

"Workingmen of all countries, Unite!
You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."
—Marx.

ST. LOUIS LABOR

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, Mo.

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

"The Emancipation of the Working Class must be achieved by the workingmen themselves."
—Marx.

OFFICE: 966 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

ST. LOUIS, MO., MAY, 21, 1910.

Phone: Kinloch, Central 1577.

No. 485.

Socialist Congress Now in Session.

Real Convention Work will begin by Middle of Week.

150 Delegates Attend.

EVERY STATE IN THE UNION REPRESENTED.

Important Action Expected.

Chicago, Ill., May 15. — One hundred and fifty delegates to the National Socialist Congress, representing the entire Socialist movement in the United States, met here at the Masonic Temple to-day to prepare for the coming State congressional campaigns.

Encouraged by the election of a Socialist Mayor in Milwaukee, the party workers are laying their plans for the election of at least one or two Congressmen in Wisconsin and Southeastern Kansas.

Every State in the Union has a delegation at the meeting. Mayor Seidel in Milwaukee is a delegate, but will not arrive until Tuesday. Eugene V. Debs, also a delegate, will be present.

The work to-day was of organization and routine nature. There was but one contested delegation, that from California, which was adjusted.

aefimcBSf

While the moneyed interests of the country manufacture laws to establish more perfectly their power in the nation's legislative halls, the workers are now looking for the support of their interests to the sessions of the Socialist party congresses as well as in the conventions of their labor organizations.

With the rap of the gavel the first convention for the discussion exclusively of the big problems confronting the workers of the nation began.

General activity was evidenced everywhere in preparation for the congress. National Secretary Barnes was busy completing the plans for the convention and arranging his annual report to that body.

IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE MEETS.

which it will go to the congress.

The immigration committee held a busy session, putting the final touches on its report and drawing it up in the shape in Chairman Ernest Untermann, John Spargo and Joe Wanhope were active during the early part of Saturday, being later joined by Victor L. Berger, who arrived in the City Friday night from the nation's Socialist city, Milwaukee, made famous by the solidarity of its workers.

The report of the committee is expected to precipitate a lively discussion on the floor of the convention.

Nearly all of the nationalities in which Socialist organizations are to be found were represented at a conference.

Some well filled campaign lists are coming in and others are being circulated. There are plenty more to be had at the office and those branches that are not supplied should get some at once. Lists are issued to individuals as well, and comrades should always have one ready for emergencies. Plenty of people will contribute if asked to do so.

State University Students Scab at Suburban

Organized Labor Reminded that over Thirty Thousand Dollars of Work at Summer Garden was done by Cheap Non-Union Carpenters, Non-Union Painters, Non-Union Plasterers etc. during last Years.

Suburban Garden was opened last Sunday. There was considerable advertising done for the occasion. It seemed that every daily newspaper in the city made special efforts to assist in deceiving the public as to the scab character of the place. In other words: The seemed to have been bought up for the express purpose of counteracting the agitation of Organized Labor.

It is taken for granted that neither the Union men, nor their friends and sympathizers will patronize Suburban Garden for the reason that Oppenheimer Brothers, the managers, decided to run their summer garden as a strictly non-union place.

Practically all the building work under the Oppenheimer management within the last nine months was done by cheap non-Union labor. Over \$30,000.00 were paid out in Wages for Suburban Garden repair and improvement work during these nine months, so we are informed, but for cheap non-Union labor.

State University Band Scabbing.

Last Monday morning's papers had this introduction to the Suburban Garden opening report:

At 8:20 last night the Missouri State University Band of Columbia, Mo., intoned "The Star-Spangled Banner" behind the curtain of the Suburban Theater. When the majestic air had been concluded by the hidden instrumentalists there was a round of applause by the large and eager audience, ending the dedication exercises of the new summer amusement temple.

This means that the State University Band scabbed on the Union musicians. Oppenheimer Brothers were anxious to have a scab place throughout. Hence the work of non-Union carpenters, painters, plasterers, etc. was dedicated with non-Union music furnished by the State University of Missouri.

What will the Union men and women throughout the state say when learning that the Missouri University is furnishing strike-breakers to compete with Organized Labor?

The St. Louis Post Dispatch took special pride in boosting the Suburban Garden opening by giving a full column writeup with big headlines from the pen of a penny-a-liner by the name of Ripley

D. Saunders. Almost pathetically the P. D. exclaimed:

"The Brothers Oppenheimer themselves are a modest and unassuming pair. They wouldn't come before the curtain. They blushing declined to "get into the picture". They ought to have been in it, very prominently, because it was they who made the picture possible, but their idea seems to be that all Suburban applause belongs to the players, not any to them.

"Nevertheless, there wasn't a round of last night's hearty acclaim but was intended for the Brothers Oppenheimer just as much as for the visible recipients of its encouraging stimulation.

"The Langdon Mitchell comedy was admirably presented. The playhouse in which it had its setting, with its wide and handsome stage, its successive rows of seats rising amphitheater-like, so that everyone has an unobstructed view, its deep and well arranged boxes, its picturesque balcony, where the Missouri University students' orchestra makes sweet music between the acts, greatly commended itself to the new Suburban's first-night audience.

"Before the curtain rose on the evening's play this student orchestra, behind the scenes, played "The Star Spangled Banner, O, Long May It Wave!" This same sentiment extends to the Suburban itself, last night's audience unmistakably proclaimed."

Oppenheimer Brothers blushing declined to come before the curtain. Perhaps they were ashamed to appear on their own stage built by non-Union Labor!

And the scab musicians from the Missouri State University played behind the scenes. No doubt, they were ashamed to show their faces to the audience, as scabs and strikebreakers often do.

The Star Spangled Banner,
How long will it wave!
Over Oppenheimers' Scab place
And University knaves!

Union Carpenter.

State Militia to Break the Strike.

Governor Hadley Shows his "Friendship" for the Poorest of Wage Workers.

