

ST. LOUIS LABOR

VOL. VI

OFFICE: 212 SOUTH FOURTH STREET.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1909

PHONE: KINLOCH, CENTRAL 1577. NO. 429

PROHIBITION, TEMPERANCE, LABOR AND SOCIALISM THE "QUESTION OF THE DAY" THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED BY LEADING SOCIALISTS IN THIS WEEK'S ST. LOUIS LABOR

Prohibition versus Socialism

From an Address Delivered May 29, 1905, in Los Angeles, Cal., by Job Harriman.

The anti-saloon people proceed on the theory that the saloon is the cause of drink. It is upon this point that we most widely disagree.

I want to impress one tremendous fact upon this audience tonight; I would that I could burn it into your hearts and minds. It is a fact which, if this world were run on humane principles, would arouse all men and women, of whatsoever class, to indignation and revolution against our economic and commercial institutions. But it so happens that the world is not run on humane principles. In all the manifestations of life, might is right, is morality, is religion, is law. I mention the fact that might is law because it is inseparably connected with the great fact that I wish to lay upon your minds as an everlasting burden. What is this fact? It is this: That the average life of the working class is 35 years, while the average life of the well-to-do class is 55 years. A margin of 20 years of life in favor of the rich.

What is the cause of this difference? Why do the poor die early and the rich live long? Ah! the difference in the span of life is measured by the difference in their respective burdens. Pleasures, advantages and comforts prolong life, while burdens kill early. The profits of the rich are the burdens of the poor. The number of years that are cut off from the lives of the working class are measured by the accumulated profits in the hands of the capitalist class. Do you see the displays of the rich, the palaces with their marble halls and their exquisitely luxurious furnishings, the fortunes amounting to millions and hundreds of millions? These tell the story of how many human lives each such owner has devoured. The rich devour two-fifths of every living workingman, and they devour him while he is yet alive, and tottering to an early grave.

And do you ask how this is done? They do this by paying small wages and making men work long hours. Long hours and low wages mean large profits. Large profits mean great fortunes. Great fortunes mean power to take larger profits and to increase the burdens of the working class. These burdens, these profits are overdraft on the capital stock of the working class, a draft on their energy or their vitality over and above their recuperative power. This is the reason why their bank breaks, the reason why they die twenty years earlier than they otherwise would. It is this overdraft, of the profits of the rich on the energy of the poor, that enervates them, that debilitates them, and that creates the ever-persistent demand for stimulants.

The profits of the rich make it possible for them to increase their pleasures and thus live and enjoy life with less effort. To the rich, therefore, profits are right, because living is thereby made easier.

But these same profits increase the hardship of the working class, and for this reason profits are wrong in the eyes of the working class.

The two classes are therefore possessed of two different ideas of right, of morality. Each class necessarily fights for its own ideas—that is to say, for whatever makes life easier for them.

It is for this reason that the Anti-Saloon League does not touch the cause of intemperance. For the most part that league is composed of the well-to-do class. They are the recipients of the profits taken, by means of some industry or business, from the working class. They dare not touch the profits of the saloon business. They dare not say such profits are wrong, else by a parity of reasoning they say that the profits which they take are wrong. Profits are holy grounds upon which they dare not tread. This league, therefore, only hopes, as they say, to turn the \$5,000,000 now spent in the liquor business in this city of Los Angeles into their channels of business, and where they may take the profits instead of the saloon.

Whether they succeed in their aims or not, the time must come when these excessive burdens of the poor will draw them into politics as it has already drawn them into the trades unions, as means by which they will throw off their burden of profits imposed by the rich. This fight will first arise, as it has always done, in an effort to increase their pay and to shorten their hours.

When this move is made by the working class there will be a new but not strange alignment of forces. The saloon forces and the anti-saloon forces will fall upon each other's necks and weep, and each will forgive the offense of his brother profit-monger, and they will join hands against the working classes to prevent the abolition of the profit system.

The anti-saloon forces will join with the saloon forces on that occasion, notwithstanding the fact that in every trade where the hours have been decreased and the pay increased, the men have drunk less. This fact has taken place where the saloon has remained with open doors. It is notorious that temperance increases among the working class as their burdens decrease.

Yet the Anti-Saloon League will not lift a finger to lighten these burdens, to diminish these profits. To them profits are dearer than temperance. They had rather take profits and see the diamonds on the bosom of the rich, than to relinquish their profits and see the now glassy eyes of the children of the poor sparkle with the life and vigor that is rightfully their own.

Thus the two great forces are lined up, the rich insisting upon profits and the poor resenting them.

So long as these profits remain, the cause of drink among the poor will not and can not be removed by any anti-saloon ordinance which merely aims to turn the profits to other capitalists through other channels.

The working class, through their opposition to the profit system, would naturally be led to abolish the profits in the liquor business by taking hold of its manufacture and sale at cost by the state.

This would lighten the burdens of the poor to the extent of the profits in this industry. Thus their interests will lead them as fast as their power sufficiently increases to take over one industry after the other and manage it by the state supplying the products at cost to the people. In this manner the burdens of the poor would gradually be thrown off. In this way the hours of labor will be decreased, and the comforts of life increased. Their strength and vitality, which formerly went as profits to the rich, will then be con-

served to the working class, the span of life will increase, the nervous activity will be normal, and food will give more pleasure than stimulants, since a normal nerve is poisoned by stimulants.

And thus it remains for the laboring class to work out the problem of temperance along with the problem of their own economic welfare.

The St. Louis Socialists And Their Attitude on the Prohibition Question.

In March, 1906, the Socialist Party of St. Louis issued a statement, "The Paramount Issue in 1906," of which we quote these passages:

"The 'issue' of Sunday closing in itself stands as a severe indictment against capitalist politics and as an attest to fifty or more years of corruption and law-breaking on the part of the Democratic and Republican party organizations. For fifty or more years the so-called Sunday closing laws have been on the Missouri statute books and have been enforced or disregarded, just as suited the professional politicians and served the immediate interests of the Democratic and Republican party machines. Both parties alike have used this law. In the large cities the Democratic and Republican politicians have milked the brewery and wholesale liquor interests and held up even the poorest of the corner saloonkeepers for 'campaign contributions.' In the smaller cities and rural districts the saloonkeepers have been periodically fleeced by the county politicians for the privilege of violating the law and selling liquors on Sunday through the back door.

"The Socialist Party proclaims that the paramount issue of the next or any future campaign will be neither prohibition nor open saloon, Sunday closing nor Sunday opening, beer or whisky during the week, or soda and sarsaparilla on Sunday. The paramount issue in 1906 and in all subsequent campaigns will be the labor problem, the interests of the working class; the movement for the improving of labor's conditions and for labor's emancipation.

"The Socialist Party calls attention to the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties, that alone are responsible for the enactment enforcement or non-enforcement of the Sunday closing laws, always have been, and still are, the political agencies and protectors of capitalist class interests. Experience has demonstrated that neither of the old parties ever represented the interests of the working class, the great mass of the people. The attitude of the Socialist Party of St. Louis on the liquor problem is in line with the policy of the International Socialist movement. We do not believe that the liquor problem will be solved by closing the saloon one day in the week, or even seven days in the week. The capitalist profit system is one of the main causes of the drink evil, a fact which is usually overlooked.

"The liquor problem will be solved in the same ratio as the material and social conditions of the great mass of working people improve. This improvement will depend largely on the intelligent, combined efforts of the working class, as advocated by the Socialist and labor movement. The Socialist movement the world over stands for decency and sobriety.

"Many of the laws on the statute books of Missouri may be antiquated and out of harmony with economic and social progress. Many of our fellow-citizens consider the Sunday closing law one of those antiquated blue laws detrimental to the interests of the community. If that is the case, said law may be abolished, revised or amended in accord with the best interests and welfare of the people. Under no condition, however, will the Socialist Party sanction the arbitrary or one-sided enforcement of certain laws by executive officials, while others, perhaps more important laws, remain dead letters. The Socialists of St. Louis appeal to the working people of Missouri to join the Socialist movement. Without a strong and solid organization of their own the working people will never secure their rights. Let the working class stand shoulder to shoulder under the banner of the Socialist Party, unitedly fighting for their own material, intellectual and moral improvement.

"Let it be known far and wide that the Socialist Party stands for the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation and for the industrial and Socialist republic that will guarantee to all who perform useful labor the fruits of their labor.

"SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS."

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Under the Auspices of the Workingmen's Singing Societies.

The United Workingmen's Singing Societies of St. Louis—Vorwaerts, Herwegh Saengerbund, Freiheit, International Saengerbund and St. Louis Workingmen's Saengerbund—will celebrate the International May Day, Saturday, May 1, at Lemp's Park Hall, Utah and Thirteenth streets. A good program has been prepared by the committee, consisting of addresses in English and German, chorus songs by the United Singers, musical concert and dance.

Admission tickets 10 cents a person, when bought in advance; at the door, 25 cents.

Tickets can be had at the St. Louis Labor office, 212 South Fourth street.

MAKING PREPARATIONS.

Union Men in Joplin Getting Ready for the Convention.

The Joplin Trades Assembly are taking time by the forelock, as a committee of arrangements has been appointed for the coming convention of the State Federation of Labor. Charles W. Fear is chairman, and with him are W. C. Bauer of the Brewery Workers' Union, Miss Audree Conrod of the Garment Workers' Union, J. H. Lahn of the Barbers' Union and President Conley. The Joplinites do not intend to be outdone by any of the other cities which have had the convention, and just to show that they mean business a number of the union men are willing to dig away down into their jeans and extract the simoleons which will go for purposes that will make the hearts of the visiting delegates glad. They hope to see three hundred of them there and arrangements will be made to entertain that number.—Kansas City Labor Herald.

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.

A SOCIALIST SENATOR'S SPEECH ON PROHIBITION AND TEMPERANCE

Comrade Senator Winfield Gaylord's Address Delivered in the Wisconsin Legislature, Wednesday, March 31, 1909—Where Labor Stands at Present on Liquor Problem.

(Stenographic Report.)

Mr. President, it does, indeed, take some courage and backbone to assume the position as a representative of men who do the work, and as the representative of the Social-Democratic Party I do it gladly this morning. That is to say that I am in opposition to both



Winfield Gaylord.

sides of the argument so far presented, and this might cause one to feel weak in the knees. I do not mind quoting Lincoln, and I might also quote a sentence from his lips, and say how many a time it has strengthened me when under conditions even less favorable than these, I have tried to speak for the men who work for a living. "Let us have faith that right makes might," not dividends; not dollars; not stocks or bonds; not capital invested; but right. That is what I am standing for today. And it is doubtless, to some who know my history, a little peculiar at first that I should stand here and oppose the county option bill, Mr. President.

All my life I have been a teetotaler, and I have no more use for liquor than I ever had. I have a record as the secretary of the Anti-Saloon League in Elgin, Ill., and I learned some things while conducting that fight. That was the beginning of the education which brought me to the place where I now am, for I found out what the force was which had to be met.

The Party Attitude.

I don't represent the breweries or the saloons, and I think they agree with me on that. There are about 2,800 saloonkeepers in Milwaukee, and I don't think there are two dozen of them who vote the Socialist-Democratic ticket. We take all classes of men into our party, bankers and stevedores, clergymen and clerks. There are brewery workmen and members of churches. There are only two classes for whom we appoint a special committee to investigate them when they apply for membership. They are the lawyers and the saloonkeepers.

I am informed, Mr. President, that the fate of the Republican party is again at stake. Well, gentlemen, if this is to be the case, I can give you a good piece of advice. Kill this bill in the senate, for the assembly members don't want to vote on it. Of course, there may be some reason why it was introduced in the senate instead of the assembly. There may possibly be some question. The reason why it was not introduced in both houses may be interesting, but I do not care to take time in discussing that question. It might seem like imputing motives, and I don't want to do that.

I have received several telegrams advising against this bill. I suppose they will keep on coming, and I want to say to the men who sent these telegrams that they will cut absolutely no figure with me, and will have absolutely no weight with me nor the people who sent me in here. My mind was made up before any telegram came to me, and I will tell you on what basis. I wish to read from the platform of the Socialist Party one plank:

The Party Plank.

"Seventeenth: We hold that intemperance in the use of liquor is the result of the present enervating economic conditions. With the growth of a people strong in physique, intellect and popular morals, intemperance will gradually disappear and temperate habits in all things prevail. We condemn the attempts at sumptuary laws as inimical to the cause of economic and personal liberty. Until a more harmonious economic order has been established, the attempts of all well-meaning people to introduce temperate habits will prove only an evasion of the real issue."

That is the only plank that is in any political platform on this question, and the brewers like it just as little as the politicians.

