflinchingly, and the bitter reproaches which we are accustomed to utter against Christian churches and governments for their appalling failure to practice their avowed precepts of peace and goodwill can with some justification be reflected upon ourselves.

Of course, Mr. Blatchford and Mr. Hyndman do not believe in war—they hate it. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour hate war also. None of them believes in war—but "the regrettable necessity" compels them to urge the people to be warriors, and to tell the whole world that war can not be avoided. Not content with thus proclaiming the inevitability of war and helping to create that inevitability, the Clarion last week sought to forestall events by announcing that war has actually come. "The German War" were the words printed in bold type on its posters last week. The Daily Mail, with its "Pekin Massacre" must henceforth look to its laurels.

There must be no compromise with foolish and affronting panic-mongering of that sort. Though Mr. Blatchford were the only man who had ever written a Socialist book, and Mr. Hyndman the first man who ever delivered a Socialist speech, the Socialist movement must clearly and earnestly disassociate itself from their war-provoking avowals, or be itself condemned as unworthy to bear the Socialist name. Let capitalism make its wars as it has made its slavery, its unemployment, and its woeful misery in our homes and cities. It is its nature so to do. But let Socialists resist wars, as they resist every form of capitalist oppression and wrong. If war comes, it will come no less awfully because the two nations have multiplied their means of murder and ruin. Our Socialist duty is not to rank ourselves with the capitalist war provokers and exploiters. Our duty is to join with our German comrades in withstanding every appeal and every means that make for war. Our duty is to speak up for peace, and for friendship with the German people. Our duty is to organize resistance to the panic, the falsehood and the gluttonous greed of capitalism that is clamoring voraciously for armaments.

War with Germany is not inevitable. We do not believe that Germany will make war on Britain, or Britain on Germany, notwithstanding all these fomentations of national jealousy and fear. The working classes of Germany and Britain do not desire war, neither do the professional and commercial classes generally. Our Socialist and Trade Union forces—the Miners' Federation alone of both countries, one might say—can prevent war. The telegrams exchanged this week between the German Social-Democratic party and the Labor party in Britain are more protection against war than fifty Dreadnoughts. Let our meetings and our Socialist press ring with proclamations of peace and internationalism; let our trade unions begin to syllable the warnings of a general strike, and if need be of a revolution in the event of war, and our capitalist rulers, together with our Daily Mail, will think many score of times before advising so much as the firing of a single gun.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.

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.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

By Alice Stone Blackwell.

It is sometimes said that while the movement for women's education and property rights has advanced rapidly, the movement for suffrage has made little or no progress. On this point, let the "hard facts" speak for themselves.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden and a few other places in the old world.

In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850, Ontario gave it to women, both married and single. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867, New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871, West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont.

In 1880, South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. In 1881, municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland, and Parliamentary suffrage to the women of the Isle of Man. Nebraska gave women suffrage in 1883. Municipal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886.

In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888, England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889, county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to the single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois.

In 1893, school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894, school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895, full state suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896, full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898, the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to taxpaying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; and Louisiana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900, Wisconsin gave women suffrage, and West Australia granted full state suffrage to women, both married and single.

In 1901, New York gave taxpaying women in all towns and villages the right to vote on questions of local taxation, Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas Legislature voted down almost unanimously and "amid a ripple of amusement" a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902 full national suffrage was granted to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New South Wales.

In 1903, bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas and Tasmania gave women full state suffrage.

In 1905, Queensland gave women full state suffrage. In 1906, Finland gave full national suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices, from members of Parliament down.

In 1907, Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage, Sweden made women eligible to municipal offices, Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England, with only 15 dissenting votes out of 670 members of the House of Commons, made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. The new State of Oklahoma continued school suffrage for women.

In 1908, Michigan gave all women who pay taxes the right to vote upon questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or the wives of taxpayers 2 vote for all officers except members of Parliament, and Victoria gave full state suffrage to all women.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is now, somebody asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a suffrage meeting.

"Yes," answered the Bishop, "I don't want to fall in at the rear of this reform; I mean to march with the procession!"

There can be no doubt as to which way the procession is moving.

A Word to Prohibitionists

By Agnes H. Downing in
The Socialist Woman.

You Prohibitionists strive to make the world better; for this we honor you.

You endeavor to make the world happier; for this we love you.

You realize that those results can be attained only by collective action, so you united politically; for this you have our fraternal respect.

You maintain that the greatest obstacle to human happiness and progress is the use of alcoholic drinks as a beverage; in this we must differ from you.

To us the great stone in the path of progress is the system that makes poverty for so many of our fellow-men.

You have claimed, and not without some show of reason, that drunkenness is the cause of poverty. It has been the cause in a comparatively few cases, but for the great mass of poverty there are other causes. If the use of alcoholic drinks could be abolished tomorrow, poverty would still persist. In support of this contention we have the testimony of social settlement workers, such as Robert Hunter, Mary, McDowell, Charles Booth and others; of church workers such as Washington Gladden, Charles Vail and many more; of economists, among them Ely, Gunton and Commons; investigators, such as the Committee of Fifty; temperance workers, such as Sherwell and Rowntree, and even the eminent name of Frances E. Willard. We have among statisticians the name of Carrol D. Wright. In addition to the conclusion of all those students, based as they are on carefully prepared data, we have the final and convincing evidence in the 18th Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, in which we learn that the average yearly wage of 18,000,000 of workers in this country is \$400—18,000,000 workers and those dependent on them makes a very large number. We also learn from the same report that only a little more than fifty per cent have steady work. With the bread winner employed only part of the time, and at a wage of \$400 a year when at work, it needs no argument to show the cause of poverty in the family.

Not only do we account for the great mass of poverty with social causes, but we contend that drunkenness, the drunkenness that causes the most suffering, is itself the result of poverty. On this point, to show the psychological causes, we can quote Professor Commons, and a large number of others, to the effect that overwork of mothers predisposes children to drink; and both Commons and Dr. Kerr are among those who point out that poor living and the adulterated foods of the poor are causes of intemperance. Then there is a large number of workers on the lower line of poverty, undergoing the tense, fierce struggle which that means—day after day facing the jaws of hunger, without comfort or cheer, and whose only hope is to keep from the grinding humiliation of accepting charity. With any misfortune, sickness, accident, lack of work, the hope is gone. Often at this crisis the man loses hold and takes to drink. Intoxication is the one wretched delusion left him; with it he buys temporary forgetfulness. He thinks with Solomon:—Prov. 31-7—"Let him drink and forget his poverty and remember his misery no more."

"He should not," you say. No, he should not; but all do not resist temptation, all can not, or the story of the tempter on the mountain side would never have been written.

So the poor wretch drinks, and it makes his chronic poverty acute; it drives his family from poverty to pauperism. But it never drove them to poverty. The system which puts profits before humanity did that. Greed for profit keeps the workers poor and ignorant, and greed for profit place the saloon in their midst.

Prohibitionists, knowing that your disinterested love for humanity makes you take up this work, we ask you, we plead with you, to investigate the economic side of the question. Putting away alcoholic drinks would leave us the poverty problem. Putting away the poverty problem by abolishing the profit system would remove at once the incentive for the liquor business and the debasement that leads to drunkenness. It would make possible an intelligent, temperate people.

Drunkenness and poverty may be wiped out together by destroying the cause of both. This is to be the work of our generation. In the face of this great task—at the door of this opportunity of our day, stands the Socialist, and he entreats the Prohibitionist to help him.

The Girls in Jail

(William Allen White, in Emporia Gazette.)

The fate that has overtaken several English suffragettes who attempted to present a petition to Premier Asquith is considered a subject for mirth by the ribald, but it really is not amusing.

Four or five women of high station are sentenced to jail for a month for a performance that should not be counted an offense in any country where free institutions are more than a fiction. When it becomes a crime to attempt to present a petition to the officers of a government, that government is less liberal than the regime of Henry VIII. Henry had a weakness for burning and beheading people, but he would at least listen to what they had to say, and there is no record that he every ordered anybody to the stake for handing him a memorial.

If the arrest of these women is amusing, the laugh is on the blunderers who caused the arrests, and who are responsible for the jail sentences. The women involved have the true spirit of martyrdom, showing their faith in their cause is sublime, whatever others may think of the cause. It is no joke to a woman of refinement and culture to be imprisoned and to pick oakum, and be subjected to the rules which govern outlaws and outcasts. The women might avoid going to jail by paying a fine or giving bonds, but they will consent to no compromise. They believe that their own suffering will advance the cause and attract sympathy, and they are not mistaken.