TWELVE HUNDRED CEMENT PLANT WORKERS GO ON STRIKE FOR BETTER CONDITIONS.

Corporation and Politicians Combine to force Men back to Work.

(Special to St. Louis Labor.)

HANNIBAL, Mo., May 18. — For years the conditions of work at the Atlas Portland Cement Works at Ilasco, near this city, had become unbearable. The men complained repeatedly, but their complaints were of no avail.

Last Saturday about 1500 men went on strike causing a complete shut-down of the works. The corporation, assisted by the local politicians in office, immediately raised the cry "rioting foreigners" and appealed to the Governor Hadley for state militia.

And Governor Hadley complied with the request as promptly as any capitalist statesman ever did within the last 25 years of labor troubles.

The cement work laborers at Ilasco are the hardest working and poorest paid men. Their work is dangerous to health and several years work for the Atlas Portland Cement Co. will mean consumption for any laborer who is not provided with an exceptionally strong constitution.

The soldiers were massed at Saverton, three miles from Ilasco, where the St. Louis companies, numbering eighty-one men and nine officers, were joined by the Kirksville company of thirty-five men and the Hannibal company of forty men. They proceeded in five cars of the cement works, where they disembarked.

Assistant Superintendent F. S. Rucker of the cement works met the soldiers and provided quarters for them in two big packing plants. Major H. Chouteau Dyer of St. Louis, as the senior officer on the ground, was in command of the men. He stationed sentries for the night and ordered others to sleep on their arms.

The sensational reports about the "rioting foreigners" sent broadcast and published in the daily papers of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, are mere inventions of the officials of the Atlas Cement Co. The men are quiet and there was no need for soldiers.

Business Agent Ben. F. Lamb of St. Louis Machinists' District Council

is in possession of a letter from the Hannibal Union officers in which they state that there was absolutely no need for the state militia. The militia was telephoned for half an hour before the majority of men went out.

In Our New Home.

We are gradually settling down to work in our new home. Last Friday and Saturday the job office was moved into the place and by Tuesday at noon the job presses were started.

This weeks St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter-Zeitung were set up on our own linotype machine. It required special efforts to do it, but we succeeded thanks to the efforts of our operator, Comrade W. Schneider.

For the information of the comrades who paid for shares or donation during last week, we wish to say that the financial report will be published next week.

ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Nineteenth Ward comrades have started their branch going again and will get in the campaign with both feet.

The Nominating Meeting of May 16 selected candidates for the various offices to be filled and referred the nominations to the General Committee for ratification. The nominations for several offices were left to the General Committee, also.

Tickets and announcements for the June 12 picnic are now ready. Every comrade get a supply and help swell the attendance. The grove has been improved and accommodations are much better. The bowling alley has been enlarged and will now provide for more spectators. The weather man assures us that all danger of frost and snow will then be over and nature will be decked out in her best clothes. Get all your friends to take an outing on June 12.

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...Printery

966 Chouteau Avenue

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— TO —

DO YOUR JOB WORK

Give us a Call!

GIRLS WANTED

Girls, 16 years and over can secure employment in the Bottle Labeling Departments of the St. Louis Breweries by making application, any day from 9 till 10 a. m., or 3 till 4 p. m., to the Secretary of the girls' Union, Miss Sarah Aldrich, at 2225 Menard Street (Beer Bottlers' Union Office).

The girls employed in the bottling departments were organized under the jurisdiction of the Beer Bottlers' Union last April, and all help for the breweries must be secured through the union. Readers of "St. Louis Labor" are kindly requested to spread this information.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF WOMENS TRADES UNION LEAGUE TO MEET IN ST. LOUIS.

The annual meeting of the National Executive Board of the Women's Trade Union League was held in St. Louis May 19 and 20. The business sessions were held in Aschenbroedel Hall, 3535 Pine street. The local committee of the League were very busy preparing for the meeting and also the entertainment of the out-of-town members of the board. A banquet was held the evening of May 19. On the evening of May 20 a large meeting will be held in Granite City (Ill.), where a Womens Trade Union League has recently been organized.

The officers and members of the National Executive Board are: President, Mrs. Raymond Robins; first vice president, Mrs. M. K. O'Sullivan; second vice president, Miss Melinda Scott; third vice president, Mrs. D. W. Knefer. Board members: From Boston—Miss E. G. Balch, Miss M. Wood, Mrs. M. Brotherton; Chicago—Miss Mary McDowell, Miss L. O'Reilly, Miss R. Schneidemann, Miss M. Scott; St. Louis—Mrs. D. W. Knefer, Mrs. S. Spraggon, Mrs. A. May Smith, Miss H. Hennessy.

THE MARX & HAAS TROUBLE

Organized Labor on Pacific Coast go after St. Louis Non-Union Concern.

Secretary L. Le Claire of the Spokane Card and Label League, publishes the following report in the Spokane Labor World: Marx & Haas, Unfair Clothing, Has Hard Time to Get Orders.

I note the Marx & Haas Clothing Co., of St. Louis, is not doing so heavy business as they used to. The United Garment Workers of St. Louis are still on strike against this company, and the business firms of Spokane are aware of it. This fact alone makes it difficult for Mr. Broudy, who is Marx & Haas' salesman, to sell his wares. I also find that the larger stores who were exclusive retailers of his goods are not even buying \$1 worth now — because Marx & Haas Clothing Co. is not employing union help and can not put the union label in their clothing. I understand Mr. Broudy experienced the same conditions in Butte, Mont.

If all the towns hold out against buying nonunion labeled goods as Spokane and Butte have done, the above manufacturers will certainly be compelled to put the union label on in the very near future.

I also understand Mr. Boudy explains (as an inducement to Mr. Merchant to buy) that he can furnish the goods through another house — "the old stor." That's right, Mr. Merchant, don't let him "kid" you. I realize you want the union label. The boys appreciate your support.