Mr. President, there has been introduced, and is now in the hands of the committee on state affairs, a resolution on this question introduced by this party—by myself. At the risk of being somewhat tedious, I am going to read this. I know you like all documents introduced by the Socialist Party. It reads:

Gaylord's Resolution.

"Whereas, The liquor traffic constitutes a social and economic problem that requires the most careful study on the part of all who are interested in the common welfare, and especially on the part of those who are attempting to legislate with reference to the matter; and

"Whereas, Practically every measure so far advanced upon the subject has entirely overlooked the tremendous effect of economic conditions upon the working class, the poor wages, the long hours, the unsanitary and physically depressing conditions in the places of employment, the cheap adulterated food, and, above all, the housing of the working class in unhealthy, cheerless, comfortless hovels; and

"Whereas, These conditions, taken together, constitute, according to all scientific students of the subject, the most constant and powerful influence in creating and extending the evils of intemperance; and

"Whereas, It has been proven that these conditions have been bettered by the increase in wages, shortening of hours, and improvement of conditions of labor, intemperance, and the evil of the saloon have been lessened in that proportion; and

"Whereas, Under the present economic conditions it is admitted and emphasized by every scientific and legislative investigation made, that the saloon serves a very important and vital social function in our present society, especially in the cities, by offering to the working class a center of sociability, of warmth and cheer, of music and games, where they may read the papers and join in discussions, where they may even secure free food and some of the conveniences

denied them in their homes, all at a price within reach; and

"Whereas, This social function constitutes an absolute necessity and a positive right of the common people, which can not and ought not to be destroyed until either the municipality or the state shall find some way of separating this function from the private control of the saloon and establishing other centers of social life and amusement for the people that shall be in every way equal to and, if possible, superior in value and attractiveness; and

"Whereas, It is conceded that the adulteration of liquors and the use of the strongly alcoholic drinks constitutes the most serious evil of the liquor traffic; and

"Whereas, Several methods of dealing with the liquor traffic are being urged in different directions, all of which fail in one or another respect to go to the root of the matter: For example, the public ownership and control of the wholesale and manufacturing part of the business in Switzerland fails to properly regulate the retailing of liquor, thus leaving the evil effects of private management at that point; or, again, the state dispensary system in South Carolina, which is urged by some, provided that the 384 officials of the system in that state should all be appointed, thus creating a most dangerous political machine in connection with one of the most dangerous monopolies; or, again, the Gothenburg system of Norway and Sweden provides for the assumption of the retail or distributing business of the saloon by private companies, which in itself is objectionable, and besides, leaves the wholesale and the manufacturing part of the business in the hands of a great monopoly, whose evil influence is constantly operating against the good purposes of the system; therefore, be it

"Resolved By the senate, the assembly concurring, that a special committee, consisting of two senators appointed by the president of the senate and three assemblymen appointed by the speaker of the house, shall be selected for the purpose of investigating all the different forms of public ownership, control and regulation now in use in any part of the world and report to the next legislature some method of public ownership and regulation that will be best adapted to the social conditions and needs of the people of our state."

Books on the Saloon.

Now, I hold in my hand a little book. It is nothing but a bibliography; that is to say, a list of books on this subject. Here I find on page 20:

"The Saloon.

What is the place of the saloon in the community?

By Mr. Raymond Calkins: Saloon as a social center. The chapter reveals the firm hold that the saloon has upon the people socially.

John Koren: Social aspects of the saloon in great cities. Economic aspects of the liquor problem. Social problem of the saloon in New York, Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, Pittsburg.

Felix Adler: Shows that there is a demand for a social center, and that the saloon is the poor man's club.

G. L. McNutt: Why workmen drink. Holds that he drinks because the saloon has become a real democratic social settlement.

R. L. Melendy: Articles dealing with the saloon in general as a refuge for workmen and floating population; the fraternal organizations connected with the saloon, such as trades unions, amusement enterprises, lodging houses and lunch counters."

Poverty the Cause.

"Substitute for the Saloon," and here you find in their list Balington Booth, Noel Buxton, M. R. Cranston, Joseph Johnson, R. E. MacNaughton, Edith Sellers, A. L. Swetser, W. H. Tolman. There is a whole list on that subject, Mr. President. Of all the literature that there is on this subject, I want to ask how many of the men have read it, who talk on this subject?

Now, I have taken up this matter, and I know from personal knowledge the history of this agitation. I am not unmindful of the great moral issue presented in this measure. I have presented that many times myself, but gentlemen of the senate, is the question of morals here brought in particularly? The argument was not presented very well if it is. I can do better myself, with all due consideration to the senator. No, it is brought in in the guise of an economic problem, a problem in economics and taxation. The county now is not to be made the unit for the regulation of a moral evil. This is not a county problem in morals. No. Previous legislatures have tried the same thing with reference to the township, the state or district, and they have succeeded in establishing it legally in places as a state problem. But now it is introduced as an economic and taxation problem.

Causes of Idleness.

They say that the workmen drink too much, and that poverty, misery, crime, disease and all these things come from drink. I used to think so myself before I began to look up the facts. I hold in my hand a little abstract from the 18th annual report of the Commissioner of Labor, published in 1902. On pages 204 and 205 you will find figures similar to these:

Per cent of heads of families idle from each specified cause:

1. Accident	1.66
2. Bad weather	2.25
3. Drunkenness	.26
4. Establishment closed	4.30
5. Lack of material	.17
6. No-work wanted	.22
7. Old age	.08
8. Slack work	13.05
9. Strike	2.07
10. Vacation	6.45
11. Sickness	22.54
12. Unable to get work	33.29

Add together these: "Establishment closed," "No work wanted," "Slack work," and "Unable to get work," and it makes 50.86 per cent of idleness which depend entirely upon the economic conditions growing out of the present industrial system. The argument that drink causes poverty won't go anywhere. I got through with that some years ago.

What Brewery Workers Say.

I hold in my hand a little document issued by the United Brewery Workers of America. "You represent the brewery workmen," some one will say. I represent the workmen wherever I find them. But I want to say a few words about the brewery workers. Those are the men who a number of years ago were exploited by the brewery boss to the limit. They were kept in hovels and worked sixteen hours a day, given free beer, kept sodden day and night, and paid the least wages possible. These men have organized. Some of them a little more intelligent than the rest began to organize. Of course the brewery bosses did not like that, and they don't like it now. But they succeeded in organizing step by step. They have fought their way up until today the brewery workers of the United States are known as one of the best organized, most intelligent and most efficient group of workmen in this country. What have they done? Shortened the time to eight hours a day, increased their wages until they are fairly well paid compared with other occupations, and they have brought free beer to a minimum allowance.

Don't Want Free Beer.

The next move will be to say to the brewery boss, "Keep your beer; we don't want free beer." That is the next move. You watch the history of it. These are the men who have been brought up in brewery yats you might say, and these men, if they had been left to the temperance teachers and prohibitionists to benefit them, would today be just where they were when they began. This is a very significant lesson in the methods by which the workmen will be brought to a different level of life and moral habits. Only by their own determined efforts, by organization based upon their own interests, from motives which have to do with their families and with themselves, on this basis, and on this basis alone, will the level of the working class be raised. It has nothing to gain from other sources. The economic interests, the business interests, the capitalists, the dividend drawers, and the coupon clippers, these care not what becomes of the brewery workers. They care very little. But

these brewery workmen are intelligent, and are solving their own problem.

Bishop Potter Quoted.

"I wish I might have enough copies of this clipping to distribute one to each member present and have you read it. They say:

Let us quote here what Bishop Henry C. Potter so truly says in his little volume, "The Drink Problem." The bishop says:

"We progress steadily and splendidly in the fertility of our inventions; but as the cleverness and adroitness of machinery rises, the demands upon the cleverness and adroitness of the workman diminish. And yet they can not diminish without leaving his task more circumscribed, more mechanical, and more monotonous. Do we know how mechanical and monotonous, at last, it may become, and do we know what a mechanical monotony at length takes out of a man? For, until we do, we are in no position to judge our brother, who, at the end of his day's task, turns to stimulants or narcotics which to us may be abhorrent. His home and yours—have you ever compared them? His leisure and yours; his environment and yours; his food and the conditions of its preparation; his recreations, companionships—in one word, his resources and yours—do you know, not how like, but how utterly unlike they are? And yet, when you talk of this brother man, you are surprised, it may be, to find in him tastes and sympathies and aspirations not unlike your own. What chance have they, and what warrant have you and I for criticism, behind which has been no single effort to better the habits which they assail, or the conditions out of which those habits have sprung? If I am sent here of God for nothing else, I am sent here to tell you that, and to entreat you to discern that most of our methods for dealing with the drink evil in our day and generation are tainted with falsehood, dishonored by essential unreality, and discredited by widespread and consistent failure."

"What a ring of manliness and truth there is in these words of the bishop, compared with the wild, exaggerated and untrue statements of the prohibitionists."

"We do, of course, not deny that there is drunkenness and that drunkenness is an evil. But we do deny that there is as much drunkenness in the world as the prohibitionists want to make us believe, and we do deny that it is the most fruitful source of crime, pauperism and insanity. The worst criminals are the defrauders, the embezzlers, the thieves, the counterfeiters, the forgers, the robbers, the burglars, the gamblers, etc. They all need clear heads and strong nerves. No drunken man has ever stolen a whole railroad, or held up a single train; no drunken man has ever ruined hundreds of competitors in business or robbed a fellow by cheating at cards."

"While organized workmen know well enough how to protect themselves, yet we venture to say that among the large mass of unorganized laborers there is nine times as much drunkenness caused by poverty, misery and despair, as pauperism is caused by drink. The wild exaggeration of the temperance zealots are an insult to workingmen, and the unorganized workingmen are, after all, our brethren, whom we should protect from insults as much as ourselves."

"Physiology and medical science have long ago recognized the fact that insanity is far oftener the cause than the effect of drunkenness, and that inebriety is most generally the effect of a predisposition caused by some physical defect."

"The reasonings of the temperance people are remarkably superficial, and their statements generally untrue. They seem to be totally ignorant of the social and economic causes that lead to crime and poverty, and sometimes also to excessive drinking, and are, willingly or unwillingly, perfectly blind as to any other causes of evil in the world than drink. But we workingmen know better, and have a better knowledge of social conditions, their causes and their effects, than they."

"As a class, the workmen, especially the organized workmen, are as sober and as able to control their own habits as any other class of people; we need no more the protection of the law from the results of our conduct than any other class of people, and we protest against the insult constantly heaped upon the working people, as being those who need the protection of the law from the results of their own conduct."

"As citizens of this republic we protest against legislation based upon a doctrine which permits the interference of government in matters of purely individual concern. It is destructive of personal and civil liberty."

"After sixty years' experience with prohibitive legislation it is well known that it is useless. It not only does not prevent drinking, but results in increased drunkenness. Whatever evil there may, or may not be, in the open saloon, certainly the blind tiger, the speak-easy, the boot-legger and similar subterfuges, the hypocrisy, the open contempt of law or the connivance at law-breaking, following in its consequences, and the political irritation and corruption caused by the constant agitation on the subject, are a thousand times greater evils."

"The Liquor Problem in Its Legislative Aspects" is the title of a book published by the well-known Committee of Fifty of New York, after a careful investigation of the subject. From that book we quote:

"The efforts to enforce it (prohibition) during forty years past have had some unlooked-for effects on public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oaths and law in general, and for officers of the law, legislators and public servants. The public have seen law defied, a whole generation of habitual law-breakers schooled in evasion and shamelessness, courts ineffective through fluctuations of policy, delays, perjuries, negligence and other miscarriages of justice, officers of the law double-faced and mercenary, legislators timid and insincere, candidates for office hypocritical and truckling, and office-holders unfaithful to pledges and to reasonable expectation."

This, according to an unassailable, absolutely impartial source, is the result of the movement pretending to be in the interest of morality."

"We repeat: Prohibition is prohibition in principle and effect, whether it is state-wide or local. It is destructive of good citizenship, and is especially dangerous to organized labor, economically and morally. Its ineffectiveness results in the constantly keeping alive of the question, thereby detracting attention from other matters which, economically and politically, are of importance to organized labor. We, therefore, request the officers of our local unions to have this circular read at your first meeting in September, and to bring its contents to the knowledge of the press, and other labor organizations, and thereby help to create a sound and sober sentiment on this subject."

Always After Little Grafter.

It is a part of the general policy of those who are alleged to be the respectable element of the community to aid to get the little fellow in the graft investigation and bring him up by the nape of the neck and send him to state's prison, and the big fellow, who drew the thousand-dollar check for a bribe, they will allow to turn state's evidence and go scot-free. The workingmen resent it, and say as a class, especially the organized workmen, that they are sober and able to control their own habits as any other class of people. But I don't think that needs any serious debate.