At present the average Englishman looks upon the suffrage crusade as a joke, and he laughs when the leaders are arrested because the other fellows laugh, don't you know. The Briton is slow to absorb a joke and slow to get over the effects of one, but he is just and fair, and one of these days it will dawn upon him that it isn't such an all-fired funny thing to send good women to prison for imaginary offenses, and John Bull will then put a stop to that sort of thing, and women will get what they want and what they are entitled to.

It took the Briton a couple of centuries to see that it did no good to burn men and women at Smithfield; and a good deal of time may elapse before he understands fully that no good is served by the imprisonment of women, but the realization will come to him sooner or later, and then these women who are enduring so much for their faith nowadays will no longer be considered fit subjects for merriment.

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.

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. Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth Street.

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

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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 co-operation 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

PROHIBITION

The St. Louis municipal elections of April 6 took place under the high pressure of the Prohibition wave. What this means for a city like ours, with its tens of thousands of people dependent on the brewery industry for the chance to earn their daily bread, can readily be seen.

When our Prohibition moralizers get eccentric in their work of saving bodies and souls from the "liquor devil," when they appeal in behalf of the "poverty-stricken children," etc., they usually forget that they are dealing, in a very superficial manner, with a most serious economic problem. Prohibition as a means to cure drunkenness, poverty and crime is a failure. Prohibition is not even a palliative, because it is fundamentally wrong; its premises are wrong.

France, the first wine-producing country on earth, has less drunkenness than any other country of the same size and population.

Germany, the leading beer-producing country, where beer has been known to be the "national beverage" for three thousand years, has a population whose moral and intellectual standard is by no means below that of any of our American states where Prohibition has been the legalized hobby for decades.

While the Prohibitionists are proceeding in their superficial work in the one direction with results that are by no means encouraging or commendable, we see the powerful "liquor interests" on the other hand speeding in a reckless and almost criminal manner toward their own destruction. Not for a moment would they seriously consider the recommendations for a radical and fundamental regulation of the liquor traffic, especially effective reform in the management of the saloon business. Why can the American saloon not be made as respectable a place as the saloon in any Western European country?

Capitalist commercialism and corrupt politics combined to make the American liquor traffic what it is today. Take our St. Louis municipal politics of the last twenty-five years and then ask yourself: Who furnished the fuel for the Prohibitionist fire?

The Prohibition question may be considered a capitalist side issue by many Socialists, but it is an issue, and must be met fairly and squarely; it is an economic issue affecting the interests of tens of thousands of people. It is a social problem, no matter how superficially or wrongly its advocates may handle it.

Prohibition is an issue which can not be properly and effectively dealt with unless taken up from the wide and radical point of view of Socialism. The Prohibition movement, with all its failures and errors, will continue so long as the "liquor interests" are permitted to continue their old methods of running the business in their old way.

Most rigid control and regulation of the liquor traffic has become an absolute necessity. The best interests of the people demand it. It seems to us that at least a certain element among the "liquor interests" in past years were not anxious to have any real reform in their line of business for the same reason that induced British opium merchants to oppose any and all reforms in the opium traffic in China.

No Socialist who understands the aims and object of the modern labor movement can support the Prohibition movement. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Socialist to advocate temperance not only in drinking, but in everything else. For this reason the Socialists insist on the inauguration of a system of radical regulation and reform of the liquor traffic. Democratic and Republican politicians and statesmen, as a rule, are cowards when it comes to handling a problem like Prohibition. Uppermost in their minds is always the fear of losing the support of the voters at the polls. Democratic and Republican platforms declare for one thing, and Democratic and Republican statesmen elected on the same platform will do the other thing.

The situation in Missouri is like this: Whether the Prohibition bill in the State Legislature will carry or not, the Prohibitionists will keep the pot boiling for some time to come. And the chances are that they will get a majority of the voters on their side unless the agitation is checked by sound, common-sense reform work on the part of those who have nothing to gain but everything to lose by the Prohibition movement.

Will they heed such advice? If not, their Waterloo will be unavoidable, and the blame will then be placed where it belongs.

Our Party and Its Task

The financial report of the National Secretary of the Socialist Party for the month of March is in every way a very satisfactory one.

It is satisfactory that there should be a cash balance of \$567.23, liabilities of only 1,009.73, and a balance of assets over liabilities, amounting to \$7,337.38, for the greater part of which is in the form of literature and subscription cards for party papers, to be sold for the benefit of the national organization—things which will rapidly bring in cash, to be spent again in continuing the work of Socialist propaganda and organization by the spoken or the printed word. This is, altogether, a very good showing for the party's national office, so soon after an unprecedentedly expensive campaign, in a period of crushingly hard times, and at a time of the year when the individual workers' finances are always at the lowest ebb. It bids fair for the work to be done in the coming months, when open-air meetings will be in full swing all over the country and numerous speakers will be in demand.

But the most satisfactory feature of the report is the fact that the receipts for membership dues are, with the one exception of last October, the largest for any one month in the history of the party. As a rule we have, and may expect, a considerable "slump" in party membership for some time after the conclusion of a national campaign. Especially might this have been expected in the present case, because the increase in our party's vote last November was not by any means so great as both party members and outsiders had expected. We know very well that this failure to increase the vote materially was due very largely to the disfranchisement of workingmen who had been compelled to move from place to place in search of work during the hard times and had thus lost their residence rights. But, while explicable, the result was not such as to arouse great enthusiasm, and it would not have been a matter for much surprise if large numbers of our newer recruits, and some of the old workers as well, had grown discouraged for the time and neglected their duties as party members. That such has not been the case, that the dues payments have, when taken with reference to the regular seasonal fluctuations, kept up the exceptionally good record of party growth which was begun a little over a year ago, gives the party good ground for self-congratulation and for sanguine hopes.

We are now passing through a peculiar period, which is likely to continue for many months, perhaps for several years. As regards the general economic and political conditions of the country, we might as well frankly face the fact that we are in for a period of reaction. With the election of Mr. Taft, the great capitalists have got more firmly seated in the saddle than ever before. They have an administration which is essentially devoted to their interests. That was true of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and of Mr. McKinley's before it, but the McKinley administration was to some extent bound by some old-fashioned traditions of public policy—some pretense, at least, of observing the much-talked-of if rather hazy "spirit of American institutions" and of preserving some forms of impartiality in dealing with the different classes of the people. Mr. Roosevelt's administration did the great capitalists the immense service of breaking down all those traditions, trampling upon that old-fashioned American spirit wherever it materialized itself in a form beneficial to the workers, and generally destroying all the checks which had formerly been imposed upon government of the people by the politicians for the financiers and industrial magnates. But, while doing this service for the great capitalists, Mr. Roosevelt's administration was at the same time too personal in its character, too erratic, too crudely demagogic, to be considered "safe" by the very class whose final supremacy it was preparing. The great capitalists have reason to be glad that they have got rid of Mr. Roosevelt—for the time, at least—at the same time they have reason to be glad that they had his invaluable services for those seven extraordinary years.

In Mr. Taft we have a President of the Cleveland type—neither so timidly conservative as McKinley nor so rash and violent as Roosevelt—a man who is not so much a trusty tool as a devoted and efficient partisan of the great bourgeoisie. Neither personal whim or ambition nor traditional prepossessions will prevent him from being the great capitalists' President par excellence, for by all his training and associations he belongs to that class body and soul and sincerely believe that whatever is good for it is naturally and eternally right. And he has chosen a Cabinet which, from Secretary of State Philander C. Knox down, is completely fitted to carry out the policies which he and his great capitalists desire—not a cabinet of mere politicians, but a cabinet of thoroughly bourgeois statesmen.

Under this administration, the powers of law and government are going to be used, possibly with less violence, but certainly with more consistent purpose and more ruthless vigor than ever before, to advance the present interests and secure the future domination of the upper ranks of the capitalist class and to subjugate the workers. The silken glove may be worn; but the iron hand within will use its force to the limit.

On the other hand, there is now every reason to believe that the present industrial crisis is going to continue, with but slightly abated severity, much longer than most of us at first expected. The cost of living is not going to come down; even a reduction of the tariff—if that improbable thing should happen—would not materially reduce prices now; for there are big forces at work to maintain or raise prices on an international scale. On the other hand, even if the opportunities for employment were now to become as numerous as they were two or three years ago, it would take a long time and a hard struggle for the wage-workers to win back the scale of wages which then prevailed and which has been broken down during the eighteen months of hard times.

These two things—the continuance of the industrial depression, and the administration of national affairs by an administration and a judiciary completely representative of the great capitalist class—make it certain (as certain as anything in the way of social forecast can be) that the assault upon organized labor is going to be continued, no win one manner and now in another, but always vigorously and purposefully.