Socialist Picnic
SUNDAY, JUNE 12th.

Confiscation.

By Robert Hunter.

The other day I sat down in a railway train by the brakeman. He was a fine, active, thoughtful fellow and I began conversation.

Pretty soon he discovered that I was a Socialist and said, "Well, I am not for that."

"That's strange," I remarked. "Why?"
"Because I am against confiscation," he said. "A man's property is his own and no one has the right to rob him of it."

"Have you any property?" I asked.
"No, nothing except my arms and legs and labor, but I believe in a square deal even for the capitalist."

"Well, so do I," I answered, "but how square do you think the deal now is? Take, for instance, the matter of confiscation."

"When the state wants to take a man's property it tells him in advance.

"There are usually long court proceedings. The property is looked over by experts, a fair price is set on it and the state buys it.

The property owner is fully protected by law and even the courts watch his interests to see that he doesn't suffer. But what about your property, — your arms, your legs, your labor?"

"In pretty fair shape, don't you think?" he answered, slapping his leg.

"But suppose a boss confiscates your leg, your arm, undermines your health or takes your life in industry," I said, "what protection have you?"

"Dangerous Trade doesn't wait for the court to put a value on your leg, or arm, or life.

"It takes it first, robs you of it, and then you or your family can fight to get compensation.

"Within the last twenty-five years about one hundred and forty thousand men have lost their lives on the railroads alone and about eight hundred thousand men have lost arms, legs, and eyes.

"Each year in the United States more than one million persons suffer some industrial accident.

"Well, what is the result?"

"Dangerous Trade confiscates some valuable property of your body and then says to you or to your family, 'Go to the courts and see what you can get'.

"And you go to the courts with a cheap lawyer to meet Dangerous Trade with a very fine lawyer and many witnesses and photographs and testimony and everything else that Dangerous Trade needs.

"In fact, Dangerous Trade in some places owns the judges and the jury, and you or your wife undertakes to fight that combination to get compensation for your arm, or leg, or life.

"So far as I know, there is not much property confiscated in this country.

"It was pretty hard for Tom Johnson in Cleveland even, when he tried to buy out the street railways.

"It is going to take all the power, energy and ability of the Socialists of Milwaukee to get one single monopoly municipalized, but there is no question that every day thousands of arms and legs and lives are confiscated by Dangerous Trade.

"Do you call that a square deal?"

"And if you would fight to protect property don't you think it is about time to fight to protect the only property you have?"

Just then, coming to a station, we slowed up and the brakeman left until the train was under way again.

After a time he came back and sat down, saying, "Of course, there is truth in all beliefs, and perhaps there is some truth in Socialism, only I have not liked some of the ideas I have heard about it."

"Well, if I were you," I answered, "I would begin to-day to fight confiscation.

"If you fight that hard enough and intelligently enough you will be as good a Socialist as I am. You might begin by realizing that the trusts confiscate millions of dollars each year out of the wages of working men; that they confiscate the livelihood each year of thousands of little men with their little shops and stores and factories; that they confiscate with the aid of corrupt legislators immensely valuable natural resources, oil wells, coal mines, gold mines and forests; that they confiscate your taxes by evading their taxes; that they not only confiscate an immense volume of property each year, but in dealing with the millions of wage workers they have so protected themselves by the law and the courts, that they can confiscate even your arms, your legs, your life and your health, without just compensation."

"Yes, it is a big question," said the brakeman, "and the people are thinking more and more about these things.

"There is a prejudice against Socialism, but accidents are terrible things.

"Sometimes when I leave my wife and children in the morning, I often think it may be the last time I ever see them.

"A fellow on the railroads never knows what'll happen."

What Socialism Means.

BY BEN GARDNER IN LONDON LABOR LEADER.

He was a tall voter of a somewhat sanguine temperament, judging by the healthy colour of his cheeks and a slight inclination to redness at the nose. Spare almost to thinness, he seemed to me one of those hard-working, moderate drinking artisans who by a series of lucky accidents are non-combatants in the battle wherein Labour faces Capitalism's defence of the worker's standard of life, and are also singularly fortunate in the matter of employment. Never feeling the bitterness instilled into men's hearts by labour troubles or long spells of enforced idleness, many men of this type have a sturdy affection for the older order. This attitude of mind might appropriately enough be described as "all red," if the colours on the maps and on the flag-wagging politicians at election time did not differ; as things are, however, the best description that can be applied to it is "all British."

Being of a sanguine disposition this voter had no doubts, and being "all British," he was against us, and yet I wasted time on him. He was in a talkative humour.

It was Friday evening, and his long clay pipe and air of lordly good-fellowship with all the world suggested pay night. It also suggested the celebration at some new-fashioned inn or other of the welcome recurrence of that temporary depletion of the wages fund, which is now recognised as not being a regular thing for all to share

in, but as a heaven on earth, a bliss indeed, which can only be shared in by some.

I stated my business.

"I shall vote for the other man, no disrespect to you, old chum," he said.

"Why?" asked I. "Anything against our man?"

"Don't know him," was the reply; "but look on the walls," waving the stem of his pipe abroad; "look on the walls. I can't support that!"

"What?" I queried, although I guessed.

"Socialism and atheism, free love and the rest of it. I'm not religious," apologetically, "but religion's a good thing."

I explained at some length only to receive a shake of the head.

"I shan't have it," he said.

"Do you," I asked slowly, "believe because some person who did not believe in a Deity, has said that Socialism means the end of religion, that what this person said will eradicate the idea of after life from the minds of millions of men and women?"

"It's on the walls with big letters," he said; "and you can't get over that. I can't, anyhow?"

"H'm," I said, "on that basis Socialism means quite a lot of things. Some of our leading men assert that with the coming of the new order and the easing of the awful strain that capitalism puts on minds and muscles there will be more and more abstainers from alcoholic stimulants. That, in short, Socialism means cold tea."