I hold in my hand an extract from Vol. 5, No. 4, 1901, of Municipal Affairs. Here is an article by Lyman Abbott, "Local Option by Popular Vote":

"It is a simple truism to say that we are all the product of our heredity and our environment. We are made up of the traits which we have inherited, in some instances modified, in others intensified by our education, especially by our early education. No man can cut himself loose from the traditions of his childhood; this would be to cut himself off from himself."

That means, Mr. President, you can not change a man's habits by passing a law.

Again, he says: "The real prohibition is this: How can men, some of whom observe Saturday, and some of whom observe Sunday, and some of whom observe no day, combine in making Sabbath laws? How can a people, some of whom think that all drinking is sin, and some of whom think that all refusal to drink is due to ig-

norant bigotry, combine in passing liquor laws?"

Law Will Not Change Personality.

Mr. President, you can't change the personality of man by passing a law. No, that has been settled. How often the Socialist is told that you can not make men good by law. If you please, I hand you back your argument on a platter. Take it and do as you will with it. Now I will read again. William Travers Jerome, to whom I believe none of you need an introduction, says:

"Wherever there is a considerable body in a community which not only does not yield willing obedience to the law, but which will not yield any obedience, the law prohibiting them from doing that act and from inciting others not only will not be obeyed, but can not be enforced."

Jerome Quoted.

This is a serious problem for the legislature to consider, it seems to me, and District Attorney Jerome ought to be an authority on the subject. Now, on the same matter he says:

"No matter in what language the question would be submitted, there are not enough persons directly interested to work and fight to get the REAL question before the people."

Again:

"In the state of Maine the number of federal stamps sold by the federal authorities for liquor and the number of licenses per capita are as great as those issued in the state of New York. A former chief justice of Maine told a friend of mine—a statistician who was making an investigation—that in his boyhood the people of Maine were law-abiding and God-fearing, but that the operation of the liquor law had turned them into a race of perjurers. I have sat in hundreds of excise cases in the past six and a half years, and I can say with substantial truth that there was not one of those cases (in which there was not a plea of guilty) in which there was not willful and deliberate perjury committed. I remember a case in general sessions where the man committed stood before twelve jurors, stepped to the bar and pleaded guilty, and was remanded till next month. He said he did not like it, and he was allowed to change his plea if he would go at once to trial. He changed his plea to "not guilty," went to trial, took the stand himself, and practically admitted the charge. The judge charged the jury to find him guilty. They went out and on the first ballot acquitted him. That may seem to be an extreme case, but these cases are occurring under the law every day. Judges are violating their oaths in the construction of these excise laws in order not to impose the extreme penalty for the doing of an act which public sentiment does not condemn in this city. Jurors are violating their oaths. Perjury is being developed by this law more than any other single thing."

What the Facts Show.

And now I come to another aspect presented by Mr. Felix Adler. He says, under the reading of "Social Function of the Saloon and Its Relation to Crime and Pauperism," the following:

"It appears from the careful investigation of Mr. Charles A. Booth in England and from similar investigations in this country that intemperance is the direct cause of crime in not more than 15 or 16 per cent of the cases, and of pauperism in about one-third of the cases. I do not mean to imply that intemperance is not a most serious and detestable evil; and I will join others in every legitimate attempt to abate that evil. But when we are considering great questions of profound and paramount social interest, we have no right to exaggerate. We have no right to represent one cause of evil as bulging out so much as to throw all other causes into the shadow."

And Prof. Adler goes on to say:

"It is not uncommon for temperance extremists to draw a picture of the home—to contrast the amenities of home life on the Sabbath with the disgrace of the saloon. This is the mistake of many persons who argue from a distant point on this question. They speak from the standpoint of people who have homes; they do not realize the conditions of the hundreds of thousands of people who live in this city in tenement houses, in which these delightful amenities are hardly possible. It is a very good thing to stay at home with your family, to improve your mind, to read to them and to enjoy the quiet of the day with them; but how does that fit the case of the man who lives in a double-decker tenement house—a family of a man, woman and children crowded together in two or, at the most, three dark and uninviting rooms? Are the amenities of home life, of recreation in the midst of one's family possible under such conditions?"

Socialism and Liquor Problem.

Now, it has been said that the Socialist Party of this country, or other countries, stands for the use of liquor; that we stand against any movement for the change of the liquor business or for the eradication of the liquor habit.

I hold in my hand a little pamphlet in German, entitled "Die Arbeiterschaft und die Alkoholfrage." This is gotten up in a scientific manner, and I will translate one passage as best I can from German into English. In this country the nearest thing to the German "Wirtschaft" is the saloon, so I will translate it as "the saloon":

"The saloon constitutes a part of the dwelling of the workingman. It is his 'good room,' his front room, if you please. We need rooms and places, not only to eat and drink, but we also need rooms and places where we can spend our leisure time, and a place for social gatherings and meetings. But the dwelling place which capitalism gives to the worker, and especially the workingman's family, furnishes no place for him to enjoy himself. And the longer it lasts, the less favorable are the conditions in the workingman's home."

Now I have introduced here—our party has introduced, by myself—a bill concerning tenement houses, but the same gentlemen who come here opposing county option will also oppose that bill, Mr. President, and I want to call your attention to that. We don't belong to that crowd.

I hold in my hand a copy of The Commons, published in Chicago, dated November, 1900, and an article I wish to refer to is written by Mr. Royal Melendy on "The Social Function of the Saloon in Chicago." Royal Melendy at that time was working in connection with the Chicago Commons, which is presided over by Graham Taylor. He says:

"In some sections of the city it has the appearance of accomplishing more for the laboring classes from business interests than we from philanthropic motives. The almost complete absence of these things which the uninitiated are accustomed to associate with the drinking of liquor, and the presence of much that is in itself beneficial, often leads to the advocacy of the saloon as a social necessity—an equally false position. In the statement now current among those who have studied the saloon 'at first hand,' that it is the workingman's club, lies the secret of its hold upon the vast working and voting populace of Chicago."

And the same is true in the city of Milwaukee. If it had not been for the saloons in the working class districts of Milwaukee, if it had not been for the saloon hall where these men were accustomed to come and where they had a place to discuss their matters, it would not have been possible, Mr. President, for the working classes of Milwaukee to organize that which is acknowledged to be one of the most vital and virile political forces in Milwaukee. This party, the Social-Democratic party, has compelled practically every daily paper published in that city to acknowledge the clean and wholesome methods of that party, the purifying character of its political methods. It is a workingman's party, and could not have been organized, there was no place for it to organize, no place for it to go, if it had not been for these public saloon halls.

Speaks from Experience.

I did some of this organizing work, and I know what I am talking about. Their common ground may be their nationality; or it may be their occupation; or their political affiliations. Untrammelled by rules and restrictions, it surpasses in spirit the organized club. The general atmosphere of freedom, that spirit of democracy which men crave, is here realized. That men seek it and that the saloon tries to cultivate it is blazoned forth in such titles as "The Freedom," "The Social," "The Club," etc. Here men "shake out

their hearts together." Intercourse quickens the thought, feeling and action.

Compares Pulpit and Bar.

And, Mr. President, if you do not mind my saying it, I have stood both in the pulpit and at the end of a bar, and I have been freer to express my sentiments on any subject on which I thought I was right at the end of a bar than in the pulpit. It is an awful thing to say, but I say it, knowing what I say. Here in argument each has fair play. He who can win and tell the best stories leads. The saloon is in short the clearing house for their common intelligence—the social and intellectual center of the neighborhood. Again, some saloons offer rooms furnished, heated and lighted free to certain men's clubs and organizations; for example, musical societies, trades unions and fraternal organizations. It is also offered to the people for various neighborhood meetings. In such a room a gay wedding party celebrated the marriage vow.

Why Do They Go There?

Why do they go to a saloon hall for a wedding? Why? Because there is no other place. They want room, and this is the largest room that they can secure, the largest floor space in the neighborhood to which they can have access. It is, in very truth, a part of the life of the people of this district.

Then they go on to tell about the boys. The boys! Don't talk to me about boys. I know boys. I have worked with boys; I have camped with boys; I taught them in Sunday school and have brought them to my home. I know the boy problem, and I know it to its roots. He can't resist a temptation unless there be something to enable him to resist it. You know that.

Some time ago the fathers and mothers of the boys I had under my charge came to me and said: "We want you to do something for these boys. They are going into the saloons and you must do something for them." I said: "I will try and see what I can do for them." So I got the boys into a club, and we had some military drills, fencing, and we had a pretty fair club until the end of the season, and that is as far as we could go. The military drill lost its novelty, and the other things wore off—football among the others—and then they came in and said that I wasn't doing anything for the boys. I said, "You put up a building, give us a place, put me and my family in the building, and I will take charge of it, and give the boys a place to go to: give us a recreation room and a gymnasium and shower baths, and then the boys will have their time occupied." They said, "We can't afford that."

They Were Shocked.

I said, "Take the church property for it. Make the assembly hall in this building." They said, "We have a parsonage for you to live in." I said, "Sell the parsonage and give me a place to take the boys and men, and not until then can we solve the problem." They threw up their hands in holy horror. They were shocked. And, Mr. President, I have had the sorrow of learning from that same town that some of the boys have gone, as we say in common parlance, "to the devil." Some of the boys I could have reached. I don't say that egotistically, but I know there was no place for those boys to go together; they didn't have the facilities and attractions equal to those of the saloon hall.

I think that the gentlemen who are on the same side of the question with me will not say that I am pleading for the saloons under these circumstances. Royal Melendy goes on to say:

"Driven about the streets like dogs by civil authorities (whether it be necessary, I am not now discussing); provided with no place for the healthy exercise of their physical natures, or even an opportunity to meet and tell stories, they have recourse to but one of two alternatives, either to dodge the police, hiding in underground caves and under sidewalks, until they become hardened against the law, or to enter the places the saloons have provided for them.

"Their assembly hall is the street in summer, and in winter, if so fortunate, an old barn, or shed, or underground rendezvous, or in a few instances a back room, a barber shop, or some old building. They meet here by appointment, and in some places have boxing gloves and a little home-made apparatus for the 'gym'—pitiful attempts of the boy nature to find adequate expression."

Some More Reasons.

Then he goes on, under the heading of "The Only Toilet Provisions in the City," and says:

"A function which the municipality should fulfill the saloon has appropriated and added to the long list of necessities to which its ministers—that of furnishing to the people the only toilet conveniences in large sections of the city. In this respect the ordinary hotel is no better equipped than are the saloons. Moreover, by their clerks or by signs, the hotels inform the man who habitually takes advantage of them that they are not for the use of the general public. We are behind European municipalities in this respect, and Chicago is especially deficient. Here is a field awaiting the effect of some public-spirited man, a service by no means small, and one that would directly affect the liquor interests. Not that it will cause any man to cease drinking, but that it will remove a temptation from thousands of men who, of necessity, daily pass the bar which they feel under obligation to patronize. Nor will it longer necessitate the familiarizing of little boys with the evils of saloon life."

Listen to this from a man absolutely out of sympathy with the saloon, as I am: "Where is the respectable young woman, who is but one member of a large family all living, or rather existing, in a small room which serves as kitchen, dining room, parlor and bedroom for the entire family, to receive her young men friends? Is it strange that she takes advantage of those 'wine rooms'?"

Don't Overlook This!

You can't change human nature by law. Do not argue that. "Be it known, however, that there are in every neighborhood saloons free from any connection whatever with gambling or the social vice, places where indecency in conversation or manner is strictly prohibited and drinking to excess not allowed. This is sometimes, if you will believe it, to accord with certain principles and religious scruples of the saloonkeeper, and sometimes to secure a better class of trade."

I know of such cases myself in Milwaukee as well as in Chicago. "A number of the unions are forced to meet in the saloons, or in rooms above, which are offered at low rates. Mr. Thomas J. Morgan, speaking of the early days of the Socialist Labor Party, said that for years they met in the back room of a saloon, the churches and schoolhouses being closed against them, and that he felt a sensation akin to shame coming over him as night after night he passed the bar without paying his five cents for a drink."

I have been in the same kind of a place more than once, and I want to say that in order not to be ashamed I have ordered a glass of water and paid for it. There is some connection at this particular point, Mr. President with the food supply. It is a curious thing that there is only one place provided where a man who comes there tired, poorly nourished by the food he receives at home, can repair to, where he can get the food well cooked to satisfy his hunger.

The Gothenburg system as an aid to temperance is treated of in an article by Mr. Randolph Churchill, at Gothenburg, Sweden. I will not have time to read this, but if any of you desire it, I will gladly hand you this clipping. There is something of the effort on the part of men interested from the side of the Anti-Saloon League to find out the facts. This system might stand some investigation, and there might be something to it.

I hold in my hand a clipping from the Milwaukee Sentinel, dated February 7. I do not know why, but there is something that got by the blue pencil. They can not keep everything quiet, and so they occasionally let it go through.