What does all this mean for the political movement of Socialism? It means that we are not to expect any very brilliant triumphs at the polls for 1912, at the earliest. It means that we have to do very thorough and fundamental work—do it patiently, persistently, intelligently, adapting our methods to changing conditions and improving them with experience, and never allowing ourselves to be discouraged by monetary failure—a bigger work than we ever before essayed to do, and along two main lines, closely connected and yet somewhat distinct in their nature—first, the active defense of every political right and economic interest of the working class which may be threatened by the powers of reaction and the seconding of the labor organizations in every attempt to win even the slightest improvement in material and social conditions; second, along with this,

the systematic education of the workers to a clear understanding of the causes of their troubles and to the nature of that solidarity by which alone they can ever hope to escape from wage-slavery.

That our party is in such good condition to take up this work is a good omen for the future. Let the party's growth be continued, and let its press be upheld and strengthened, and we shall hold the lines against every assault and be prepared for a resistless forward movement at the next general battle of the ballots.—New York Evening Call.

Observations

We are glad to learn that the great Fair and Exposition held at the Grand Central Palace for the benefit of the New York Evening Call, was a decided success.

Patten, the Board of Trade Shark, made \$5,000,000 in wheat speculation. The great mass of the people will have to foot the bill. As a result of this stroke of clever business women will go hungry and children starve. Speculation in the means of life is a crime, and the man who makes \$5,000,000 within a few days by cornering the wheat supply deserves imprisonment for life on Blackwell's Island or some other well fortified penal institution.

"Bread prices will remain the same, but loaves will be smaller." Read this nice little news item from the St. Louis Republic to your Mrs. Neighbor whose husband has been out of work for the last six months: "While bread will rise to a higher price within the next few weeks, as told exclusively in the Republic Sunday, the change, as affecting the housekeepers, will be more than made up by the rush of vegetables to the market and the resultant lowering of prices. The bakers and grocers, while acknowledging that there will be an advance in bread, say that they are not expecting to raise the price of loaves to above 5 cents. They say flour was higher several years ago—a dollar and more on the barrel—than it is now, and that bread continued to bring a nickel a loaf, but the loaves were made smaller, and that this is what will happen now."

The St. Louis municipal election of April 6 was a Republican landslide, brought about by the Prohibition wave, which has also reached this state, thanks to the old time Republican corruption and the Democratic deceit and hypocrisy. Under false pretenses the Republican party machine operators managed to get back into the political saddle, and their troubles have just begun, because they will not be able to deliver the goods. That the prohibition craze will be the leading political issue in this city and state for some time to come is a foregone conclusion. Whether we Socialists like this situation or not, it exists and must be met fairly and squarely. If brought down to its economic basis, the Prohibition issue becomes a bread and butter question for tens of thousands of people, especially in the city of St. Louis, where in the neighborhood of ten thousand men are directly employed in and by the breweries. The statement of this fact alone will be sufficient explanation of what happened at the polls on April 6. Also remember that the Republicans in the lower house of the Missouri legislature very shrewdly postponed the debate and vote on the Prohibition bill until two days after the St. Louis elections. Thus the Prohibition scare was hanging over the St. Louis voters like the sword of Damocles. Some day in the near future the Republicans will share the same fate of their Democratic twin brothers at the last elections. After all, the Republican era of corruption under Kratz, Ziegenhein, Julius Lehmann, Uthoff, Gutke, Carroll, Bersch, Tamblin, Gaus, Murrell, Hartmann, Madera & Co., was the cause of the present fanatic Sunday closing and prohibition wave in Missouri, because it prepared the soil upon which Folk, Mulvihill & Co. could thrive and prosper. It was during that era when the millionaire brewers and the lowest class of saloonkeepers got into possession not only of the Republican party machine, but the Democratic machine as well. If the people of St. Louis would only remember these things, they would avoid falling into the same old political traps as they did on April 6.

Revolution and Anarchy would have been the result if Uncle Sam and the Chicago Police Department had not appeared at the "psychological moment" to discover the danger and prevent the catastrophe. Read the latest reports from Washington: "At the request of the Chicago Police Department, the War Department of the United States has ordered stopped the sale of obsolete army rifles. More than 300,000 discarded Springfield rifles of 45-caliber have already been sold by the War Department at prices which have netted the government less than \$1 each. These, in turn, have fallen into the hands of dealers who have sold them at prices ranging down to \$1.50. It was because of this cheapness of weapons that the Chicago Police Department feared they were falling into the hands of irresponsible and might too easily be used to arm mobs of strikers or anarchists. The Chicago officials took the position that the return which the government received from the sale of the obsolete weapons did not amount to enough to offset the danger which the sale of the rifles might be to the peace and the police of the large cities. The order stopping the sale of these weapons by the department will cost the government about \$100,000 a year. Over 300,000 of the old Springfield rifles had already been disposed of, many of them being guns once owned by the various state militia, but replaced by modern rifles. Only about 10,000 of these obsolete guns are now in the hands of the department." The foregoing information would indicate that our capitalist statesmen and political corporation tools in Washington, are more afraid of the American people at home than of the foreign powers. In the little Alpine republic of Switzerland every citizen is a soldier, with his gun or rifle right at his home, ready for use at a minute's notice, ready at any moment to defend his country and his people. The Swiss government considers this general armament of the people the best guarantee for the nation's safety. In Washington, D. C., the great statesmen follow a different line of thoughts. With them the safety and welfare of the country and of the American people is of secondary consideration. Their first and main purpose is to strengthen the power of the capitalist corporations and guard the interests of the class that lives and prospers off the sweat and life-blood of the working class. It's the "mobs of strikers" and half starved wage slaves the Washington politicians and their capitalist masters are afraid of.

The St. Louis University, one of the oldest and largest Catholic universities, has made an important innovation in its management. This institution, which had been under the sole and absolute control of the Jesuit Order, known as "Society of Jesus," has now a "Big Cinch" advisory board. Laymen and even non-Catholics, but all millionaires and heads of powerful public utilities and banking corporations, will henceforth be the "spiritual advisers" of one of the leading Catholic universities on the American continent. Some two or three years ago a banquet was held in St. Louis under the direction of Archbishop Glennon. The following morning the newspapers announced that the 32 gentlemen present at the banquet had subscribed to the New Cathedral building fund the neat little sum of about \$400,000. Such gentlemen as Hon. Kerens, Ex-Gov. Francis and other "Big Cinchs" were present at that banquet and contributed little amounts all the way from \$25,000 to \$100,000 each. Now

Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

we learn through the columns of Archbishop Glennon's "Big Cinch" organ, St. Louis Republic, that some of the same men who attended the banquet above referred to have been intrusted with the honor of membership of the St. Louis University Advisory Board. Every one of these "advisors" is an expert capitalist corporation manager, with business experience, and it is this "Big Cinch" business experience of Messrs. Huttig, Breckinridge Jones, Kinsella, Festus J. Wade, Rolla Wells, et al., which the "Society of Jesus" management of the St. Louis University desires to bring into more harmonious relations with the "spiritual interests" of the great institution. If the Chicago University can enjoy the "good will" of a John D. Rockefeller, why should the Catholic St. Louis University refuse to accept the "Big Cinch" capitalists as the apostles and patron saints of this institution? What is sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. Last Tuesday's St. Louis Republic reported the "revolutionary occurrence" as follows: "Supervision of St. Louis University, the control of which for ninety years has reposed in a Board of Directors of the Society of Jesus, last night was transferred to an advisory board, composed of laymen, some of whom are not Catholics. Only two members of the new board are clergymen. This change in the policy of the university is the first move of its sort in the history of Jesuit educational institutions in the United States, and, in view of the conservative principles of the order and its strict adherence to the Jesuit educational constitution, many centuries old, is regarded as an innovation of particular importance. The new board is composed of twenty-four members, of which the president of the university is ex-officio president. This in effect gives the board twenty-five members, of which Father John P. Frieden, S. J., president of the university, and Archbishop John J. Glennon are the only clergymen. Other members of the board are Charles H. Huttig, Richard C. Kerens, Charles W. Knapp, Paul Bakewell, Howard Benoist, William Frank Carter, Francis A. Drew, August Gehner, Breckinridge Jones, William J. Kinsella, Jesse A. McDonald, Daniel C. Nugent, Theophile Papin, Amedee V. Reyburn, Edward S. Robert, August Schlaflay, John Scullin, Festus J. Wade, David D. Walker, Edward J. Walsh, Julius S. Walsh, Rolla Wells and George W. Wilson."

The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth

By Robert Hunter.