As a believer in a little wine for the stomach's sake, he saw his opportunity and smiled.

"I can believe that too," he said.

"Mr. George Bernard Shaw is a believer in vegetarianism as well as socialism. He professes not to be able to understand how people can dine off dead animals. Our opponents might just as truthfully placard the walls with 'Socialism means monkey-nuts.' There is just as much ground for this as for saying 'Socialism means free love'. I am not a vegetarian. You and I agree, perhaps, about beef?"

"Yes, my boy; beef and a little beer."

I said nothing about the beer. Discretion should be the better part of the canvassing always.

"Socialism," I went on again, "might mean more Dreads, might mean more Dreads, but it doesn't. You know that a prominent Socialist joined with the lords and lackeys in calling for more bulwarks of the Empire."

"We're not going to have your pals, the Germans here," he said, "Brotherhood of man! I've heard you! They look after themselves, we do ditto."

I could see I was making no impression.

"Do you know," I asked in as impressive a manner as I could muster; "that Socialism means free beer?"

"I've noticed," he said jeeringly, "a lot of your crowd like a drop. The meetings thin out on Sunday mornings when the pubs open. They're looking forward to a happy time, no doubt."

I said, "We'd municipalize the sale of liquor, nationalize the breweries, and we'd make pure beer, too. There is more ground for saying that Socialism means free beer than there is for saying it means atheism, but your side never say it."

"They dare not say it," I added with fervour, "for they know that when this great truth is known, there will be a tremendous slump in Toryism. Socialism will make converts by the—"

"Good night, friend; good night," he said, and closed the door.

National Socialist Platform

Adopted at Chicago Convention, May, 1908.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands.

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing rate of union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.
2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.
3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.
4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
5. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.
6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.
 - (a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
 - (b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
 - (c) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
 - (d) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.
 - (e) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.
 - (f) By abolishing inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.
 - (g) A graduated income tax.
 - (h) Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.
 - (i) The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.
 - (j) The abolition of the Senate.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.
9. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
10. The enactment of further measures of general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.
11. The separation of the present Bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.
12. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.
13. The free administration of justice.
14. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.— (National Platform Adopted at the 1908 Convention.)

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| Enz, Aug. | 6700 S Broadway | Michaika, F. L. | 1901 Utah st. |
| Flabb, Julius, | 1301 Wyoming St. | Mueller, Fred | 2012 Gravois av. |
| Fischer, Wm. F. | 5600-Compton Ave. | Nichols, E. S. | 4136 N Newstead a |
| Foerster, Chas. J. | 5228 Virginia av. | Nowack, Frank R. | 616-18 Louisa Ave. |
| Fuchs, Frank | 2301 Plover Ave. | Old Homestead Bky | 1038 N Vandeventer |
| Geiger, H. | 1901 Lami st. | Papendick B'ky Co | 3609-11 N 22d st. |
| Graf, Ferd | 2201 S 2nd st. | Rahm, A. | 3001 Rutger st. |
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| Hartman, Ferd | 1917 Madison st. | Rother, Paul | Lemay Ferry Rd. |
| Hoefel, Fred | 3448 S Broadway | Rottler, M. | 3500 Illinois av. |
| Hollenberg, C. | 918 Manchester | Rube, W. | 1301 Shenandoah st |
| Huber, Math. | 1824 S 10th st. | Schmerber, Jos. | 3679 S Broadway |
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| Hus, Fr. | 7728 S Broadway | Schueler, Fred | 3402 S Jefferson a |
| Imhof, F. | 1801 Lynch st. | Seib Bros. | 2522 S Broadway |
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| Kubik F. J. | 1723 S 11th st. | Vidlack, Rudolf | 2005 S. 11th St. |
| Laubis, Herm. | 1958 Withnell av. | Vogler, Mrs. G. | 3605 S Broadway |
| Lay Fred | 8509 S Broadway | Weiner, M. | 1625 Carr St. |
| Leimbach, Rud. | 1820 Arsenal st. | Witt, F. A. | 3558 Nebraska av. |
| Links, John A. | 2907 S 13th st. | Wolf, S. | 3110 S 7th st. |
| Lorenz, H. | 2700 Arsenal st. | Zwick, Mich. | 7701-3 Virginia av. |

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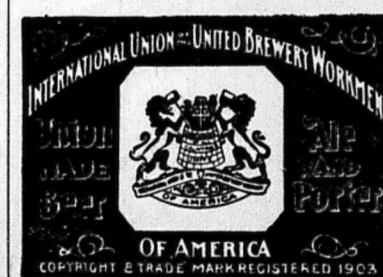
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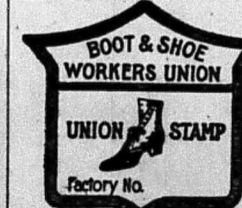
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John F. Tobin, Pres. Chas. L. Baine, Sec.-Treas.

French Socialists' Great Gains.

RETURNS SHOW HEAVY INCREASE OF PARTY VOTE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

Total Vote of "United Socialists" over One Million.

Paris, May 15. — An exact survey of the returns proves that Socialism has gained a great victory at the general elections. There is a great increase in Socialist votes and the remarkable augmentation in the number of Socialist elected to office. Newspapers, like Le Temps of Paris, very little suspected of being friendly to Socialist cause, are at last sufficiently resigned to admit the fact that the Socialist group in the chamber of deputies will be considerably strengthened.

In 1906 the Socialist registered 800,000. This year the Socialist votes passed the million mark. So far 1,000,234 Socialist votes have been counted.

Such results show what the effect has been of the brutality of M. Clemenceau, the hypocritical duplicity of M. Briand and the efforts of Gustave Herve, the anti-militarist, to turn the voters from the ballot box. Immediately preceding the elections Herve devoted the front page of his paper, La Guerre Sociale, to a proclamation against all Socialist endeavor, claiming that the candidates of the Socialist party were scapegraces and warning all voters away from the polls.