"Since 1885 the Swiss government has had the absolute ownership or control of the distilleries allowed, and what is needed from abroad the bureau purchases, as in no other way can spirits enter the federation, and then it distributes the spirits through its depots."

In 1885 the Milliet alcohol monopoly bill was approved by the federal council, when it went before the country upon the referendum to be adopted by the immense majority of 126,626, a great victory for the measure to begin with, as it was bitterly contested by

the industrial, financial and other powerful interests.

Initiative and Referendum.

Now, I am sure that some of the gentlemen who are on the other side of this question are going to say: "Don't you believe in the referendum? Do you not call this a referendum? Many a time a man comes to me and says: 'Now, I am going to ask you a question, and I want you to answer it by 'yes or no.' 'Yes or No.' And I laugh at him. Do you think I am a fool. I happen to know what the referendum is. I am acquainted with the initiative and referendum to some slight extent. I happen to be a member of an organization which does the greater part of its business by the initiative and referendum. You let me frame the referendum and let me dictate the wording of it, and I can almost guarantee in most cases the success or the failure of that referendum. That does not mean anything to me. This is an alleged referendum. It is exactly the same as this question: 'Now, I want you to answer yes or no, will you or will you not wear pajamas in Madison in March? Yes or no?' That is just as sensible as this referendum is.

Now, this problem is not simply a "Yes or no" proposition. It is a bigger problem than that. You can not settle it just by settling that. It is a little bigger. They say they want this county option. I have discussed that to some extent.

Let us look for a moment at the county and city problem, say of Racine county, Sheboygan county, Manitowoc county and some of the others. Here are two different kinds of interests represented, two different kinds of occupations and methods of labor. This is a fundamental thing in the organization of a society, let that be remembered. The methods of labor have to do with the habits of the people. The housing is different. Do you get that? The food supply is different; the recreations are different. Go through the country and then go through the city. It is a different kind of life from the one to the other, and yet you propose to have the county vote to regulate all of that with respect to a thing that is intimately bound up with the labor life, the living life, the housing life, as I have already shown. You propose to settle that by yes or no. It looks simple, but it is not as simple as it looks.

Frances Willard on Liquor Problem.

I hold in my hand the picture of Frances Willard. Many of you know her. I want to read you something from Frances Willard, who for years was the leader of this great temperance movement, and whose personality I venture to say has furnished lasting impetus to the temperance movement, and inspiration to those who have been fighting a hard battle for the cause they believe to be right. I want to read something she said at the national convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1897. It was the last meeting before her death. She said:

"Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it for discerning eyes the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hand. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steadily at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

"I would not take by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the 400 years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

"I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh! that I were young again, and it should have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

This morning I stand here, Mr. President, to tell you that the most intelligent, best-informed working classes are opposed to this measure. The best results of modern investigation have shown that it is not practical, and if you want to quote Abraham Lincoln, I challenge you; I challenge you and all who quote him, come stand by this banner of my party, "Let us have faith that right makes might." All those other private means—whether they own and control the means of making beer or the means of making bread—are going to fail, Mr. President. And all haphazard, illy-considered, poorly-planned, well-meaning attempts to regulate the habits of the workmen, whether for philanthropy or charity, will fail, because the only thing that is practical in God's universe is the thing that is right. (Great applause.)

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.

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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 AND CONFISCATION

In an anti-Prohibition resolution adopted by a St. Louis civic improvement association we find the following paragraph:

Prohibition is fundamentally wrong because it proceeds on the premises that the state has the right to destroy any legitimate industry or business. It attempts under the guise of morality and democracy, to destroy one of the leading industries of the commonwealth without any provision for compensating those who will suffer by such unwarranted destruction of property. It is outrageous to think that in an enlightened country like ours people can conscientiously advocate such methods of reforms for social wrongs and economic and political ills. And it will be a source of interesting study for the future historians how the lawmakers of an enlightened state like Missouri could be possessed of so much lack of common sense as to pass laws that will have such disastrous effects on life and property in the commonwealth.

If it is right and just to use Prohibition as a means for destroying \$100,000,000 worth of property and robbing tens of thousands of people of their daily bread, in the brewery industry of the state, it must be right and just to prohibit the production and sale of coffee, tea, meat or any other necessary of life. The vegetarians will then have the same right to insist on the state's support in the suppression of the cattle raising and packing house business; the anti-Prohibitionists have the right to declare the coffee and tea business a nuisance and pass laws practically destroying the property of a perfectly legitimate business.

If prohibition legislation is right and just for one branch of industry or business, it must be right for the other. If there are abuses in the liquor business they may be remedied, and the state has the absolute right and the duty to do so. Abuses and nuisances exist in hundreds of other industrial and business enterprises, which can be and are remedied without resorting to the unwarranted wholesale destruction of property, and without endangering the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

Prohibition advocates penitentiary rules and brutal interference with the most private affairs and personal rights of man; Prohibition will make hypocrisy a virtue and put the crown of civic righteousness on the informer and denunciator; Prohibition refuses to recognize the principle of compensation for property appropriated; Prohibition does not even stand for confiscating private property for the benefit and use of the people, but it stands for the ruin and destruction of private property irrespective of the consequences such destructive work may have on the welfare of the people.

The above quotation contains two passages (pointed out by us in heavier type) which must interest every Socialist.

For decades the Socialist propagandists, agitators and writers have been busy answering questions like these:

"How are you going to bring Socialism about? Are you in favor of compensation or confiscation?"

The good anti-Socialist people, Prohibitionists and anti-Prohibitionist alike, would throw up their arms in holy horror when Socialist speakers, in answering such questions, would point out that under certain conditions, and in extreme cases where corporations should refuse to accept reasonable compensation, even confiscation of means of production for the common good would be justified.

As a matter of course, our good Prohibitionists stand for the sacredness of private property. They are ready to join the "enfants terribles" of the liquor interests and make common cause with them whenever and wherever Capitalism's force are to be lined up to fight Socialism.

Why? "Because Socialism wants to divide up!" "Socialism would destroy private property!"

These arguments are old chestnuts, yet they are still used against us whenever we present our Socialist principles.

Here comes a civic improvement association and charges the Prohibitionists with unwarranted destruction of property! Now, mind you: not confiscation, but destruction! We repeat the last paragraph of the resolution:

"Prohibition does not even stand for confiscating private property for the benefit and use of the people, but it stands for the ruin and destruction of private property irrespective of the consequences such destructive work may have on the welfare of the people."

The charges are well founded. If the Socialists had ever advocated any such desperate, immoral means in connection with any other branch of industry except the "liquor interests," the Prohibitionists would have been the first ones to howl like Indians in war paint.

It is well for the Socialists to remember these things. Whenever we are confronted again with the silly questions: "How are you going to bring Socialism about?" we simply reply:

"We shall not follow the destructive, anarchistic methods of the Prohibitionists. We shall not destroy private property, but preserve it for the benefit of the people. We favor reasonable compensation, but where such is refused, confiscation for the common good and welfare is in order."

Under Socialism the people, through their municipal or state machinery of administration, would take charge of the operation and management of the liquor production and distribution. No private property would be destroyed. Busch, Lemp, Syndicate & Co. could receive reasonable compensation for their property. In case of refusal to accept the terms of the people confiscation might follow, yet no property would be destroyed. Adolphus and Augustus Busch, Charlie Lemp, Otto F. Stifel, Henry Nicolaus and others of the present magnates, with their invaluable experience in business, could accept positions as superintendents and managers and still enjoy life. Abuses or nuisances could be remedied or removed, but the property would still remain.

We give this illustration not for the sake of painting another picture of the Co-operative Commonwealth, but of calling attention to the high moral basis of the Socialist position, and the absence of the moral foundation of Prohibition.

The "Lost Wards"

Wisconsin has a state senatorial inquiry which develops some interesting information concerning the corruption of the old political parties. It has been pointed out that even the present governor of the state of Wisconsin, James Davidson—former lieutenant governor with LaFollette—admitted that he accepted a \$1,200 graft from the game wardens.

Chief Game Warden Stone furnished the senatorial committee with the names of the deputy wardens to whom he gave large sums of Stephenson money—\$1,250, for instance, going to one deputy. Stone furthermore testified that these deputies in turn magnanimously raised the sum of \$1,200 which he presented to Gov. James Davidson of Wisconsin. Stone swore that when he gave Gov. Davidson the first installment of \$500, all in cash, he told the governor: "Ask me no questions, and I'll tell you no lies." And he stated under oath that Gov. Davidson asked him no questions—not a single one—neither at that time, nor when he gave him the other installments.

Incidentally, it was also stated at this investigation that while Robert M. LaFollette was governor he did not, of course, make the game wardens whack up their graft with him. However, he did send out these game wardens on political missions and told them to charge their expenses to the state.

The investigation also brought out another phase of political life in Wisconsin. Peter J. Koehler, until recently chairman of the Republican county committee of Milwaukee, was campaign manager of millionaire S. A. Cook—who also had senatorial aspirations, but he was drowned out by the rushing stream of Uncle Ike's gold. Koehler is not in politics just now. And we will say that he was remarkably frank in his testimony before the investigating committee. He told the committee that of the 127 precincts of Milwaukee, 55 to 60 can be "swung" by money in either direction, for any party or for any candidate. At the request of the committee he described these precincts in detail, but in order not to slight a number of "interesting nationalities" we will not mention them, but we may do so some day.

When he got as far as the Seventeenth ward he declared, "that has gotten to be a bad ward."

He was asked, why a bad ward?

"Oh," answered he, "as we would politically say, she is all shot to pieces." The Socialists have carried it.

"What do you think of the Eighteenth ward?"

"Well," he said, "three precincts are all right. That is Tracy's ward. They don't give back any change there. But in the Twentieth and Twenty-first wards you can't do anything at all. They are Social-Democratic strongholds, with the exception of two precincts in the Twenty-first, where there is a Polish element. And the Twenty-second is lost. That is also a Social-Democratic ward."

"Do you mean lost, when you can't control it by money?"

"Well, you see we can't do anything. They are Social-Democrats up there. There is no use wasting any time on them at all, either with money, arguments or anything else. They may take a drink with you, but you will get no votes."

A member of the committee asked: "Will they take your money?"

"I don't know," he answered. "There is no use offering anybody any money up there, even to work. We have a few workers, simply to keep up an appearance. We don't expect results, and don't get them. In the Twenty-third ward there are two precincts, the first two, which can be gotten."

"But how about the Twenty-second ward?" he was asked again.

"That is bad. That is Social-Democratic."

"So you call a ward that can not be handled with money a bad ward? Is that the idea?" said a country member with assumed innocence.

"From the standpoint of the campaign manager, yes. I am giving facts now, not theories."

"I want to understand this," said another member of the investigation committee. "You have given about 55 or 60 precincts of Milwaukee, which, in your judgment, can be controlled largely by the money that is spent in the ward?"

"Yes, sir," answered P. J. Koehler, frankly.

At the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in London, April 26 to May 1, the United States will be represented by the following delegates: Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Pennsylvania; Mrs. Wm. M. Ivins, New York; Mrs. L. A. Coonley Ward, Illinois; Rev. Mary A. Safford, Iowa; Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, New York; Mrs. M. LaReine Baker, Washington. Alternates: Miss Lucy E. Anthony, Pennsylvania; Miss Katherine Ivins, New York; Mrs. Mary A. Wilmarth, Illinois; Mrs. William H. Parsons, New York; Miss Caroline Crossett, New York; Miss Kangley, Washington.

During the last year the Women's Social and Political Union of London, has enlarged its office force from 30 to 75 persons, its headquarters from 13 rooms to 19. Its literature sales have increased from \$3,000 to \$10,000 and the circulation of its organ, "Votes for Women," from 5,000 a month to 20,000 a week.

Observations

As the Result of the Coup d'Etat of the Sultan and His Reactionary clergy, Turkey is now again in the midst of a civil war. The attempts to prevent political freedom may some day cost the Sultan's head, if he fails to decipher the handwriting on the wall.

The Unemployed in New York Are Becoming So Numerous that it is very probable that the "Four Hundred" will soon make arrangements for another "charity ball." If the "smart set" dance in one-buttoned vests and low-necked gowns, and give the proceeds to the Salvation Army, the nation may yet be saved. Salvation Army soup is the antidote of capitalism to appease outrages upon justice.—Miners' Magazine.

Socialist and Working Women of America, Wake Up! See what your sisters are doing in other countries. Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, had a municipal election recently. Of the twenty Socialist members elected to the City Council three are women and officers of labor unions. The Socialist "alderwomen" are: Anna Johansen, Henriette Crowe and Olivia Nielsen. Of the total 48 members of the Copenhagen City Council eight are women.