Perhaps the strangest thing in the universe is the failure of labor to realize its own strength, power and ability. An interesting historian has said that the doctrines of Jesus were revolutionary because they proclaimed the dignity of labor. The workingmen of that time were largely slaves. Like other beasts of burden they were bought and sold. It was among slaves and those trade unionists who had managed to keep themselves out of slavery that Christianity first made headway. And the followers of Jesus taught these men that they were as good as any one else. Think of telling a man who could be whipped, put in chains or murdered, who could be sold at the block, whose children could be torn from him and sold—think of telling such a man that all men were children of one father. But through the centuries this doctrine had to be revived again and again because workingmen themselves did not believe it. Even today it is the burden of Socialist propaganda. Marx said to the workers: "You have fought and won victories for the priest, the feudal lord, the military dictator, the slave owner, the serf owner and the capitalist. Now fight for yourselves." A man stumbles upon a gold mine, takes a few samples of the ore and carries them to Wall Street. A company is organized, after inspection, which decides to mine the ore. The masters never leave Wall Street. A working geologist makes the inspection; wage earners as superintendents, engineers, surveyors, miners, undertake to sink the shaft, drill the veins, take out the quartz, separate the ore, melt it into bars and ship it by the help of other workingmen to the great mints. It is the workingmen who risk their lives. It is the workingmen who supply the expert labor as well as the manual labor. The capitalist simply supplies those men with enough food, clothing and shelter to enable them to keep at work during the process of mining. Every useful thing, every beautiful thing, every railroad, every tenement, every palace, every factory, every product of every factory, are the results of the energy, the skill, the creative ability and the manual and intellectual labor of workingmen. They swarm by the million over this great continent. They make its fields to blossom. They raise its cities out of the wilderness. They have changed a virgin continent of forest and stream, of mountain and valley, of highland and swampland, into the richest dwelling place of man. And yet the class which has done this stupendous labor is looked upon as an inferior and degraded class—not fit to conduct industry. The young Vanderbilts, Goulds and Rockefellers must manage its financial interests. Charles Murphy, Johnny Powers, Hinky Dink, Tom Taggart and other gamblers and saloonkeepers must manage its politics. Lawyers and capitalists must rule its legislatures. It is looked upon as little more than a land of productive animals. And when it is done producing its usefulness is over. Other men must manage its affairs, buy and sell for it, bank for it, finance for it and legislate for it. It all reminds me of a story. A wealthy girl with philanthropic intent went to a little mission to teach poor children how to sew. She was given a class who had reached the point of making buttonholes. But she said, "Dear me, I don't know how to make buttonholes. I can only do simple sewing." "Never mind, lady," said the children, "we'll teach you." Those little children had the training and the ability. Had they realized how much superior they were in many things to the children of the wealthy they would have established missions among the rich to teach impertinent and unskilled children how to do some useful work in the world. If the workingmen in this country realized their own power, strength and ability, they would end the control of their financial institutions by the stupid sons of rich men; the control of industry by men who know little more than furnish others with bread while they work; and the control of their political life by predatory machines conducted by saloonkeepers and electoral crooks. I wonder sometimes when I read the words of Jesus—"The meek shall inherit the earth"—if he did not actually mean that the workers shall inherit the earth. Perhaps the useless, ill-educated, untrained men, many of whom now rule in finance, industry and politics, will make such a botch of it and will make conditions so intolerable for the meek that the latter may some day quietly and patiently take charge of industry themselves, and philanthropically pension off the incompetents who now own and think they manage it.

THE HATTERS' STRIKE.

After Twelve Weeks Settlement as Far Off as Ever—Loss of Million by Manufacturers.

The tie-up in the hat industry has now been dragging along for nearly twelve weeks, two weeks longer than the controversy of 1893-94. Notwithstanding sundry attempts of varied interests to adjust the differences, no signs of a settlement are revealed in the current situation. Both manufacturers and strikers concede that

the opposing sides have been persistent, and to offset the effect of the number of union men who have forsaken the union and returned to work, the strikers point to the backdown of the Lamson & Hubbard Company, of Boston, from the stand taken by the associated manufacturers to abolish forever the union label in their factories.

A rough estimate places the loss to the manufacturers as the result of the contest thus far in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000, and retailers concede that in order to replenish their stocks they have been compelled to buy from other than their usual sources. The factories of the manufacturers who are members of the association are being operated considerably below half the normal schedules. Several of the employers point to the break in the ranks of the union occasioned by the return of a few foremen, but union leaders declare these men have been tempted with inducements in the hope that their former subordinates will follow their lead. The union men also claim that the strikers have found employment in independent factories where the label is used, and that the assistance rendered the union by members of labor organizations in other branches of trade has strengthened the financial resources of the striking hatters, enabling them to continue the controversy for some time.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will do all in its power to help the striking hatters. It is stated that about one thousand men and women employed in independent union hat factories have assessed themselves 25 per cent of their earnings for the strikers.

IN DEFENSE OF UNIONISM

Against Unwarranted Attacks by Rev. Belford of Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn.

The utterances of the Rev. J. L. Belford, pastor the Roman Catholic Church of the Nativity of Brooklyn, in his attack on trade unionism and its leaders do not reflect credit on his learning or his judgment. He is evidently an impulsive man, who jumps at conclusions before he has carefully weighed the question that he discusses. In his article in the latest issue of The Mentor, the parish paper, he discloses himself as a man of very narrow mind and deficient in knowledge of his subject.

To those who know what trade unionism is through its practical benefits his charges are not only untruthful, but they are villainously wicked. The clergyman judges trade unionism by some of the incidental delinquencies rather than by its great work and underlying principles. We hardly believed the reverend father would wish the world to judge the church by the crimes that have been committed in its name by the depraved lives of those who have worn its livery. In discussing trade unionism he should apply the same rule of liberality in its treatment that he would wish the world to exercise in estimating the great services of the church to humanity.

The statement that members of unions "allow a few noisy leaders to make rules for them" and that "they support such leaders in idleness" is unqualifiedly untrue, and demonstrates that the clergyman has no knowledge of trade union administration. Trade unions represent pure democracy, and laws are made and their officers elected by the rule of the majority.

If the Rev. Father Belford had taken time to study all the great achievements of trade unionism in the betterment of humanity and its uplift in all that goes to make up a Christian civilization we do not believe he would have issued his indictment against trade unions and their leaders and given aid to the forces of greed and oppression that have for ages sought to keep the workers in a condition of servitude.

Could the crimes against human rights and against industrial justice that are daily practiced in our great industrial centers be exposed in all their hideousness to the observation of mankind the world would be shocked by man's inhumanity to man. These wrongs trade unionism is seeking to overthrow, and toward this end it should have the support and encouragement of the church and its clergy.

The ultimate aim of trade unionism is peace and good will to men, and if in striving for this accomplishment it has to pursue the process and methods of war it is but following out the line of human development in aggressive assault on the entrenched powers of wrong that are arrayed against the forces of progress.—Bulletin of the Clothing Trades.

Child Labor Convention

The New Orleans Gathering Was Attended by 250 Delegates.

The following is a synopsis of the report of the Child Labor Conference held at New Orleans from March 29th to 31st. One remarkable thing about this conference was that our St. Louis capitalist press absolutely refused to publish anything about it:

There were in attendance about 250 men and women as delegates from eight southern states.

The convention was called to order by Gov. J. Y. Sanders of Louisiana at 10 o'clock a. m. Monday, March 29, 1909, in the banquet hall of the Grunewald Hotel, who delivered an address of welcome and had the call for the conference read.

Gov. Sanders was elected chairman and Senator Frank M. Colville of Oklahoma secretary.

After the Committee on Credentials reported, a Committee on Resolutions, consisting of two delegates from each state, was selected. W. H. Johnson and Charles P. Fahey were selected from Tennessee. While the Committee on Resolutions was out the conference was addressed by Gov. Hadley of Missouri, Gov. Noel of Mississippi, Miss Jean Gordon, Factory Inspectors of Orleans Parish; O. R. Lovejoy, National Secretary of Child Labor Committee, and others, whose addresses will all be published in the proceedings. The Committee on Resolutions made the following report, which was adopted by the conference:

First. That the minimum age limit for the employment of children in any gainful occupation, except agriculture and domestic service be fixed at 14 years.

Second. That no child under the age of 16 years be employed in or in connection with any occupation dangerous to life or limb, or injurious to health or morals.

Third. That no child under the age of 16 be employed in any gainful occupation, except agriculture or domestic service, unless such child shall be able to read and write simple sentences in the English language.

Fourth. That no boy under 16 years of age and no girl under 18 years of age be employed between the hours of 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.

Fifth. The committee believes that the eight-hour day for boys under 16 and for all women is the only humane standard for such legislation. The committee hopes that this standard will soon be reached by all southern states.