Clemenceau tried to combat the Socialist movement by violence all in the vain; the other attempted by the poison of his own example and by his twisted politics to discourage and to lead the popular mind astray.

It is to the provincial and the rural movement chiefly that the increase in the total of votes is due. The casting of a million votes is a pledge for new victories in the future. Political interest is aroused everywhere. Economic problems are discussed more in general and the citizens are no longer satisfied with old formulas of politicians for their solution.

"Incontestably," says Gustave Rouanet, "the great mass of the proletariat is stirring, is awakening to the political conscience of their class. What is remarkable in the movement is that the proletariat of the country have been won as well as the proletariat of the city. The heart of the peasant masses beat in unity with the heart of the working masses."

Another still more striking phase of the election and a sign of the progress of the Socialist idea, is seen in the general defeat of the so-called independents. They hold only second or third place in the balloting.

The complete tabulated election returns, according to "Matin," are as follows:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Radicals or Social-Radicals | 3,312,002 |
| Republicans of the Left | 941,015 |
| Republicans | 317,299 |
| Independent Radicals | 23,339 |
| Government Socialists (supporters of Briand and Millerand) | 316,692 |
| Progressives | 787,006 |
| Liberals or Clericals | 737,616 |
| Conservatives | 778,692 |
| Nationalists | 149,564 |
| United Socialists | 1,091,934 |
| Revolutionary Socialists | 2,903 |
| Blank or void votes | 34,088 |

Total 8,563,716

The total of the United Socialist votes is accordingly even greater than at first estimated.

Teachers as Citizens.

BY MRS. E. TAYLOR CHERLON,

ORIGINATOR OF THE DES MOINES PLAN OF SCHOOL GOVERNMENT.

One of the most significant school reform agitations in the United States is now going on in Des Moines.

The people of Des Moines, Iowa, have been studying their far-famed municipal plan by commission—studying it in operation during the last two years.

Now some of the citizens are so well satisfied of its success that they are agitating for school government by the commission plan. For over a year the agitation has gone on and the movement is gaining strength.

Two influential members of the school board have committed themselves to the idea. The whole city is beginning to take sides in the fight for such a reform. Even the doctors' association is rent by the discussion.

The city superintendent has taken sides with the present school government. In all this discussion, so vitally affecting the life of the teachers, not a single one has publicly dared to express the opinion of a citizen.

Is this because teachers as a class dare not oppose the verdict of their superintendent?

Or, are they indifferent to the vital reforms now suggested in educational work?

Do they approve of placing their work on a professional basis? Do they wish the number of subjects each one is to teach to be greatly reduced?

Do they agree that teachers should decide on texts?

The author of the commission plan for school government believes that teachers ARE interested in the best school government; that they desire justice for themselves and the public; that they would deeply appreciate the freedom other citizens have in expressing their opinion publicly; but that they dare not do so, on penalty of losing their positions or, at least, petty persecution.

School government by commission, if adopted, will follow the Des Moines municipal plan all over this country—a companion city reform.

School people everywhere can well afford to watch the attitude of the public school teacher in the great fight.

Is the teacher a citizen—free to express a public opinion at variance with official school opinion? We shall see.

The Progressive Journal of Education.

Facts Wage-Workers Should Know

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life, are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on Organized Labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of Organized Labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petition have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States can not expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislative and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called "Independence" parties and all parties other than the Socialist Party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the South, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interests of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy express of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

The History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price \$1.00. This work is indispensable for the student of the Socialist problem in the United States. The chapters tell the story: 1. The Great Proprietary Estates. 2. The Sway of the Landgraves. 3. The Rise of the Trading Class. 4. The Shipping Fortunes. 5. The Shippers and Their Times. 6. Girard—the Richest of Shippers. Part II. contains these chapters: 1. The Origin of Huge City Estates. 2. The Inception of the Astor Fortune. 3. The Growth of the Astor Fortune. 4. The Ramifications of the Astor Fortune. 5. The Momentum of the Astor Fortune. The Climax of the Astor Fortune. 8. Other Land Fortunes Considered. 9. The Field Fortunes in Extenso. 9. Further Vistas of the Field Fortunes.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS LOCAL ORGANIZATION NEWS

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Socialist Work in School Board.

The editor received the following letter:

St. Louis, Mo., May 13th, 1910.

My dear Mr. Hoehn:—

Dr. Simon, member of the Board of Education, is under discussion, he is doing something—for the school teachers and workers, but tenfold more for the Socialist party and deserves some recognition in "St. Louis Labor." I trust that you are keeping in touch with his valuable efforts.

Yours truly

JOHN P. HERRMANN.

We wish to say that Comrade Dr. Simon has repeatedly promised us some authentic report about his work in the Board of Education, but up to this hour we have not yet received a line. Whether it is modesty or lack of time that prevents him from "writing himself up" we cannot say.

Be that as it may, we are glad to state that even the capitalist press is now compelled to recognize the good work done by Comrade Simon in the School Board. Last Sunday's Post Dispatch had an article, illustrated and extending over half the front page, bearing these captions:

Speaking of Live Wires — Here Is One in the School Board Who is a Socialist to Benefit Others.

Dr. Simon of St. Louis Thinks Physicians Have Better Chance to Collect Bills Where Storks Is Not So Busy.

His Efforts Gained an Increase for Schoolma'ams; He Has Also Persuaded Board to Put Escapes on Public Schools.

We quote from the P. D. article:

"If 'Votes for Women' were suddenly translated from slogan into statute, St. Louis schoolma'ams would elect Simon to something or other before he could say 'thumbs up!'"

"More pay for teachers!" has been Dr. Emil Simon's demand on the Board of Education. And a few nights ago the doctor and the schoolma'ams won, and Superintendent Blewett, by the board's order, is spending all the time he can spare from picnic schedules and commencement programs in getting up the new wage schedule, with especial view to the needs of the second assistant, or every day hard-working teacher.