The Berlin Socialist and Union Daily Organ, "Vorwaerts," celebrated its 25th anniversary. This paper has a daily circulation of nearly 150,000, and its jubilee edition had sixty pages, twenty-five of which were filled with display advertisements. When will our American Socialists and Unionists have the satisfaction of calling a daily paper their own which yields more influence than any of the daily capitalist papers published in St. Louis today?

Prohibition Is the "Regular Order of Business" in Missouri just now. The question is up for discussion and must be met. The Democratic and Republican parties tried to evade the issue by all kinds of subterfuges and deceptions, and now both parties are in trouble up to the neck. The Socialists have no reason to beat around the bush. Speak out plainly and manfully. This week's St. Louis Labor will give sufficient food for thought.

The Socialists and Union Men of St. Louis Should Take a Hand in the Charter Revision work. Now is the time to make your demands known. Denunciations and howling after the work is done or not done is of no avail. Unfortunately the great mass of the people seem to know little about the great importance of the Charter Revision work, as the recent elections would indicate. The daily press, Dem. and Rep. alike, absolutely neglected to discuss the problem.

The Six-Hour Workday Will Be the Aim of the United Mine Workers for the near future. A mass meeting of organized workmen was held at the City Park Hall in Belleville, Ill., last Tuesday under the auspices of the United Mine Workers' local organization. A plan for obtaining six hours' work each day for miners, and other questions of importance to miners and other workmen were discussed by the following officials of the United Mine Workers: State President Duncan McDonald, State Vice-President Grover Lawrence; State Secretary-Treasurer Frank J. Hayes, ex-State President J. Walker and Subdistrict President Thomas J. Reynolds.

Gold Mine Stock Dealers, Machinery Improvement Co. Speculators, airship builders, colony schemers, etc., may be respectable people and expert business men, but their operations should be confined to the arena of Capitalism. Socialist papers that lend a helping hand to these grafters on the Socialist Party movement should be called to account without delay by the rank and file, if our national boards and executive officers lack the necessary moral courage to act. Whether the schemers are "Comrade Wilshire," or "Comrades Henry Kuhn and McCaffery," or Comrade Sandbagger matters very little; the main issue is to prevent capitalist business experts from making the Socialist Party membership and the "Socialist Comradeship" in general their field of operation.

The April Number of the Printing Trades Magazine Has reached our office. It is the official organ of the Allied Printing Trades of St. Louis, and contains much good news and editorials of interest not only to the printers but to Organized Labor at large. How many of the members of the printing trades will subscribe to their organ and read it? This question is perfectly in order. We know from many years' experience how little responsibility for the bona fide labor press the average union man will accept. He will spend ten cents a day on the yellow press and sport sheets, but when asked to spend one cent a week for a labor paper he will become so indignant and desperate that St. Peter at Elysium's entrance and Satanus at Inferno's gate will rise and take notes.

Children Are Working in Southern Cotton Mills for Less Than one cent an hour, and as a result of their labor aristocratic dogs are being boarded at swell New York hotels and fed on the finest of food. Each of these dogs has a maid who spends seven hours a day making its toilet so it can present a respectable appearance when it goes out in society. Many of the southern child slaves have to get up at 4 in the morning and walk for miles to work, but the perfumed puppies take their airing in a \$10,000 automobile. How much longer will the people stand for this sort of thing? Not for long. The workers are waking up and the slaves are learning that they can end their servitude whenever they wish. The children of the future will be taught to view chattel slavery and wage slavery in the same light.—Common Sense.

J. W. Van Cleave Resigned the Presidency of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis at last Tuesday's Odeon meeting. Mr. Van Cleave has been working hard for a number of years, harder than any other man connected with his Union-hating organization. But there is a limit to man's energy and endurance, and this perpetual fighting and knocking and talking and writing against the "Labor Trust" will exhaust the vitality of any man. It would take the strength of Barnum's renowned elephant "Jumbo" to stand the strain, and if we remember right, even poor old Jumbo was run over and killed when he attempted to interfere with the speed of a fast mail train. Natural laws are the basis of all things, and it is only natural that our esteemed fellow citizen and brave general of the capitalist Knights of Industry and Commerce, together with his Citizens' Industrial Alliance, will some day go the way of all that is weak and mortal, while the onward march of the working classes of the world will continue and this old world of ours will grow from good to better. Mr. Van Cleave is a brave fighter. That's the kind of people we like, even in the ranks of our opponents and enemies. Cowards deserve neither respect nor recognition, no matter where they are.

William Marion Reedy, in the St. Louis Mirror, Has This to say on Prohibition. "It would force men to drink worse liquor and in many cases more liquor. As a secret rather than an open evil, drinking would more fatally fester in the cities and towns. More-

over the breweries of Missouri would be put out of business only that the breweries and distilleries of other states might make money by shipping liquor into this state. There would still be plenty of liquor drunk, but there would be no state revenue therefrom. That the liquor evil would be abolished, no one with a grain of sense maintains. If any one does let him explain how and why it is that of the divorces in Prohibition Maine 20 per cent are granted on the ground of intemperance. I don't hold much by the cry that Prohibition doesn't prohibit. If that were true the liquor interests would not fight it. The trouble is that Prohibition does not prohibit decent, seemly moderate drinking, but it does not prevent the drinking of the sots and the defectives and the unfit. It prevents open drinking and adds the attraction of the forbidden to drinking by the young man. Furthermore it makes personal liberty as to a natural appetite the privilege of those who can buy it wholesale and keep it in their homes. That drinking in and of itself is not an evil there is the example of Christ Himself to prove. If it were, would He have left us the Eucharist, would He have done the miracle at Cana? That excessive drinking is evil none denies, but there are other excesses of appetite as bad or even worse. Are we to extirpate the instinct of philoprogenitiveness because we have no "red light" districts in our cities? Shall we prohibit absolutely the manufacture and sale of certain drugs efficacious in the treatment of disease and alleviation of pain because some people might become drug fiends and others take the drugs to commit suicide? People can get along without alcohol, possibly; but no people ever has done so. Prohibition will not make people sober who want to get drunk. Prohibition is no substitute for character among men. What is needed is temperance—self-restraint. The only prohibition that any wholly rational man believes in is the prohibition that a man puts upon himself. I don't believe in coercing other people, even, as we say, "for their own good." That is the excuse for every tyranny that man has ever imposed upon his brother. I believe that the thing to abolish first is not drunkenness but involuntary poverty. Drink is an effect rather than a cause of poverty and misery. We are told drink causes poverty, but the greater part of the drinking is done by the well-to-do. It seems to be an added iniquity of our economic system that after forcing men into poverty it attempts at times and in places to deprive poverty of whatever sorry solace there may be in drink. Prohibition is fanaticism and folly. It has accomplished nothing wherever and whenever tried in all the history of the world. Wherever it is in operation it is generally evaded by those who are amenable to inducements."

Let Us Reason Together

By J. J. Beckmeyer, in Machinists' Journal.

Is the I. A. M. going into politics? asks Brother McKenzie. Certainly, brother; what else can we do? They have taken every other right from the union man. They have denied us the sympathetic strike, boycott, trial by jury, free press and free speech. No other right remains but the ballot.

The Socialists know its power. With it the workingman can take possession of the entire government. But you have raised the cry, the cry of the ages, "against my religion."

When the tyrant Nero, and his kind, ruled over the Roman empire, they were worshiped as one of the many gods. Thus Nero secured unlimited homage and fidelity from his superstitious pagan subjects, but a strange sect was rising throughout the empire, teaching that there was but one God. Nero realized that these teachings threatened to abolish the pagan religion by which he oppressed his pagan subjects. He raised the cry, to all the faithful that the Christians were against their religion and all that is sacred and holy.

Again, as the great pagan, General Constantine, realized the rapid growth of Christianity his ambitions for the throne led him to embrace its teachings. He thus secured the assistance of legions of self-sacrificing Christians and victoriously mounted the throne.

Here the humble teachings of the lowly Nazarene changed its attitude, and became the religion of the Emperor and Roman aristocracy. Again religion, as in the case of Nero, became the tool of the ruling class to control the minds and oppress the toiling slaves.

For one thousand years Europe slumbered in the dark ages, cursed with superstition, fanaticism, devastating plagues, holy wars and horrible inquisitions. Human progress was retarded, thousands of martyrs were burned at the stake and tortured in the most agonizing forms that human minds could conceive.

The most learned philosophers, who refused to be silent when their scientific discoveries conflicted with the teachings of the church, also fell under the brutal arm of the inquisition for asserting what every child now knows to be the truth. But three years ago the Italian government caused to be erected the statue of the greatest philosopher of the Renaissance, Giordano Bruno, who taught the Copernician theory of astronomy. For six years Bruno suffered imprisonment and was finally, on February 17, 1600, burned at the stake.

Likewise, during the reformation in northern Europe, with the rise of Protestantism, the stake and various forms of torture were called into service for those who disagreed with them. All these barbarous practices were resorted to principally by the ruling class throughout to control the mind and to hold in subjection the masses of serfs. Yet to this day we see the tyrannical Czar of Russia ruling as the Pope of the Greek Catholic Church, and thus the "Little Father" and the Grand Dukes perpetuate the most despotic rule over three hundred million subjects, and all enlightened Russians who yearn to overthrow the yoke of oppression are held by the cry of the faithful that they are against their religion, since the Pope of Russia denounced their politics.

We need only to cross the Mexican border, as I have done for my own self-satisfaction, and witness the effect of a recent tyrannical rule when the church and state were united, or when politics and religion came from the same source.

Yes, when Marx, Liebknecht and George Herron referred to God and Christianity, you will notice on further acquaintance with their works that in no uncertain terms did they condemn the religion of the rulers of Europe and America by which they hold, in spite of our marvelous inventive era, the masses in wage slavery and want.

I trust I have made it as clear as this article will permit that the Christianity of the corroded upper crust of society of the past, as well as the present, which the Socialist leaders so fiercely assail, bears no semblance, in spite of its beautiful name, of the religion of that lowly Carpenter from Nazareth, who cast his lot with the suffering multitude and championed their cause and who held to scorn the hypocritical religion of the rulers, priests and aristocracy.

Is the Catholic in favor of the present civic form of marriage? As a Catholic, I say, No! Why, then, Brother McKenzie, do you extract from Frederick Engel's voluminous work a few lines for the purpose of leaving the impression on the minds of the uninformed that the fundamental principle of Socialism is opposed to marriage. Indeed, a splendid blow under the belt to give your opponent when you have no argument.

Will you deny that the religions of Europe that could only prosper by the liberal use of the gibbet, rack, stake, etc., in this day of toleration, reason and science are not fast fading away?

Brother McKenzie's whole contention is that the Socialist movement exists for no other purpose than to destroy religion, and the Catholic church in particular. That is news to all Socialists.

But it must have been asserted for a definite purpose, thus to prejudice the minds of a large portion of union men and delay for

years their investigation on economic truths that will eventually free the tools and nature's resources from the rapacity of a few private owners.

Did the brother realize the importance of the quotation from Pope Leo XIII. that he cites? namely: "That the Socialist wishes all private property to become public property." Surely, the brother does not suppose that the great Socialist movements throughout the world, with their men of letters and scientific scholars, would propose such a nonsensical program.

Imagine a government where everybody owned everything and nobody owned anything.

No, Brother McKenzie, a further study of the Socialist writers you quote would better equip you to attack Socialism.

The Socialist principles the world over are that all property that is publicly used, as the railroads, factories, mines, etc., should be publicly owned and controlled, and that all private property, as the home, clothes, books, etc., should be privately owned. The brother further states that all good and honest men of all creeds realize the present injustice to the worker can only be changed by a return to Christianity. If such is the case, why then is the brother a member of a labor union? Is there not a contradiction here?

Brothers, we are all striving for the same goal, to improve the condition of the workingmen and women and abolish the labor of children. Let not religion divide our house, which the masters would love so well.

Politics and religion once united, now separated, let it ever remain so.

I fear not, nor should any workingman or woman fear an organization of men and women of all nations, creeds and color, who at its last international congress urged the disuse of all alcoholic drinks in order that their minds may fully develop to wage the battle of the working class for freedom more effectively; who encourage scientific education, thirst for knowledge and its free and open; who are democratic in action and republican in spirit and discourage all forms of secrecy between man and man; whose organization in the face of all opposition and misrepresentation is climbing by leaps and bounds.

Is the I. A. M. going to indorse workingmen's politics? I don't know, but I hope so.

The bitter cry of the oppressed rings about the world and the workers of all nations are arising in the majesty of their power. And why not? We have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

BRAINERD, MINN., ELECTS SOCIALIST MAYOR.