Sixth. That legislation on the subject of the issuing of age certificates be according to the provisions of the laws of Louisiana and Kentucky.

Seventh. That a law requiring the registration of all births be adopted by every southern state, as such provision is necessary for the proper issuance of certificates.

Eighth. That we recommend the following with regard to sanitary and safety regulation, strict factory inspection, and that the inspectors be given full authority to enforce all laws on the subject.

That all laws for the protection of women and children carry with them sufficient penalties for proper enforcement—providing for a permanent organization of a child labor convention to be composed of delegates from each of the southern states.

The officers of the permanent organization to consist of a President, Secretary and Treasurer, a Vice-President from each state and an Executive Committee of one from each state, and five members from the South at large.

The officers elected were: President, Gov. J. Y. Sanders of Louisiana; Secretary, Senator Frank M. Colville of Oklahoma; Treasurer, Miss Jean Gordon of New Orleans.

Vice-Presidents—Georgia, Gov. Hoke Smith; Virginia, W. E. Stevens of Charlotte; Oklahoma, Miss Kate Barnard; Missouri, Mrs. Mary E. Smith of St. Louis; Louisiana, Thomas J. Harrison of New Orleans; Tennessee, Charles H. King of Jackson; Kentucky, Mrs. James M. Leech; Mississippi, T. B. Lampton of Magnolia.

Executive Committee—Georgia, D. A. J. McKelway of Atlanta; Virginia, T. G. Miller of Roanoke; Oklahoma, Senator L. K. Taylor; Missouri, Mrs. H. C. Cosgrove of Joplin; Tennessee, G. D. Groner of Chattanooga; Kentucky, G. L. Schon; Mississippi, Senator J. R. McDowell of Jackson; Louisiana, Solomon Wolf of New Orleans.

G. L. Schon of Kentucky was elected chairman of the Executive Committee and instructed to take up the question of the time and place of the next meeting.

The selection of the members-at-large for the Executive Committee was deferred for the present.

The officers were instructed to take up the matter of Vice-Presidents and members of the Executive Committee for states not represented with the governors of the respective states.

Canada Seizing the Telephones

Early last month a news item was flashed from Winnipeg, Manitoba, that caused consternation among the ultra-conservatives on this side of the line and stirred their dry bones in a way that was truly beautiful. Hoarse croakings predicting failure were heard on many sides, particularly from those who believe, or who think they believe, that whatever is, is right, and to make any change whatever would spoil everything. The news item that caused all this was to the effect that the people of Canada were taking possession of their telephone lines, and running them as a government institution. The croakers who are predicting failure and are opposed to the nationalization of anything are not familiar with the facts in the case, and a little information on the subject may be beneficial and not altogether valueless.

When the provincial government of Manitoba proposed to purchase and operate all telephone systems in the province, other provinces of the Dominion watched with interest the experiments, for Manitoba claims to be the first government, not only in Canada, but in the world, to go into the telephone business.

Toward the end of 1907 negotiations were started between the government and the Bell Telephone Co. for the purchase of all the lines, exchanges and franchises from the monopoly. Approximately \$3,000,000 was the price agreed upon for the entire system, with a quantity of supplies and material which the company had on hand. After twelve months of operation under government ownership, a surplus of \$80,001.10 is declared after deducting the cost of the construction of 1,468 miles of long-distance lines and 29 new exchanges for 2,158 subscribers.

So satisfactory has been the showing made under government ownership that a reduction varying from 25 to 50 per cent will be announced shortly. Several reductions have already been made since the government took over the system from the Bell company. The system now consists of over twenty thousand subscribers scattered through the cities, towns, villages and hamlets of Manitoba.

The lead set by Manitoba was closely followed by the Province of Alberta, and in that province there is today a government-owned telephone system, but while the surplus for the first year's operation is not so large, the profits per cent are far greater. For some months past the Bell Telephone Co. has been dickering with the Saskatchewan government for the sale of its system in that province, but thus far without success, it being apparent that the province is playing a "freeze-out" game and is constructing government-owned lines as rapidly as possible and making competitive rates with the Bell company wherever possible.

Now from British Columbia comes the cry for government-owned telephones. Associated boards of trade have taken the matter up, passing resolutions which have been presented to the government, with the result that a bill will shortly be introduced in the British Columbia Legislature providing for government ownership of this public utility. In British Columbia the majority of the telephone systems are operated by the British Columbia Telephone Co., which is said to be a subsidiary company of the Bell.

When this legislation passes the British Columbia House the Bell Telephone Co. will be extinct in Canada between the Great Lakes and the Pacific ocean, for it will have but a short mileage in operation, and that in Saskatchewan, where the government can buy out these lines at any time for practically its own price.

And this is what caused the rattling up among the dry bones in this land of the free. Let the good work go on and thus provide an object lesson for everyone of us here who do not yet fully appreciate the value of the ballot. Canadian votes did it and ours can do the same thing.—Editorial from Machinists' Monthly Journal.

IS VAN CLEAVE IMPROVING?

What a New Orleans Paper Reports About the Great "Friend of Labor."

We read in the Nashville Labor Advocate: "How is this?" "I am one of the best and most consistent friends that organized workingmen of America have ever had."

This statement was made recently at the Hotel Grunewald by James Van Cleave of St. Louis, president of the National Manufacturers' Association.

"I am not an enemy of union labor, and if there is a general impression to the contrary, it is altogether wrong."

"If I were a workingman I would be untrue to my better self if I refrained from joining in the efforts of my fellows to raise the standard of living among the masses. It is not organization that I oppose, but the wrongs that have grown and flourished with the movement. The workers of the country have as much right to organize for self-protection as have combinations of capital, but they have no more right than has capital to put a premium on dishonesty and energy."

"It is this systematic wrong that I have given my time and money in trying to break down. I have been just as active in opposing the dishonesty inherent in powerful combinations of money, for the history of all organization, whether of money or labor, shows that with increased strength comes increased temptations and a certain amount of despotism."

"I am happy in the belief that the next generation will witness a complete understanding between the nation's workers and the men who supply the ideas and give them employment."

Mr. Van Cleave is the head of the Buck's Stove and Range Co. of St. Louis, and is attending the Southern Conference on Child Labor Laws, now in session at the Grunewald Hotel.—New Orleans Item.

Has Van Cleave commenced to see the light of day or is he trimming? "I am one of the best and most consistent friends that organized workingmen of America have ever had" is the limit.

Missouri Socialist Party

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

How the Farmer Sees It.

Richwoods—The members all voted no on the measure to increase the dues to 20c per month. They are willing to pay it but are unable to do so. Therefore, about half of us would have to drop out of the party. We believe by leaving it (state and national dues) at 10c we will keep more members in the party and if any member is able to pay more he can send it to the state secretary and let him use it where it will do the most good. Our members are putting every pound of their energy in the movement. All are distributing a considerable amount of literature to our neighbors and I feel safe in saying that there are at least ten more citizens in Richwoods township that would vote the Socialist ticket than did so last fall. We had 13 then. So you can see that we are doing things.—W. T. Doyen.

Nearly Every Local in a Large City Has Similar Trouble.

St. Joseph—All arrangements have been made for Thompson's lecture on April 12. We have sold 200 tickets at 10c each.

We have had war in our local. There were several political crooks carrying red cards and they had a contingent of two that did not belong to the local but came every meeting to make trouble. They would get the floor and say aggravating things that kept up a fight. About a year ago they tried to organize a Debs Club, without dues, etc. It fagged out and then they stood on the street corners trying to induce our members not to attend meetings, and, failing, came into the local to disorganize us. One of the leaders named Leach was expelled from a local in Oklahoma during the last election and went to work for the Democrats. He tried to get two of our street speakers to quit and speak for Bryan and the Democratic candidate for sheriff. I give the ringleader of the gang a good punching about five weeks ago. The style of their organization is "The Social Democratic Club," no dues, and I understand that it is not affiliated with the Socialist party. Our attendance is small but we are glad to get rid of the traitors. We hope to increase our attendance after street meetings commence.—T. C. Jefferis.

Thompson Makes Good at All Points.

Nelson—Well, Comrade Thompson has come and gone. We were uneasy for fear there would not be a good house but, all things considered, the results were satisfactory and we are pleased with the house, collection, the lecture and, more than all else, the interest and comment since the lecture. Thompson is certainly fine and the sentiment toward socialism more pronounced than formerly. We hope have him with us again, someday.—W. S. Hanley.

At Eldon the meetings were held in the Congregational church. A factory promoter had arranged a big town meeting for the first night but a good crowd was out to hear Thompson. The place was packed for the second and third meetings. Many came to miles or more from places in the country. It is hoped that the Eldon comrades will get together and launch the local once more. With a good secretary it would not be difficult to have a local of 50 members there.