"While it has been stated on eminent authority that Socialists are dreamers, some of those who have watched the Socialist member of the School Board are wondering if it is not possible for a dreamer to wake up other people.

"Things had very much that appearance when Dr. Simon, a few months ago, made other members go with him to inspect old and unprotected school buildings, and brought about a vote in favor of the fire escapes which the board had for years refused to install.

"And the doctor's suggestion that the board take its tract of land in St. Louis County, hitherto held merely as so much real estate, and make it an industrial farm for the neglected boys, sounded pretty good, in the public ear, for the utterance of a man talking in his sleep. It sounded so good to the board that they at once passed a resolution to the effect that they would do if they could, and that they thought they could.

"Dr. Simon is fond of pointing out, if one goes into the philosophy of the thing with him, that the schools are the most socialistic thing we have; and he will leave his hearer to infer that if our other public works were put on the same basis, they might be as well managed as the schools are.

"Socialism," said Dr. Simon, "holds that the government should take charge of those things which the public needs and which private enterprise cannot do so well. Herbert Spencer maintained that it was highly socialistic to have public schools at all. FINDS SOCIALISM EVERYWHERE IN WHAT THE PUBLIC NEEDS.

"The medical inspection and the dental clinics are the extension of the socialistic methods of our schools, even though the socialism in these things may be unconscious*or unintended. But when you analyze these things, you find socialism."

"Dr. Simon had not wanted to run for the board. He had run once for Coroner, and he thought that was enough. In fact, he stayed at home from his party convention because his wife warned him that if he went he would get nominated for something.

"But when he found himself thrust on the winning ticket, he began going to the schools to see what they were doing and what they needed. At the Fremont, which his two children attend, and the Shepard, also near his South Side home, he got the habit of dropping in and asking questions of pupils and teachers. At the McKinley High School he brushed up his own Latin, Greek and French by hearing the language classes. He heard the German classes recite, but as he is a native of Hamburg, that could hardly be called brushing up.

DOCTOR LISTENS TO NEEDS OF HARD WORKING TEACHERS.

"As the teachers became accustomed to seeing the doctor's big figure appear in the door, they got to telling him about their own needs, as well as the things the school needed. They pointed out to him that second assistants, who form the majority of teachers, get only \$840 a year, and that first assistants get only \$920. They showed him some cost-of-living figures, and schedules of teachers' pay in other cities, and he agreed with them that they ought to get more.

"He fixed \$1000 as the proper amount to pay a second assistant and \$1100 or more as the proper amount for a first assistant, with an increase from \$1100 to \$1250 for the head assistants. And that is what he hopes they will get as the result of the passage of his

resolution Tuesday night, although part of the increase may have to wait until another year. That will depend on the amount of revenue which the board gets by keeping its tax at the old figure, instead reducing it, as some of the members suggested.

"His plan for moving the industrial school to the country was conceived when he saw the manner in which the 'innocents,' or orphans and waifs, are kept at the present institution with the 'incorrigibles,' sent to the school as punishment for their misdeeds or to reform them.

"When he learned that the board owned a tract of country land out the Manchester road, it occurred to him that future St. Louis citizens would be as good a crop as the oats and corn which the farmer tenant of the tract is now raising. He went out and inspected the land, and returning, prepared the resolution which the board has now passed, opening negotiations with the City Hall administration for the building of a new farm home and school.

"The policy of the School Board on fire escapes had been a Fabian policy—a policy of waiting until the old and dangerous school buildings were worn out and abandoned, and new fireproof ones put up all over the city.

"Simon didn't take the other directors' word for it that there was no practical remedy. He went around the most dangerous schools, and after he had seen their needs, he insisted that some of the others go with him to see them. By arguments on the spot, from which there was no escape, he proved that escapes should be put up, and work on the outside covered escapes for the most of the buildings is now nearly finished.

"Not so far up his sleeve the doctor has a plan for free, or penny, lunches for poor school children. That is advanced school socialism, and even the Milwaukee Social Democrats have not succeeded in actually putting it into effect yet.

HARD TIMES IN AMERICA MADE SOCIALIST OF HIM.

"Dr. Simon's political autobiography is interesting. 'I didn't come to this country a Socialist,' he relates. 'I didn't suppose this country was a field for Socialism. I supposed people were comfortable here, and that the struggle for subsistence was not what it was in European countries where Socialism flourishes.

"But after I had married and had located in St. Louis to try to practice medicine, I had a desperately hard time as I could have had anywhere. To keep from starving, I had to work as a book agent, and I didn't keep so far from starvation for awhile at that.

"After the worst of that experience was over, I located on the South Side—I had made the mistake of going to the West End in the first place—and became acquainted with Socialists. I became convinced that they were right, and the last old-party vote I cast was for McKinley in 1896."

As carefully as any housewife treasures her book of trading stamps, Dr. Simon preserves his little album of adhesive certificates, one for every month, which show him to be a dues-paying member of the Socialist party. For St. Louis Socialists follow the plan of assessing themselves and charging admission to their meetings to pay party expenses. It was the same plan which financed the winning Socialist campaign in Milwaukee this spring.

"He has two children, and he does not hesitate to say that he rejects the favorite Roosevelt theory, both for himself and for others.

"If people have too many children," he argues, "they won't have money left to pay their doctor bills."

These words of recognition coming from an anti-Socialist paper like the Post Dispatch, are significant. During the short time Comrade Simon has been connected with the Board of Education he has accomplished splendid work—not as much as he would have liked to accomplish, but more than can ordinarily be expected from one Socialist among a dozen capitalist members of the Board.

We feel assured that Comrade Simon will continue his good work in behalf of our public schools.

James W. Van Cleave Dead.