On April 6 the city of Brainerd, Minn., held the first city election in compliance with a new city charter adopted at the general election last fall. The hardest fight ever waged in the history of the city was engaged in by the combined forces of the Republicans and Democrats on the one hand and the Socialists on the other hand. The Socialists elected A. Ousdahl mayor by a vote of 773 to 686 for D. M. Clark, independent candidate for mayor.

The Socialists also succeeded in electing the following aldermen: Third ward, R. A. Henning, machinist; Fourth ward, P. J. Kjellquist, carpenter; Fifth ward, W. F. Dieckhaus, machinist.

The Socialists elected four out of the five candidates on the Socialist ticket, C. H. Heath, candidate for alderman, being beaten by only 15 votes in the First ward.

There were 1,458 votes cast for mayor, as compared with 1,484 votes cast for the same office last fall, when a presidential ticket was also voted for.

The election in every way shows that Brainerd workers and toilers are beginning to realize that they have got to elect men from their own ranks. Everything that could have been done by the opposition was done to defeat the Socialists.

The city council is composed of ten members, so that we have one-half the total number, who carry union cards.

Comrade Ousdahl, the Socialist candidate for mayor, carried three wards out of the five in the city, and won by a majority of 86, so that his victory is a great one in every respect. Mr. Ousdahl is the electrical engineer of the Northern Pacific shops in this city, and as Brainerd is confronted by the proposition of establishing a municipal waterworks during the next two years, he is the most capable man in the city for mayor.

Missouri Socialist Party

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

NATIONAL REFERENDUM "A."

LOCAL	No. 1		No. 2		No. 3		No. 4	
	Y's	No	Y's	No	Y's	No	Y's	No
Arnett	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Aurora	2	11	2	11	2	11	2	11
Bell City	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Bevier	10	8	18	18	18	18	18	18
Barren	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Brentwood	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Creamridge	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Cedar Hill	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Dexter	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Fidelity	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1
Fly Creek	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Ferguson	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Independence	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Jennings	4	1	5	5	5	5	5	5
Kirkville	6	3	6	6	6	6	6	6
Luebbering	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Liberal	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Mountainview	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Mountaingrove	1	10	1	10	1	10	1	10
Maplewood	6	1	5	1	5	1	4	4
Morehouse	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Myrtle	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Mendota	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Milan	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Neosho	4	5	2	7	2	7	2	7
Oronoga	3	14	3	14	3	14	3	14
Phelps	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Richwoods	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Rural	1	9	1	10	1	10	1	10
Springfield	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
St. Louis	40	76	24	90	16	101	23	92
Sedalia	10	10	20	20	20	20	20	20
St. Joseph	3	1	5	5	5	5	4	4
St. Francois County	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Scott County	5	148	5	148	5	148	153	7
Turnback	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Webb City	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	6
Windsor	1	4	5	5	5	5	5	5
Warrensburg	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Members-at-Large	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Totals	145	411	70	485	65	493	218	328

The votes of Local Joplin and R. Sproul were received too late to be counted.

A. SIEPMAN.
DAVID ALLAN.

Practical Application of the Idea.

Kansas City.—Thompson's lecture was well received here by an audience of from 600 to 700. The facts of actual experience in

the legislative field add great force to our propaganda when thus presented.

Personally, I would like to have Winfield Gaylord, one of the Milwaukee comrades and a former classmate of mine, to make us a visit in the not distant future. I think the comrades here would be of a like opinion, should you have the opportunity to date him here. I am anxious that our movement here should get beyond the doctrinaire stage. We have a splendid opportunity to grow when it does.

Nearly \$15 was taken up in the collection for free literature for distribution.—G. E. Etherton.

St. Joseph.—Here the comrades sold tickets for Thompson's lecture and made a splendid success of it. Over 300 were sold, and that insured a good audience. Twenty copies of "Constructive Socialism" were disposed of and the comrades are elated over the results of the meeting. Comrade Wesley is doing good missionary work with his stereopticon lectures on Socialism in the northwestern part of the state. He is out most of the time.

Sedalia.—The meeting here was in a theater and, while the crowd was not large, the book sales and other features were encouraging. Thirty-seven copies of London's "War of the Classes" and 10 copies of "Constructive Socialism" were sold, and copies of Socialist papers and other literature were distributed before and during the meeting.

The book sales and collections at Comrade Thompson's meetings were good at all places and indicate that his work will have a permanent value. In addition to other good points as an agitator, he has a way of breaking into the press and getting a lot of free advertising that is always helpful to the local organization. While in St. Louis he attended a convention of ministers and laid the Socialist idea before them. He met with strong opposition from the conservatives present, but easily held his own. For an all-round man, able to spread our propaganda before all kinds of people, Thompson ranks with the best.

Still in the Running.

Local Providence comrades had only one place to meet and that was the schoolhouse. The school directors locked them out and the local has been in a bad way in consequence. A new set of school directors has been elected and now the comrades have reorganized and expect to get going in good shape, with the schoolhouse as a meeting place.

A Common Occurrence.

Diamond.—Please write to me whether Diamond local is suspended. Our late secretaries kept the books in such shape that we can not tell who has or has not paid dues. I have just been elected secretary and we desire to pay dues and start in anew.—C. J. Smith.

Owing to a lack of experience and failure to realize the need of clear and accurate accounts many locals are in a condition like that stated above. Sometimes the secretary has no idea of even the simplest accounts. Add to this the lack of a regular monthly report and things soon become so mixed up and indefinite that no one can make heads or tails out of the situation. Each local should have a book to keep the minutes in and a cash book in which to enter receipts and expenditures. All money received should be entered on one side and all money paid out on the opposite side. At the end of each month the account should be balanced up and the balance or deficit, as the case may be, carried forward for the next month's business. When a member pays dues the secretary should enter the amount and the month paid for in the cash book. This makes a record that can be referred to later on. These suggestions are for small locals, where the simplest books are the best. A local of 20 or more should have a separate book in which to keep the dues account of the members.

Where McAllister Speaks.

While on his way to Girard, Comrade McAllister will speak at the following places: May 1-2, Liberal; 3-4, Iantha. He intends to spend a few days at the home of the Appeal and then speak at points in Jasper, Lawrence and adjoining counties.

Here and There.

Comrade Sargent, a veteran of Local Springfield, is sick and unable to attend to local affairs. R. G. Hotham is filling the breach in the meantime.

One of the arguments advanced for the small increase in the Socialist vote last fall is because so many workers were on the move looking for a job. Comrade Barnsley of Monett finds matters as follows: "I live near the railroad, at edge of city, and two to ten men come to my back door each day looking for something to eat. I have been taking a census of their politics and find about half of them Socialists."

Dr. R. W. Walker of Carthage has been down through McDonald County spreading the light of Socialism while selling his remedies. The one is supposed to cure all physical ills and the other is a tonic to brace up the mind. He is going back again about the middle of June.

Glenn Thurston, organizer for Jasper County, has launched a local at Gordon, near Joplin. They start with eight and expect to add a lot more in a week or so. Comrade Thurston calls for more applications for charters and evidently has his eye on other places that can be organized.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS' TOUR.

Walter Thomas Mills, who is just closing his tour of Wisconsin, where large and successful meetings have been held, as is always the case, will speak in the following states during the time named: Minnesota, April 11 to 23; North Dakota, April 24 to May 3; South Dakota, May 4 to 8; Iowa, May 9 to 19; Indiana, May 20 to June 6. There are yet a few untaken dates, which may be secured by writing at once to the Mills Lectures, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.

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.

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

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.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

International Address On Woman's Suffrage

(Delivered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, at the Congress in Amsterdam, June 5, 1908.)

It is a suggestive coincidence that the opening day of this congress commemorates the anniversary of the signing of the immortal Magna Charta. That event stands out distinctly against the background of seven centuries as one of the most important in the history of man. The historian Green says of it: "The Great Charter marks the transition from the age of traditional rights to the age of written legislation, of parliaments and statutes." It pointed as certainly, we may add, to the coming of popular government behind the parliaments, and to the "will of the majority" behind the statutes. It pointed as unmistakably to the coming of votes for men and women. Given the Magna Charta, man suffrage was bound to follow; and given man suffrage, woman suffrage became inevitable.

The New Era.

The blessings of the new era, inaugurated by this remarkable documents, were not enjoyed by England alone, but have been shared, as a common possession, by all the nations of the world. The Magna Charta, therefore, properly becomes the inheritance of all mankind, and June 15, appropriately, an international Memorial Day.

Not Yet Complete.

So sweeping have been the changes which have taken place since the signing of the Charter that the age of the English Barons bears little resemblance to our own; yet the political evolution pre-figured in 1215 is not yet complete. What celebration of the day could be more fitting than the opening of a congress which declares for the final step in that evolution?

A Time of Rejoicing.

We may make it also a day of rejoicing, for at no time since the movement for the enfranchisement of women began have its advocates had so much cause for self-congratulation as now. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance met in Copenhagen 22 months ago, and in the brief time which has elapsed since then, the progress of our cause has been so rapid, the gains so substantial, the assurance of coming victory so certain, that we may imagine the noble and brave pioneers of woman suffrage, the men and women who were the torch-bearers of our movement, gathering today in some far-off celestial sphere and singing together a grand paean of exultation.

Norway's Victory.

In 1907 Norway granted full suffrage rights and eligibility to women upon exceedingly generous terms. To one who has observed the attitude of nations toward our cause, this act of the Norwegian Parliament meant far more than an isolated victory. Long before, four of the United States of America, and New Zealand and Australia, had conferred full suffrage upon women; but everywhere opponents persistently refused to admit that these gains were important. They declared these states and nations had had no history and gave no assurance of a stable future; they said they were too new, their population too small, their people too impulsive and irresponsible for their acts to be taken seriously.

Equal Suffrage Territory Vast.

It was in vain we pointed to the fact that, if the territories of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, of Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, and all of European Russia should be added together, it would not equal the territory of the woman-suffrage countries. We assured our opponents that time would bring them history and prove their governments to be permanent, while fertile lands, unworked mines and undeveloped resources would not fail to attract populations as large as those now to be found in older civilizations. We called attention to the fact that, however mighty these governments should become, however vast their populations, political rights, equal to those of men, had been guaranteed for all time to all women within their borders. Still our opponents continued to claim that our movement had not progressed beyond the academic stage, and that no practical gains had been made.

Finland's Victory.

When Finland started the world by its bold demand for equal suffrage for men and women, the opponents, with quick and ready wit, found excuses to belittle the act and minimize its influence. "It is true," they said, "Finland is old enough, and has a creditable history, but its people are in a state of revolution. What the Czar has given he may take away. We shall wait."

A Weighty Precedent.

It was at this point in the world's controversy over woman suffrage that the Norwegian victory came. Norway was a country with an honorable history, a stable and independent government. It was evident that the enfranchisement of women had been accomplished after calm deliberation, by a people acknowledged to be intelligent, honest and conscientious. For the first time, the opponents were compelled to admit a genuine victory for woman suffrage had been scored. More, the Norwegian Act lent a new dignity and significance to all the victories which had preceded it. The sum total of the gains for woman suffrage was at last acknowledged to have weight. It was conceded that the movement had made progress, and, almost immediately, public sentiment assumed a new attitude toward it. The friends became more active and hopeful, the opponents more bitter and vindictive. The press was more willing to discuss the merits of the question; the public more ready to listen, and the indifferent became interested. The Norwegians "wrought better than they knew," and I venture the prediction that, when the final chapter of the history of woman suffrage shall be written, it will record that the enfranchisement of the Norwegian women marked a decided turning point in the struggle.

Question Up to Fifty-One Legislatures.

The effect of the changed sentiment is evident in many directions, but in no way is it so accurately measured as in increased parliamentary activity. Within the past two years woman suffrage appeals have been presented to the Parliaments of 18 European governments, the United States Congress and the Legislatures of 29 states, the Parliaments of Canada and Victoria, and the Legislature of the Philippines, making 51 independent legislative bodies. In some cases the campaign closed with the reception of petitions or memorials by the Parliament, or by hearings granted by the ministry to deputations of suffragists; but in most cases bills proposing to grant woman suffrage were introduced into the Parliament, and in many instances were not only debated with spirit, but were brought to a vote. The appeals to Parliament were made for the first time, I believe, in twelve of the European countries. In Spain and the Philippines bills were introduced by friends of the cause quite unknown to us.

Gains in Seven Countries.

This activity has not been barren of results, and the delegates of seven countries came to this congress vested with larger political rights than they possessed at the time of the Copenhagen meeting two years ago, namely, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, England and Germany. Each of the five Scandinavian lands has won something. Norwegian women come with full suffrage rights. Finnish delegates come as representatives of the only na-

tion which has elected women to seats in its Parliament. Sweden and Iceland have gained a step in eligibility, and our Icelandic delegate of two years ago is now a member of the City Council of Reykjavik, the capital.

Denmark's Victory.