Sticking to It.

Local South Troost, near Kansas City, has paid back dues and announces that it is here to stay. Comrade H. M. Scott writes that they are handicapped by the lack of a hall to meet in. Well, summer is coming and meetings can be held almost anywhere then.

Local Independence has a nice meeting room to meet in now and Secretary Koehler says they will do some things during 1909. The winter proved dull and hard for many locals but the disappointment over the 1908 election is wearing off and better things can be looked for from now on.

Hannibal comrades have a full ticket up for the city election on May 4 and intend to see how much of a jar they can hand the plutocrats.

W. A. Ward to Speak.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship has arranged a number of meetings for Comrade William A. Ward. He will speak for a week in Neosho, commencing April 18. From there he goes to Webb City for a week, commencing April 25. Comrade Ward is said to be particularly well fitted for work among church people and his lectures are of a nature that should enable the comrades to reach people who, ordinarily, do not attend socialist meetings.

Some Locals are Still Missing.

Dues are coming in rather slow this month and quite a number of locals are in arrears. Several have paid up recently and placed themselves in good standing. Get after those delinquent members, comrade secretary, and see that they pay up. Most of them will do so if you ask them about it.

The five cents assessment call was sent out nearly a month ago and about 30 locals have responded, so far. Two of the five locals that called for a new referendum have not sent in anything to help pay for same.

Election Results.

The city election at Flat River proved to be somewhat of a surprise to big business. The comrades succeeded in electing one alderman.

The Springfield vote for the socialist ticket was 96.

The Joplin vote is reported to be about half of that expected.

A determination to rebuke those responsible for the manner of enforcing the "lid" led many to support the Republican ticket in St. Louis. The total vote for the Socialist ticket is about 3100 as compared with about 5000 in former elections. The prohibition agitation proves to be a good method of diverting the attention of the workers from the real issues at stake.

The Prohibition Wave in Missouri

By Wm. Marion Reedy in The Mirror.

Missouri will have a chance to vote Prohibition. If the Legislature does not submit the question, the Prohibitionists can enforce submission through initiative petition. When the matter is submitted maybe some of the fanatics will sit down and think what the state will do to get the revenue that liquor yields now. We wonder if those fanatics will be willing to pay the added taxes that the elimination of liquor will make necessary. Perhaps, the fanatics will tell us, too, what will become of the thousands of workers whom Prohibition will render jobless. They will probably devise a scheme to take care of the people suddenly disemployed in a city like St. Louis, where the closing of the breweries and saloons would work more distressful havoc than the cyclone. Also they will explain on what theory of justice they are going to abolish properties built up under the protection of the laws. Prohibition would bankrupt St. Louis and with St. Louis property depreciated to the extent that Prohibition would depreciate it, rural Missouri would have to stand a heavy tax increase to keep the state a going concern. It is true that the community pays heavily for liquor now, but it will pay heavier for not having liquor. And the heaviest payment will be in the matter of liberty and honesty. Our neighbors will regulate our habits that are in no sense the public's concern and they will, besides, make many of us liars and hypocrites. "What are you thinking of Prohibition in Missouri?" I asked the brightest woman in Missouri the other evening. "I'm thinking of buying express stock," she said. As we must vote on the subject, let us have it over with.

If you want to make a little "spec" in express stock, vote for it, but think of the result to others in disemployment and heavier taxation, not to speak of the loss of self-respect involved in having to sneak a drink if you want one. To my mind Prohibition is an immoral policy, but be that as it may, it is, on moral grounds, inexpedient. The country has grown steadily more sober. None of this growth has been due to laws. The people have grown temperate because one can't drink to excess and keep up with the procession, because one can't drink to excess and retain social or professional or even the humblest menial position, because one can't drink to excess and get any real enjoyment out of life. Liquor drinking has diminished in every state in the Union. Beer has supplanted whisky as a beverage and this alone is a great temperance advance. The saloon is no longer a loafing place. The saloon has been regulated until some people can force its extinction as a social danger. Regulation will tend to prevent abuses of liquor and of liquor vending. Suppression is impracticable save at such cost of personal freedom and comfort as must appal the thoughtful citizen who contemplates its possibility. If one wants to realize a foretaste of what potentialities of evil lurk in Prohibition, let him reflect upon the way the politicians of both parties have played with the issue in the Missouri Legislature with no other purpose than to coerce the brewers one way or another in last Tuesday's election in this city. Prohibition looks, to me, like more rather than less liquor in politics, to say nothing of involuntary idleness and poverty for thousands of men, ruthless confiscation of property and wanton invasion of personal right and personal privacy. If we must vote upon it, let us vote at once and be done with it.

UNFAIR LIST

of the

American Federation of Labor

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

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

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

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

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

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

GROCERIES—James Butler, New York City.

TOBACCO—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

WHISKY—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IRON AND STEEL—Illinois Iron and Bolt Co. of Carpentersville, Ill.; Casey & Hedges, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Lincoln Iron Works (F. R. Patch Mfg. Co.), Rutland, Vt.; Singer Sewing Machine Co., Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.; Pittsburg Expanded Metal Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; American Hoist and Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Standard Sewing Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Manitowoc Dry Dock Co., Manitowoc, Wis.

STOVES—Wrought Iron Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.; United States Heater Co., Detroit, Mich.; Gurney Foundry Co., Toronto, Ont.; Home Stove Works, Indianapolis, Ind.; Buck Stove and Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

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

TELEGRAPHY—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger 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.

The "temporary financial depression" made quite an "impression" on the earnings of the railroad corporations, as the following figures would indicate: An advance abstract of statistics of American railroads for the year ending June 30, 1908, compiled by the Bureau of Railway Statistics, was made public here today by Slason Thompson, manager of the bureau. The report says: "Instead of a decrease of only \$164,464,941 in gross earnings as the result of the 'temporary financial depression' of 1907-08, as set forth in the preliminary income report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year ending June 30, 1908, the panic of 1907 resulted in a loss of over \$330,000,000. This statement is based on a table giving the earnings for the twelve months ending November 30, 1908, when the full effect of the business depression became evident. This

avoids the error of including the fattest months in railway history in the same year with the lean months that followed it. In the same way the loss in net earnings is shown to have been \$129,540,460, instead of \$111,051,006, a given in the commission's statement. The 2-cent passenger fare legislation caused a loss of \$25,000,000 in gross earnings, although more passengers were carried. This is accounted for by a reduction in average receipts per passenger mile on 94 per cent of the mileage from 2.014 cents in 1907 to 1.932 in 1908. The heavy loss in net earnings is apparently caused by the expenditure of approximately \$32,000,000 necessitated by arbitrary innovations. In accounting methods and requirements in regard to the hours and conditions of labor of certain classes of employees."

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

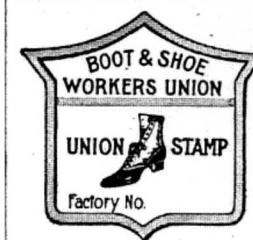
Judge Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, to whom the case was appealed, sentenced

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.



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

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UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE Blue Union Label

STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx.

VIII.

Main Cases of Attempts at Raising Wages or Resisting Their Fall.

Let us now seriously consider the main cases in which a rise of wages is attempted or a reduction of wages resisted.

1. We have seen the value of the laboring power, or in more popular parlance, the value of labor, is determined by the value of necessities, or the quantity of labor required to produce them. If, then, in a given country the value of the daily average necessities of the laborer represented six hours of labor expressed in three shillings, the laborer would have to work for six hours daily to produce an equivalent for his daily maintenance. If the whole working day was twelve hours, the capitalist would pay him the value of his labor by paying him three shillings. Half the working day would be unpaid labor, and the rate of profit would amount to about 100 per cent. But now suppose that, consequent upon a decrease of productivity, more labor should be wanted to produce, say, the same amount of agricultural produce, so that the price of the average daily necessities should rise from three to four shillings. In that case the value of labor would rise by one-third, or 33 1-3 per cent. Eight hours of the working day would be required to produce an equivalent for the daily maintenance of the laborer, according to his old standard of living. The surplus labor would therefore sink from six hours to four, and the rate of profit from 100 to 50 per cent. But in insisting upon a rise of wages, the laborer would only insist upon getting the increased value of his labor, like every other seller of a commodity, who, the costs of his commodity having increased, tries to get its increased value paid. If wages did not rise, or not sufficiently rise, to compensate for the increased values of necessities, the price of labor would sink below the value of labor, and the laborer's standard of life would deteriorate.