James W. Van Cleave, president of the Bucks Stove & Range Co., and for years the leader of the Citizens Industrial Alliance in the fight against Organized Labor, died last Sunday morning at his residence, 4209 Morgan Street, St. Louis, from heart disease and attending complications. It is freely admitted that the determined and exciting work in his warfare against the labor movement hastened the crisis in the life of this powerful leader of capitalist employers.

It cannot be denied that the Citizens Industrial Alliance lost its strongest man in Mr. Van Cleave. He was the fighting spirit of the organization. He represented the intelligence of the organization and his influence was far-reaching.

Van Cleave is dead. He fought a hopeless battle. He failed to grasp the mission of the greatest of all movements in the history of mankind. Erroneously he accepted the social question and the modern labor movement as the result of the agitators' work.

Years ago we called his attention to the fact that Mr. Van Cleave and his Citizens Alliance may be dead and forgotten, but the labor movement will live and proceed on its triumphal march toward better days for the human race.

Mr. Van Cleave represented the powers of a decaying, dying state of society, while the labor movement represents the masses of the wealth producers in their great and noble struggle for economic and social emancipation.

Mr. Van Cleave was our opponent in this great class struggle, but we felt more respect and sympathy for him than we did for the hypocrites of the Civic Federation.

Editorial Observations

Governor Hadley, the great friend of Labor, ordered the state militia to Hannibal to kill the strike of the poverty-stricken cement workers.

Governor Hadley furnishes state troops to kill the Cement Workers' strike in Hannibal, while the Missouri State University provides the scab musicians for the non-Union Suburban Garden in St. Louis.

Governor Hadley is a miserable peanut politician. The poor, overworked employes of the Atlas Cement Co. near Hannibal had been on strike less than 24 hours when he ordered the state militia to break the strike.

"Foreigners threaten Trouble in the Hannibal cement works!" Every time poor wage workers go on strike the "foreigners" make their appearance, but so long as the "foreigners" submit quietly to starvation wages and long hours they are praised as the angels of mankind.

The Democratic party of St. Louis is hunting for good men. The committee which is supposed to fix up a "good ticket" are the following leading corporation capitalists: Murray Carleton, president Carleton Dry Goods Company; F. P. Crunden, president Crunden-Martin Woodenware Company; Samuel M. Kennard, president J. Kennard & Sons Carpet Company; George D. Markham, president W. H. Markham & Co.; Thomas S. Maffit, vice president Missouri Iron Company; Nelson W. McLeod, president Grayson-McLeod Lumber Company; Saunders Norvell, vice president Norvell-Shapleigh Hardware Company; Joseph O'Neil, president O'Neil Lumber Company; William D. Orthwein, president Kinloch Telephone Company, and James E. Smith, vice president Simmons Hardware Company. This selection was made by Mr. Goltra, chairman of the Democratic City Committee.

The Idol of Kings.

BY ROBERT HUNTER.

When Roosevelt arrived in Belgium the other day he was received royally.

The new king took him to the handsome palace and showed him the bedroom of the late King Leopold II.

A correspondent cables that two portraits hung on the wall, — one a portrait of Theodore Roosevelt.

Now, if I were Theodore, I would murder the correspondent who gave that bit of news to the world.

Leopold died a few months ago, the most hated and despicable individual in Europe.

He was a moral leper; his personal vices were sickening; his crimes against women and children amounted to monstrosities.

He was known on every boulevard of Europe, in every gambling hell and in every resort as a fiend and monster.

Had he been black and lived in the South he would have been lynched a thousand times. Had he been a common, plain individual he would have gone to the gallows.

He was not only a rascal of the worst type; his habits, his practices were filthy beyond description and there is hardly a man in Europe that doesn't know that.

He was also a thief, a murderer, as the evidence of many a public commission of inquiry has shown.

His treatment of the natives of the Congo will live as the most barbarous work of the most inhuman fiend known to history.

If you would want to know Leopold, read the story of the rubber trade on the Congo, published under the title of "Red Rubber," by E. D. Morel.

Leopold got the people of Belgium to put up for him enough money to establish the rubber trade of the Congo.

In fifteen years he obtained for himself a profit to twenty-five million dollars from that trade.

It is, of course, utterly impossible to give the story of the rubber trade of the Congo in one short article; but the following facts will give some idea of what Leopold did to the negroes of the Congo State.

He sent soldiers there to work that industry and to force the negroes to collect the rubber.

When the native failed to deliver the amount of rubber required the soldiers marched on the towns and took a few of the men, women and children, and, as an example to the others, cut off their legs and arms.

Now and then a few natives were shot to serve as a warning to the others.

One missionary, passing a village on the missionary steamer called "The Goodwill," saw some native bodies near the river's edge.

One of the slaughtered natives was a child and the "Christian" soldiers were cutting the bodies to pieces.

Another observer of a similar scene speaks of "the mutilated dead, the mad rushing and the firing of the soldiers and the hasty flight of the poor people hunted from their homes like wild beasts."

An American missionary writes in 1905 the following:

"The dreadful form of rubber collecting has, among other evils, introduced a form of slavery of the worst possible kind.

"No man's time, liberty, property, person, wife or child is his own.

"His position is worse than that of the sheep or goats of the white man.

Even the dreadful horrors of the 'middle passage' are completely put in the shade by deliberate demon-like acts of atrocity."

Another American missionary reports: "I have just returned to Lukunga after visiting our fifteen mission stations.

"The population is decreasing and during the last twenty years has decreased very rapidly.

"The further away from publicity the greater the atrocity."

Still another observer, a Swiss, "If the chief does not bring in the stipulated number of baskets of rubber, the soldiers are sent out and the people are killed without mercy and, as proof, parts of the body are brought to the factory. How often have I watched heads and hands being carried into the factory!"