The women of Denmark, next to those of Norway, have made the largest gain, and municipal suffrage with liberal qualifications has been bestowed upon them. English women have secured eligibility to become mayors, and members of town and county councils. This concession is worthy of congratulation; but far more momentous gains are within sight.

Progress in Germany.

Germany has revised its law controlling political organizations and meetings, and women are now free to join political associations, to organize suffrage societies and to conduct woman suffrage campaigns. The German association affiliated with the Alliance has been reorganized in accordance with the new law, and is now a federation of national or state associations. Each national body is free to work with its own Parliament, and appeals have already been made to the legislative authorities of three German nations and the National Reichstag. The movement in Germany has gained greatly in strength, dignity and influence through the removal of this restrictive law, and we express the hope that the freedom to work for a vote may be speedily followed by the freedom to cast a vote.

Danish Women Congratulated.

The experiences of Denmark and Sweden give food for reflection. The Danish suffragists have kept up a lively agitation of public sentiment during the past two years, and have developed a new suffrage organization, which now numbers 8,000 members. The affiliated organization also has increased its membership and activity. Yet no parliamentary campaign was planned by either. Instead, quite contrary to precedent, the bill was introduced by the government, without especial solicitation on the part of the women, and was carried by the vote of the conservative parties. When the measure had become law, the second unprecedented event took place. The woman suffragists and the king exchanged compliments, the women thanking him for his kind offices in their behalf, and the king felicitating the women upon their new rights and avowing his sympathy with the step which had been taken. The women of Denmark are to be congratulated upon the liberality of their king and the foresight of their government.

Swedish Women Active.

Quite different has been the Swedish experience. All that the Danish women have done, they have done, and more. In two years the membership of the organization has doubled, and the 63 local organizations reported at Copenhagen have become 127. A petition of 142,128 names has been presented to Parliament; deputations have waited upon the government had been granted hearings. But the Swedish government has said to the woman suffragists, just as the leading men of the United States said to the American suffragists in 1868, "Wait until all men are enfranchised; it will be time enough then to consider your claim." Yet private bills were introduced into the Swedish Parliament, and not only were earnestly supported, but were brought to a vote. Woman suffrage was endorsed by two political parties, and has become a much-discussed and admittedly important question.

With the exception of England, the suffragists of Sweden have, without doubt, worked more indefatigably during the past year than those of any other country. Their work has been characterized by intelligence, patience, courage, dignity and unyielding determination. The campaign has been a grand one, and we offer our assurance to these Swedish workers that a continuation of such efforts can not fail to bring the result they seek. Meanwhile, the women of Sweden are learning politics; they are being strengthened and educated by the struggle, and when enfranchised, they will appreciate fully the privilege and the responsibility.

Scandinavians in the Lead.

In Denmark partial suffrage came because the government was willing; in Sweden full suffrage has been delayed because the government is unwilling. It is not improbable that the women of Sweden may gain the full suffrage before those of Denmark, and, as the political suffrage carries with it more influence, authority and opportunity, woman suffrage may show greater results in Sweden in the next decade than Denmark. Both countries are intelligent and progressive. The manner in which the problems involved in the woman suffrage situation shall be solved in these two countries will teach important lessons to workers for this cause throughout the world. Meanwhile we freely concede that in actual gains the Scandinavians are in the lead. All honor to that noble race! Once it was the pioneer explorer upon the great unknown waters of the world; now it is the leader upon the high seas of human progress.

A World-Wide Movement.

Signs of active agitation have not been confined to the countries represented by our thirteen affiliated organizations, but are evident in all parts of the globe. In Bulgaria a new woman suffrage association has been formed, and this has been welcomed into our Alliance today. Through its delegate we pledge to it our fraternal help and sympathy.

Switzerland is making rapid progress towards a National Suffrage Association, which we shall also welcome into affiliation. In far-away South Africa, Cape Colony and Natal have each effected an organization and are seeking suffrage from their respective Parliaments. They have united in sending delegates to this congress, France will hold a Woman Suffrage Congress within a few days, and we hope that it may result in the formation of a National Suffrage Association and the adoption of a policy of active agitation, education and organization.

Austria does not yet legally permit a woman suffrage organization; but it has a woman suffrage committee. Bohemia, too, finds opportunity to work for woman suffrage, despite the law prohibiting women from taking part in political organizations. The National Parliament at Vienna and the Diet at Prague have each received petitions asking that suffrage be granted to women.
(To be concluded next week.)

SOCIALIST WOMEN ELECTED TO CITY COUNCIL.

It is high time for the American women to wake up. At the recent municipal elections in Copenhagen, Denmark, three Socialist women were elected members of the City Council, together with seventeen "male Socialists." The victorious women comrades are: Anna Johansen, president of the Danish Ladies' Tailors' Federation; Henriette Crone, president of the Woman Printers' Union; and Olivia Nielsen, an organizer of the Woman's Trade Union League for the last 17 years.

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

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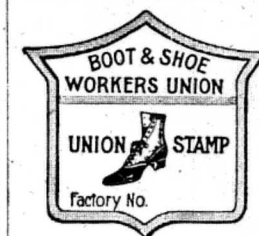
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STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx.

The Struggle Between Capital and Labor and Its Results.

1. Having shown that the periodical resistance on the part of the workmen against a reduction of wages, and their periodical attempts at getting a rise of wages, are inseparable from the wage system, and dictated by the very fact of labor being assimilated to commodities, and therefore subject to the laws regulating the general movement of prices; having, furthermore, shown that a general rise of wages would result in a fall in the general rate of profit, but not affect the average prices of commodities, or their values, the question now ultimately arises, how far, in this incessant struggle between capital and labor, the latter is likely to prove successful.

I might answer by a generalization, and say that, as with all commodities, so with labor, its market price will, in the long run, adapt itself to its value; that, therefore, despite all the ups and downs, and do what he may, the workman will, on an average, only receive the value of his labor, which resolves into the value of his laboring power, which is determined by the value of the necessities required for its maintenance and reproduction, which value of necessities finally is regulated by the quantity of labor wanted to produce them.

But there are some peculiar features which distinguish the value of the laboring power, or the value of labor, from the values of all other commodities. The value of the laboring power is formed by two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its ultimate limit is determined by the physical element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existence, the working class must receive the necessities absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. The value of those indispensable necessities forms, therefore, the ultimate limit of the value of labor. On the other hand, the length of the working day is also limited by ultimate, although very elastic, boundaries. Its ultimate limit is given by the physical force of the laboring man. If the daily exhaustion of his vital forces exceeds a certain degree, it can not be exerted anew, day by day. However, as I said, this limit is very elastic. A quick succession of unhealthy and short-lived generations will keep the labor market as well supplied as a series of vigorous and long-lived generations.

Besides this mere physical element, the value of labor is in every country determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not mere physical life, but it is the satisfaction of certain wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish standard; the standard life of a German peasant to that of a Livonian peasant. The important part which historical tradition and social habitude play in this respect you may learn from Mr. Thornton's work on "Overproduction," where he shows that the average wages in different agricultural districts of England still nowadays differ more or less according to the more or less favorable circumstances under which the districts have emerged from the state of serfdom.

This historical or social element, entering into the value of labor, may be expanded, or contracted, or altogether extinguished, so that nothing remains but the physical limit. During the time of the anti-Jacobin war, undertaken, as the incorrigible tax-eater and sinecurist, old George Rose, used to say, to save the comforts of our holy religion from the inroads of the French infidels, the honest English farmers, so tenderly handled in a former chapter of ours, depressed the wages of the agricultural laborers even beneath that mere physical minimum, but made up by Poor Laws the remainder necessary for the physical perpetuation of the race. This was a glorious way to convert the wages laborer into a slave, and Shakespeare's proud yeoman into a pauper.

By comparing the standard wages or values of labor in different countries, and by comparing them in different historical epochs of the same country, you will find that the value of labor itself is not a fixed but a variable magnitude, even supposing the values of all other commodities to remain constant.

A similar comparison would prove that not only the market rates of profit change, but its average rates.

But as to profits, there exists no law which determines their minimum. We can not say what is the ultimate limit of their decrease. And why can not we fix that limit? Because, although we can fix the minimum of wages, we can not fix their maximum. We can only say that, the limits of the working day being given, the maximum of profit corresponds to the physical minimum of wages; and that wages being given, the maximum of profit corresponds to such a prolongation of the working day as is compatible with the physical forces of labor. The maximum of profit is therefore limited by the physical minimum of wages and the physical maximum of the working day. It is evident that between the two limits of this maximum rate of profit an immense scale of variations is possible. The fixation of its actual degree is only settled by the continuous struggle between capital and labor, the capitalist constantly tending to reduce wages to their physical minimum, and to extend the working day to its physical maximum, while the workman constantly presses in the opposite direction.

The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants.

2. As to the limitation of the working day in England, as in all other countries, it has never been settled except by legislative interference. Without the workmen's continuous pressure from without that interference would never have taken place. But at all events, the result was not to be attained by private settlement between the workmen and the capitalists. This very necessity of general political action affords the proof that in its merely economic action capital is the stronger side.

As to the limits of the value of labor, its actual settlement always depends upon supply and demand, I mean the demand for labor on the part of capital, and the supply of labor by the workmen.

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

Only Two Weapons Left--- The Ballot and the Label

By H. Broughton, in Machinists' Journal.

In regards to the brother who asks: "Is the I. A. M. going into Politics? Is it going to adopt Socialism?" and who announces that if it does he will withdraw from the union. He states in his letter that he can not be a Socialist and be a Catholic. Now, I am no orator, as you can plainly see by this letter, but I do hope Bro. J. J. McKenzie will read this, and when he has finished I hope he will weigh the contents in his own mind and don't let some one else think for him. Now, his first reason as a Catholic he could not be a Socialist, is that the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., said that no man could be a Catholic and be a Socialist. Well, I guess that was sufficient for the brother without knowing anything more about Socialism. Now, brother, be considerate; don't think I am going to run your church down. I want to say I am a Socialist and also a believer in God. Now, I say if you can't be both Catholic and a Socialist, that you can be a Christian and a Socialist. Religion and politics are two different subjects which should not be mixed. Religion prepares the

soul for the next life. Politics makes the conditions for your present moral life. Now, remember, brother, that your moral life is just as important as your spiritual life. Now you say that the return of Christianity will make the necessary change. I haven't seen Christianity yet and I am 28 years old. I don't see how it can return. Now, I presume by your letter, that you are working and you can stand to wait for Christianity to come and open up the hearts of those money kings that you as a card man are fighting and voting for today. Oh! brother machinist, can you, as a Christian, vote for a system that is driving the working class to starvation, to crime, to shame, to the insane asylum and to a suicide's grave? For the sake of humanity, if you are a Christian, be a Christian. I want to tell you, brother, you are a Socialist, but you don't know it. You want the very same things that the Socialists want.

Now, brother, don't let other people do your thinking for you, without questioning a word of what they say. I don't think we as a race of intelligent thinkers should receive the Bible without considering and weighing every chapter in it, and then if we find no flaw or mistakes we could hold it as supreme, and not before. Now, brother, I appeal to you once more, be a true union man and fight for the cause with both hands, use the two only weapons of defense we have left—the union label and the ballot.

Socialism and Christianity

By R. B. Platt.

There appears to be a widespread notion that Socialism is opposed to Christianity and religion.

One reason for this is, no doubt, because the irreligion of certain of the earlier Socialists was thought to be inherent in the system.

Another reason is that capitalistic writers, failing to find any good argument, found that they could create prejudice against Socialism by the charge of atheism.

The Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity are identical."

The Socialist movement of today numbers among its most enthusiastic workers many persons who are devout followers of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Over two years ago a company of ministers met in Louisville, Ky., and organized the Christian Socialist Fellowship. Rev. W. A. Ward, who has been officially connected with this organization since then, says: "We have found a vast host of Christians in this country, both ministers and laymen, who are also Socialists. We are Socialists, and we are Christians, and we flatly deny the statement that Socialism is opposed to religion."

The Christian Socialist prints a list of no less than one hundred and sixty-one ministers who have placed their names to a public manifesto in favor of Socialism, with the understanding that the list is to be published throughout the entire country. Some time ago, when a hundred ministers in England were found willing to sign such a document, the fact created a tremendous sensation.

What is said to be the greatest work on social reform ever published is a recent work, consisting of several volumes, edited by W. D. P. Bliss, an Episcopalian clergyman of New York. Carl D. Thompson, a leading Socialist of Wisconsin, a member of the State Legislature, is a minister.

"Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the golden rule applied to everyday life. The present need is growth in that direction."—Prof. R. T. Ely.

"I believe the things that Christian Socialism stands for * * * it is God's way out of the wilderness into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied. Oh! that I were young again, and it should have my life."—Francis E. Willard.