But a change might also take place in an opposite direction. By virtue of the increased productivity of labor, the same amount of the average daily necessities might sink from three to two shillings, or only four hours out of the working day, instead of six, be wanted to reproduce an equivalent for the value of the daily necessities. The workingman would now be able to buy with two shillings as many necessities as he did before with three shillings. Indeed, the value of labor would have sunk, but that diminished value would command the same amount of commodities as before. Then profits would rise from three to four shillings, and the rate of profit from 10 to 200 per cent. Although the laborer's absolute standard of life would have remained the same, his relative wages, and therewith his relative social position, as compared with that of the capitalist, would have been lowered. If the workingman should resist that reduction of relative wages, he would only try to get some share in the increased productive powers of his own labor, and to maintain his former relative position in the social scale. Thus after the abolition of the Corn Laws, and in flagrant violation of the most solemn pledges given during the anti-corn law agitation, the English factory lords generally reduced wages ten per cent. The resistance of the workmen was at first baffled, but, consequent upon circumstances I can not now enter upon, the ten per cent lost were afterwards regained.

2. The value of necessities, and consequently the value of labor, might remain the same, but a change might occur in their money prices, consequent upon a previous change in the value of money.

By the discovery of more fertile mines and so forth, two ounces of gold might, for example, cost no more labor to produce than one ounce did before. The value of gold would then be depreciated by one-half, or 50 per cent. As the values of all other commodities would then be expressed in twice their former money prices, so also the same with the value of labor. Twelve hours of labor, formerly expressed in six shillings, would now be expressed in twelve shillings. If the workingman's wages should remain three shillings, instead of rising to six shillings, the money price of his labor would only be equal to half the value of his labor, and his standard of life would fearfully deteriorate. This would also happen in a greater or lesser degree if his wages should rise, but not proportionately to the fall in the value of gold. In such a case nothing would have been changed, either in the productive powers of labor, or in supply and demand, or in values. Nothing could have changed except the money names of those values. To say that in such a case the workman ought not to insist upon a proportionate rise of wages, is to say that he must be content to be paid with names, instead of with things. All past history proves that whenever such a depreciation of money occurs, the capitalists are on the alert to seize this opportunity for defrauding the workman. A very large school of political economists assert that, consequent upon the new discoveries of gold lands, the better working of silver mines, and the cheaper supply of quicksilver, the value of precious metals has been again depreciated. This would explain the general and simultaneous attempts on the Continent at a rise of wages.

3. We have till now supposed that the working day has given limits. The working day, however, has, by itself, no constant limits. It is the constant tendency of capital to stretch it to its utmost physically possible length, because in the same degree surplus labor, and consequently the profit resulting therefrom, will be increased. The more capital succeeds in prolonging the working day, the greater the amount of other peoples' labor it will appropriate. During the seventeenth and even the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century a ten hours' working day was the normal working day all over England. During the anti-Jacobin war, which was in fact a war waged by the British barons against the British working masses, capital celebrated its bacchanalia, and prolonged the working day from ten to twelve, fourteen, eighteen hours. Malthus, by no means a man whom you would suspect of a maudlin sentimentalism, declared in a pamphlet, published about 1815, that if this sort of thing was to go on the life of the nation would be attacked at its very source. A few years before the general introduction of the newly-invented machinery, about 1765, a pamphlet appeared in England under the title, "An Essay on Trade." The anonymous author, an avowed enemy of the working classes, declaims on the necessity of expanding the limits of the working day. Amongst other means to this end, he proposes working houses, which, he says, ought to be "Houses of Terror." And what is the length of the working day he prescribes for these "Houses of Terror?" Twelve hours, the very same time which in 1832 was declared by capitalists, political economists and ministers to be not only the existing but the necessary time of labor for a child under twelve years.

By selling his laboring power, and he must do so under the present system, the workingman makes over to the capitalist the consumption of that power, but within certain rational limits. He sells his laboring power in order to maintain it, apart from its natural wear and tear, but not to destroy it. In selling his laboring power at its daily or weekly value, it is understood that in one day or one week the laboring power shall not be submitted to two days' or two weeks' waste or wear and tear. Take a machine worth £1,000. If it is used up in ten years it will add to the value of the commodities in whose production it assists £100 yearly. If it is used up in five years it will add £200 yearly, or the value of its annual wear and tear is in inverse ratio to the quickness with which it is consumed. But this distinguishes the workingman from the machine. Machinery does not wear out exactly in the same ratio in which it is used. Man, on the contrary, decays in a greater ratio than would be visible from the mere numerical addition of work. In their attempts at reducing the working day to its former ra-

tional dimensions, or, where they can not enforce a legal fixation of a normal working day, at checking overwork by a rise of wages, a rise not only in proportion to the surplus time exacted, but in a greater proportion, workingmen fulfil only a duty to themselves and their race. They only set limits to the tyrannical usurpations of capital. Time is the room of human development. A man who has no free time to dispose of, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals and so forth, is absorbed by his labor for the capitalists, is less than a beast of burden. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in body and brutalized in mind. Yet the whole history of modern industry shows that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to this utmost state of degradation.

In prolonging the working day the capitalist may pay higher wages and still lower the value of labor, if the rise of wages does not correspond to the greater amount of labor extracted, and the quicker decay of the laboring power thus caused. This may be done in another way. Your middle-class statisticians will tell you, for instance, that the average wages of factory families in Lancashire has risen. They forget that instead of the labor of the man, the head of the family, his wife and perhaps three or four children are now thrown under the Juggernaut wheels of capital, and that the rise of the aggregate wages does not correspond to the aggregate surplus labor extracted from the family.

Even with given limits of the working day, such as they now exist in all branches of industry subjected to the factory laws, a rise of wages may become necessary, if only to keep up the old standard value of labor. By increasing the intensity of labor, a man may be made to expend as much vital force in one hour as he formerly did in two. This has, to a certain degree, been effected in the trades, placed under the Factory Acts, by the acceleration of machinery, and the greater number of working machines which a single individual has now to superintend. If the increase in the intensity of labor or the mass of labor spent in an hour keeps some fair proportion to the decrease in the extent of the working day, the workingman will still be the winner. If this limit is overshot, he loses in one form what he has gained in another, and ten hours of labor may then become as ruinous as twelve hours were before. In checking this tendency of capital, by struggling for a rise of wages corresponding to the rising intensity of labor, the workingman only resists the depreciation of this labor and the deterioration of his race.

4. All of you know that, from reasons I have not now time to explain, capitalistic production moves through certain periodical cycles. It moves through a state of quiescence, growing animation, prosperity, over-trade, crisis and stagnation. The market prices of commodities, and the market rates of profit, follow these phases, now sinking below their averages, now rising above them. Considering the whole cycle, you will find that one deviation of the market price is being compensated by the other, and that, taking the average of the cycle, the market prices of commodities are regulated by their value. Well! During the phases of sinking market prices and the phases of crisis and stagnation, the workingman, if not thrown out of employment altogether, is sure to have his wages lowered. Not to be defrauded, he must, even with such a fall of market prices, debate with the capitalist in what proportional degree a fall of wages has become necessary. If, during the phases of prosperity, when extra profits are made, he did not battle for a rise of wages, he would, taking the average of one industrial cycle, not even receive his average wages, or the value of his labor. It is the utmost height of folly to demand, that while his wages are necessarily affected by the adverse phases of the cycle, he should exclude himself from compensation during the prosperous phases of the cycle. Generally, the values of all commodities are only realized by the compensation of the continuously changing market prices, springing from the continuous fluctuations of demand and supply. On the basis of the present system labor is only a commodity like others. It must, therefore, pass through the same fluctuations to fetch an average price corresponding to its value. It would be absurd to treat it on the one hand as a commodity, and to want on the other hand to exempt it from the laws which regulate the prices of commodities. The slave receives a permanent and fixed amount of maintenance; the wage laborer does not. He must try to get a rise of wages in the one instance, if only to compensate for a fall of wages in the other. If he resigned himself to accept the will, the dictates of the capitalist as a permanent economical law, he would share in all the miseries of the slave, without the security of the slave.

5. In all the cases I have considered, and they form ninety-nine out of a hundred, you have seen that a struggle for a rise of wages follows only in the track of previous changes, and it is the necessary offspring of previous changes in the amount of production, the productive powers of labor, the value of labor, the value of money, the extent or the intensity of labor extracted, the fluctuations of market prices, dependent upon the fluctuations of demand and supply, and consistent with the different phases of the industrial cycle; in one word, as reactions of labor against the previous action of capital. By treating the struggle for a rise of wages independently of all these circumstances, by looking only upon the change of wages, and overlooking all the other changes from which they emanate, you proceed from a false premise in order to arrive at false conclusions.