Rev. Elliott White, an Episcopal minister, in a recent sermon said: "Not only is Socialism advisable, but it is inevitable. I want to hasten it."

These are only a few of the quotations I may be able to produce in regard to the Christianity of Socialism, and to prove that Socialism is not opposed to Christianity. This, notwithstanding the fact that Marx, Engels, Bebel and others of the earliest leaders of the Socialists were irreligious. Socialism is not the result of the teaching of atheists. It is the logical result of capitalism and the "class struggle," evolution of machinery and consequent degradation of the workers, etc., etc. In a future article I shall endeavor to explain more of what Socialism stands for on the economic field. In closing I want to ask you, knowing the opposition with which all great movements are met, not to take one man's word for the good or bad of Socialism, but study it for yourself from both sides, and then you will be able to judge for yourself.

Here is a Good Pamphlet for Democratic and Republican Workmen 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.

PROGRESSIVE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

The following three paragraphs taken from a sketch called "The Settlement of the Earth," by J. Howard Moore, in the April number of the new Socialist magazine, the Progressive Journal of Education (Chicago), open up great vistas before the mind of the reader:

"Everything hangs by a hair. Everything depends upon everything else. If life had originated among the solids of the earth or among the atmospheres, instead of among the waters, and had been given the character and ways of acting which the chemistry of these regions would inevitably have imposed upon it, and had then spread from these centers over the earth and down into the depths, how different in that case organic things would have been from what they are today! Or, if life had been born on some other sphere entirely different from this one, and after it had got started there had been brought to the earth and turned loose here and allowed to grow up in terrestrial nurseries, how different again organic kingdoms would have been from what they are today!

"Everything is contingent. Everything is haunted with might-have-beens. There is nothing absolute—nothing but what would have been different under other skies and circumstances. The things men think of as absolute are not so in reality—only less conditioned than other things that are more so. The particular form possessed by the organic process of the earth is only one of an infinite number of forms it might have had if the condition which produced it had been shifted this way or that an infinite number of times.

"There are a lot of things that come up in the mind when one gets to thinking about these immense and terrible contingencies. Take the laws of logic, and the 'human form divine,' and all that lot of supposedly sacred and absolute ideas which people are accustomed to think could not in any circumstances be different from what they are. What would become of all these things if some such scheme as has been suggested for introducing and developing life on the earth were carried out? Is it not about as certain as can be that they would be lost in the fog entirely—that human beings would not be included in the scheme of development at all, and that other forms of being with different psychologies and a different psychic output would be allotted by the accidents of evolution to take the lead in the imaginative activities of the planet?"

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SOCIALIST PARTY MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

Comrades, contributions are still needed to recover us from some of the expenses incurred in the campaign just closed. Comrades and friends of the movement are requested to give what possible aid they can to this fund. All campaign lists issued during the campaign should be returned as soon as possible, whether collections have been made on them or not. The following contributions have been received since last report:

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City Charter Revision

GETTING DOWN TO WORK.

The 26th Ward Improvement Association sent out the following invitation to the Civic and Ward Improvement and Business Men's Associations of St. Louis:

Gentlemen—You are requested to send two delegates to attend a meeting for the purpose of formulating plans for forming a Central Civic Organization for the purpose of advocating and pushing measures of general interest and benefit to the city. The first meeting will be held in parlor of Planters Hotel, Thursday, April 22, 1909, at 8 p. m. Should your body not meet before that date, your president and secretary are requested to attend or have some one act in their place. 26TH WARD IMPROVEMENT ASS'N.

W. S. McADAM, President. Office: 4067 St. Louis Ave.
THOS. J. ODLUM, Secretary.

FREEHOLDERS ASK ADVICE.

Commission Plan Considered and Public Hearings Will Be Held—S. B. McPheeters Secretary—Council by Resolution Provides Quarters for the Board—Next Meeting on Friday.

St. Louis, April 21.—Samuel B. McPheeters, secretary of the St. Louis Bar Association and a well-known young attorney, was yesterday elected secretary to the Board of Charter Revision Freeholders at a meeting of the board at the Planters' Hotel. The salary of the secretary was fixed at \$200 per month. Mr. McPheeters is at present living at Ferguson, St. Louis County. He is 32 years old, married, was born at Raleigh, N. C., and is a graduate of the University of Virginia.

The election of Mr. McPheeters came after all other available candidate had been rejected by the board. George F. Mockler, former secretary of the City Council, who had seven of the thirteen freeholders pledged to him, was, with Mr. McPheeter, the last two men considered. Owing to an agreement previously made by the board, no candidate for the secretaryship could be considered unless he received the unanimous vote of the body. Mockler was finally objected to by one member of the board, and his name was dropped and McPheeters selected. Others considered by the board were W. E. Baird and Mayo Fesler, secretary of the Civic League. Mr. Fesler, however, could not give his entire time to the Freeholder Board and his name was dropped.

Commission Plan Discussion.

The board yesterday decided to take up first the question of presenting a commission plan of government for St. Louis or retaining the present system. The board has requested that all those who have any arguments to make for or against the commission plan to forward their names to Secretary McPheeters and the board will set a date on which they will hear these arguments publicly. These hearings will be held in either the Council or House of Delegates chamber at the City Hall.

The board also discussed the question of a constitutional amendment increasing the city's indebtedness to purchase property for public utilities, such as parks, boulevards, terminals, etc. No action was taken on this matter.

Registration Question.

The committee on the proposed state law, providing for a registration before the special election on the adoption of the new charter, reported that an amendment would be attached to the bill now pending in Jefferson City, to permit the additional registration of those not now on the registration books.

The board will meet again at the Planters' Hotel on Friday at 3 p. m.

F. W. Lehmann, chairman of the board, presided at yesterday's session. Dwight F. Davis, the temporary secretary, acted in this capacity until the selection of Secretary McPheeters.

Council Offers Quarters.

On motion of Councilman Drew, a resolution was passed by the Council yesterday tendering one of the Council committee rooms to the Board of Freeholders for its use as an office and place of meeting. No time limit is placed on the courtesy and the room will be at the disposal of the board until it is ready to report the charter for a vote by the people.

General Meeting to Discuss Charter Revision.

A general membership meeting of the Socialist Party of St. Louis will be held Sunday, April 25, at 8 o'clock p. m., at headquarters, 212 South Fourth street, to discuss the City Charter Revision work. The comrades are requested to attend.

STRONG PROTEST

Against Commission Plan of Government.

At last Sunday's meeting of the Tenth Ward Improvement Association the following report and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Report of Committee on Charter Revision.

St. Louis, Mo., April 18, 1909.

To the Tenth Ward Improvement Association:

Your committee begs leave to submit the following report for your kind consideration and adoption:

Resolution Insisting on Popular Form of Government.

"Whereas There is apparently a concerted movement for securing the so-called 'Government by Commission' for the City of St. Louis, and special efforts are being made in certain quarters to have said Commission form of Government, or some similar scheme, incorporated in the new City Charter;

"Whereas, Such innovation in the administration of our municipal affairs would be a severe blow to popular government and to democratic principles in politics; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Tenth Ward Improvement Association, That we reiterate our former declaration in favor of a municipal form of government that will guarantee to the people the most democratic and popular management of their public affairs, instead of entrusting our municipal administration to any feudal board or commission, thereby depriving the people of their political rights for which generations have struggled and sacrificed.

"Resolved, That the Tenth Ward Improvement Association insists that the following be incorporated in the new Charter:

"(1) The legislative branch of the city government shall con-

sist of one house of at least 28 members, to be elected under the system of personal representation, i. e., every political party shall be represented in the City Council in proportion to the number of votes cast at the election. If proportional representation will not be incorporated in the City Charter, we insist on the continuation of the present two-chamber system, with Council and House of Delegates.

"(2) The new City Charter to contain the provision abolishing the veto power of the Mayor, and that the people shall have the sole and only right to veto any law or ordinance by means of the referendum.

"(3) The new City Charter to contain the Initiative and Referendum, better known as direct legislation, and the right of recalling any public official at any time whenever it is found that he has neglected his duty or disregarded the will of the people.

"Resolved, That copies of this report be sent to the Freeholders on Charter Revision."

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

Order of Business: Charter Revision Work.

A general meeting of Local St. Louis will be held Sunday night, April 25, 8 o'clock at party headquarters, 212 South Fourth street, to take up the work in connection with our new City Charter. This question is of most vital concern to every workingman. If the Socialist do not want a charter that will be a living obstacle to the liberty and progress of the working people of our city they must be well-informed and wide-awake fighters, ready to expose any attempt of the enemy to restrict or hinder the liberty and progress of the working class. Now is the time for all Socialists to show their true revolutionary spirit. There must not be any flinching or blacksliding; what democratic form of government we already have must be retained and improved on, no matter what the cost. The enemy is already suggesting a plan of Government by Commission, and our capitalist press has shown that it is ready to assist such a move. So it must be obvious to all comrades what the result will be if we think that anything will be attained by us remaining quietly on our oars.

To take up this, one of the most vital problems confronting our city today, the Executive Board has deemed it advisable to call a special meeting of Local St. Louis to get the comrades together in general meeting and give this matter serious consideration.

Every party member should attend this meeting. Bring your membership card with you. OTTO KAEMMERER, Sec'y.

By order of the Executive Board.

Beer Bottlers' Union to Celebrate May Day.

A grand May Day demonstration and festival will be given under the auspices of Beer Bottlers' Union No. 187 at Riverside Park and Hall, 4100 South Broadway, Saturday afternoon and evening, May 1. Tickets will be 10 cents a person. There will be a concert and dance. The Entertainment Committee is making every effort to make this affair a grand success, and therefore assures every one attending a good time. Respectfully, Frank Frey, John Stutzke, Arthur Stahl, John Koehler, Fred Eggemann, Committee.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

The United Workingmen's Singing Societies will hold their May Day celebration on Saturday night, May 1, at Lemp's Park Hall. Admission tickets are on sale at headquarters for 10c. The price of tickets if bought at the door will be 25c. All Socialists should attend this demonstration and get their tickets from the secretary at headquarters.

Socialist Party Picnic at Risch's Grove on Sunday, June 20.

The Entertainment Committee of the Socialist Party of St. Louis is making arrangements for a family picnic to be held at Risch's Grove, in Luxemurg (south of Carondelet, on Lemay Ferry road), Sunday, June 20. Further particulars will be announced later on.

Journeymen Bakers' Public Mass Meeting.

Bakers' Union No. 4 will hold a public mass meeting of union and non-union bakers Saturday, May 8, at 8 p. m., at New Club Hall, Chouteau avenue and Thirteenth street. Good speakers in English and German will address the meeting.

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.

Brewery Firemen's Local No. 95 of U. B. W.

Will give a picnic at Wolz's Grove, on Gravois avenue, on Sunday, May 2. Tickets will be 10 cents.

The Ninth Ward Socialist Club

will give its first outing of the season on the first Sunday in June, at Risch's Grove.

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.

ROETTER

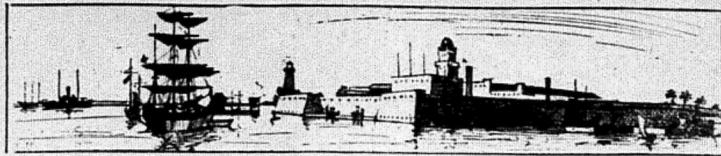
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By JOHN MURRAY



San Juan de Ulua: The Private Prison of Diaz

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Recent photographs scattered through the story make it more vivid and remind the reader that it is all fact, not fiction. It will make revolutionists out of those now indifferent. Read it and get your neighbor to read it.

The April Review contains a hundred large pages. Here are some of its other features:

Robert Hunter writes of the British Labor Party, replying to Victor Grayson's March article.

H. Quelch of the English Social Democratic Party writes in support of Grayson. Mary E. Marcy contributes the first of a series of delightful Stories of the Cave People, which will teach economic determinism to children in a way that they will enjoy. Crown-ups will like these stories nearly as well as the children will. Illustrated.

Joseph E. Cohen continues his Study Course. The April installment is on Socialism and Science.

Louis Duchez, under the title The Proletarian Attitude, answers Carl D. Thompson's February article.

James Oneal contributes a short and graphic story entitled The Terror.

The International Notes, edited by William E. Bohn, are increasingly interesting; this month he explains the causes of the great strike at Paris.

As usual, John Spargo writes interestingly of Literature and Art, and Max S. Hayes of the World of Labor. We have now a News and Views department, in which any comrade with something worth saying has his chance to say it briefly.

Charles H. Kerr, who now edits the Review, has editorials this month entitled: "Do We Need a Labor Party," "The Rebate Decision," "Trade Schools and Wages," and "Stick to the Main Issue." Other articles and poems complete the make-up of the best number yet.

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