Roosevelt and Socialism

By A. A. Niel in St. Louis Republic

Mr. Roosevelt recently made a very bitter attack on Socialism in The Outlook. The attack is unfair, for the reason that in seeking to establish what Socialism is Roosevelt does not quote from a single accredited Socialist writer or the official declaration of the party. On the contrary, he quotes from Anna Besant and Proudhon, who never were Socialists, and from Gabrielle Deville, Mrs. Moore and others, who are avowed enemies of Socialism. He would not like to have Republicanism defined and represented by people who are enemies of Republicanism.

Then, Mr. Roosevelt indulges in abuse rather than argument. It counts for little—very little—with thinking people that he should call the Socialist immoral, dangerous, of nebulous faith, incoherent in statement, and particularly, as he makes no effort to prove any of these statements.

Mr. Roosevelt errs in historical data. He argues that Socialism was tried over a century ago, when, as a matter of fact, it is a philosophy that is only a little over sixty years old. He accuses Socialists of working to destroy the home, to wreck civilization, to overthrow all order, and with being dishonest. These are grave charges. If they were made in court, with no effort to substantiate them, they would be thrown out with indignation.

I desire to make these denials and show Mr. Roosevelt up for his ignorance. Socialism is the friend and not the enemy of the home. Socialism is the friend and not the enemy of religion. Socialism is seeking to promote justice and to establish a more perfect order. Then, from the constructive side: Socialism is merely popular rule—industrial democracy. Socialism would, by ending corporate property, enable all men to have private property. Socialism is thoroughly American, the result of the movement for socialized power, which was begun in 1776. It provides for democracy by means of the initiative and referendum, and it is foolish to assert that men and women who make the laws under which they live will abolish the marriage relation and do the outrageous things charged by Roosevelt.

I am surprised that The Outlook would allow such ignorance displayed on its pages as shown in the writings of the former President. I don't blame him for going to Africa, if he continues to write such tommyrot.

A. A. NIEL.

Socialist Sunday School.

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

Our Book Department

Books On

Socialism, Labor, Science and Nature

Author.	Title.	Cloth.
AVELING	The Student's Marx	\$1 00
BAX	The Religion of Socialism	1 00
BEBEL	Woman and Socialism	1 00
BELLAMY	Looking Backward, a novel, paper, 50c.	1 00
BELIAMY	Equality, a novel, paper, 50c.	1 25
BEALS	The Rebel at Large	50
BENHAM	The Paris Commune, paper, 25c.	75
BLATCHFORD	God and My Neighbor	1 00
BLATCHFORD	Britain for the British	50
BLATCHFORD	Merrile England, paper, 10c.	50
BOELSCHE	The Evolution of Man	50
BOELSCHE	Triumph of Life	50
BOUDIN	The Theoretical System of Karl Marx	1 00
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BRENHOLZ	The Recording Angel, a novel	1 00
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BUCHNER	Man in the Past, Present and Future	1 00
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Vote for the St. Louis SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET at Municipal Elections of April 6, 1909.

Table with columns for Wards, Mayor, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Collector, Registrar, Marshal, Inspector, President, Board of Assessors, City Council, Board of Education, and Board of Freeholders. It lists names and corresponding vote counts for each ward and category.

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Socialist Party of St. Louis

SOCIALIST PARTY MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

Comrades should turn in their campaign list whether collections have been made on them or not. All Friends and Comrades of the movement who made no contribution towards the fund of the campaign just closed can still do so, as funds are needed to meet some unpaid bills. Comrades do what you can now!

Table listing contributions to the Socialist Party Municipal Campaign Fund. Columns include names and amounts. Total: \$694.03.

OFFICIAL CANVASS OF ST. LOUIS VOTE.

The official canvass of the St. Louis returns of the Board of Election Commissioners closed Monday, when the final tabulation was made. The result of the police returns was quite accurate, differing only slightly from the official pluralities and those made by the police of the Four Courts on the night of election.

Table showing official canvass results for Mayor, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Collector, Registrar, Marshal, Inspector, President, Board of Assessors, City Council, Board of Education, and Board of Freeholders.

The vote on Board of Freeholders was: Dwight F. Davis, 110,580; Edward Devoy, 109,306; August H. Hoffmann, 110,825; Jephtha D. Howe, 89,054; Henry Koehler, Jr., 110,704; Frederick W. Lehmann, 110,599; John F. Lee, 109,786; Owen Miller, 112,838; Julius Pitzman, 110,783; John Schmoll, 110,948; Charles E. Gibson, 110,848; Robert H. Whitelaw, 110,000; Fred G. Zeibig, 110,728; G. A. Hoehn, 5,276; William Preston Hill, 19,166, and William H. Priesmeyer, 5,320.

ST. LOUIS COMRADES, ATTENTION!

New Referendum on Amendments to Local Constitution. Three ward clubs have requested that the following amendments be submitted again to a referendum vote, on the ground that the secretaries of several ward clubs failed to get in their vote in time to get them counted. The Executive Board has ordered the following amendments to the local constitution submitted to a referendum vote of the membership, to-wit: Add to Section 1, Article 9, the following: The compensation of the secretary-treasurer shall be fixed by the Executive Board. Change Section 1 of Article 15 to read as follows: Each ward branch shall levy monthly dues of twenty-five cents on each of its members; twenty cents of which shall be paid into the treasury of the local. The effect of the above amendment will be to make due stamps cost the ward branches twenty cents instead of fifteen cents. The purpose is to secure funds to maintain a city secretary, so that more attention can be given to party affairs. At present the secretary is not paid anything. The intention is to make it possible for the secretary to devote his whole time to party work. Add to Article 7 the following new section, to be Section 4, to-wit: No member shall be allowed to vote on a local referendum or in general meeting unless said member has been a member of Local St. Louis for at least three months. The purpose of this new section is to make it difficult for old-party schemers to run in a lot of new members during a campaign and possibly get temporary control of our party affairs. A three months' membership will give opportunity for new members to become known.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

for our press must be our main work now. The importance of the Socialist labor press becomes more apparent with every campaign, with every strike, with every boycott. Let every comrade do his duty toward the Socialist press. New subscribers were reported—

- For St. Louis Labor by L. E. Hildebrand, 1; W. Wemhoener, 1; H. J. Morrison, 1; Lee Copard, 1; T. Prendergast, 1; Hy. Schwarz, 1. For Arbeiter-Zeitung: F. J. Kloth, 2; Mc. Becker, 2; Jos. Bachmann, 1; Julius Schwehr, 1; Wm. Meier, 1; Otto Kaemmerer, 1; Frank Bandenburg, 1; Jul. Szymmitat, 1; Fred Wedel, 1; J. W. Hanson, New Mexico, 1; Dr. Linder, Illinois, 1; J. R. Fodge, Nebraska, 1; W. H. Rix, Illinois, 1; Mrs. Moenkhaus, Indiana, 1; Mrs. Yeldell, Washington, 1; Carl Handschuh, Paterson, N. J., 1; Fred Biring, Ferguson, Mo., 1; Theo. Kister, Clifton, N. J., 1; John Rudolf, 1; Carl Hanke, 1; H. Wolken, 1; Otto Neukirk, Paterson, N. J., 1. Get busy, comrades!

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Read Victor Grayson's article on the British Labor Party in the International Socialist Review for March. In the April number you will find a reply by Robert Hunter. This gives you both sides of a very live subject. Either number, 5c. Only 10c for both March and April numbers. Both sent postpaid on receipt of 15c.

LABOR BOOK DEPARTMENT.

ATTEND THE GRAND EUCHRE AND HOP Given by the Central Trades and Labor Union on Tuesday, April 27, at Ashenbroedel 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.

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.

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.

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CONCENTRATION OF MINING PROPERTY.

Terre Haute, Ind., April 13.—When H. C. Frick would not stand by the agreement which his associates in the steel trust were making for the purchase of the Dering Company's mining properties which resulted in the receivership of the Dering Company, the Rock Island people back of the Dering Company began a deal which is just consummated and by which thirty of the best mines in the Indiana-Illinois field, which is the nearest of any to the steel trust's plant at Gary, are placed under one control and which, it is thought, will cause the speedy dissolution of the Dering receivership.

The Brazil Block Company with five mines, already has a lease on the seven mines of the Consolidated Company, which like the Block Company, is a Rock Island investment. Now the Block Company leases the fourteen mines of the Dering Company and four of the Hammond Company, which is owned by the same people that formed the Dering Company, and will handle the output of four mines of the Oak Hill Company and two of the Burnwell Company. Jackson Dering, representing the Block Coal Company, will open offices in the Old Colony Building in Chicago at once.

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