Still another observer reports that, "if the men bring in rather under the proper amount of rubber the white man falls into a rage and, sizing a rifle from one of the guards, shoots him dead on the spot. I saw long files of men come with their little baskets under their arms, saw them paid their milk-tin full of salt and two yards of calico, saw them trembling with timidity. I have the evidence of a number of men working for us at the present time that said in their town on the Bosombo River numbers of men were killed outright and others have died from having their hands cut off outright and others have died from having their hands cut off because they would not submit to demands."

Well, Theodore has been eleven months in Africa.

He has not said one word about the Congo and now that he returns to civilization he finds his portrait hanging in Leopold's chamber.

I wonder why Leopold chose Roosevelt instead of that other great Republican—Lincoln.

Get Naturalized!

Any day and every day in the year is a fitting time for foreign-born comrades to make a start for citizenship. Every local should canvass its membership and see to it that all qualified persons get their naturalization papers. The National Office has for sale, at ten cents per copy, a booklet entitled "The Law of Naturalization Made Easy to Understand." Thirty-six hundred copies have been sold in less than two months. This booklet is printed in the following languages: English, Bohemian, German, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Hebrew, Hungarian, Polish, Slavonic, Lithuanian, Croatian and Finnish. Ten cents each copy. No reduction for quantities.

FROM THE FIELD OF UNION LABOR

Labor and Politics in Ireland.

DUBLIN, May 1.

In our issue of January we promised to take up at a later date the consideration of this question of how best to organise the political forces of Labour in Ireland. The time has come to retrieve that promise. To all the working class of Ireland—wether organised in the Socialist Party, in the Independent Labour Party, in Land and Labour Associations, in Trade Unions, or howsoever organised, provided they are organised upon the basis of Labour—we respectfully offer the suggestions contained in the following article. They are the ripened fruit of our experience in the Old World and the New, and are dictated by but one aim—to advance the interest and further the emancipation of our class.

We have not any knowledge of any country in which the working class more readily rallies to an appeal to its class feeling than in Ireland. Whilst the knowledge of theoretical Socialism is but meagerly distributed amongst the workers, that feeling or knowledge which the Socialist call class-consciousness is deep-seated, widespread and potent in its influence. A striking manifestation of this fact was evinced in the elections under the Local Government Act of 1899. Previous to the passing of this Act the Irish workers had no vote in municipal elections, with the necessary result that local municipal government was completely in the hands of the Irish capitalistic class, who kept our Irish cities pest-holes of disease and slovenness, and made our Irish slums a hissing and a byword among the cities of Europe. But in that year the aforementioned Act placed the municipal suffrage upon the same basis as the parliamentary. Immediately there sprang into existence all throughout Ireland organisations of workers aiming at wresting the municipal government from the hands of the capitalistic class, and placing it in the hands of the working class. Those organisations were formed under the authority of the various Trades Councils and Land and Labour Associations, and were termed Labour Electoral Associations. They selected the constituencies, wards, to be fought solely according to the working class character of these wards, and with regard to the supposed political views of the other candidates. Loyalist and Home Ruler were equal to them; their standard was the standard of Labour and under that standard the workers rallied. To those of us who were privileged to be in the fight in Ireland in those days the manner in which the Irish working class responded to the appeal made to them in 1899 was a promise and a guarantee for the future which no subsequent happenings can ever efface from the memory. All over the island the candidates of the working class swept to victory—in Dublin, in Cork, in Limerick, down to the smallest agricultural districts, practically every bonafide Labour man showed up well in the balloting, sweeping the old political parties into confusion. Mr. John Redmond, M.P., begged the Irish workers to show their moderation by electing landlords to the various bodies in Ireland in order to show those gentry that they had nothing to fear from Home Rule. The Irish workers laughed to scorn the whipping council of this "half-emancipated slave," and stood by the men of their own class, thus ending for ever the jobbing and grafting of the landed gentry at the expense of the rural population. The upheaval of the Irish workers was magnificent.

But with the victory came demoralisation. We have said that the Irish worker was thoroughly true to his own class, but lacking in Socialist knowledge. This alone offers an explanation of the subsequent set-back to the Labour Cause in Ireland. The men elected all over Ireland had been elected on an independent platform, and all during the election most of them had steadily refused to merge their cause in use any other, and had kept their independence intact and unsullied. The splendid vote they received was the emphatic endorsement by the Irish workers of this political independence of Labour. But as soon as they were elected they forgot, or seemed not to realise, this fact, and instead of forming a distinct and independent party of their own in the various councils they allied themselves to one or other of the factions of the capitalist parties, and became Labour tails of the capitalist political kites. As soon as the shrewd old party politicians—the Tim Harringtons, Councillor Bergins, Alderman Piles—saw that they realised immediately that they could regain their lost supremacy. The honest Irish working man—honest himself and inclined to believe in the honesty of others—was no match for the political tricksters of the capitalist parties. When he found himself flattered and courted, invited to dinners and private gatherings of the Home Rule councillors, plied with drink by his associates and asked to favour them by seconding the resolutions affirming their position on certain debatable matters to come up in the council next day, etc., he did not realize that his genial hosts were destroying his independence, and digging the ground from under him. Yet so it was. The Labour Party was a party only in name; it came to signify only certain men who could be trusted to draw working class support to the side of certain capitalist factions. Unfortunately the only candidate run by the Irish Socialist Party in that year, Mr. E. W. Stewart, the only candidate in the interest of Labour who really understood the political trickery of the capitalists, and the manner in which that trickery would manifest itself, and who by his knowledge and pugnacity might have saved the situation, was defeated in the North Dock Ward by a very small majority.

In the years immediately following that first result of the Irish workers on the field of local government the hopeless incapacity principle of independent political action in which they had been elected, had its natural result in the overwhelming defeat of every candidate who professed to stand on a Labour platform. The Irish capitalists had learned of the real weakness of the Labour movement which had at first so terrified their guilty consciences, and the Irish workers had become disgusted at the poor results shown by the men they had elected. Though they were perhaps not able to frame it in so many words the Irish workers realised that a working man member of a capitalist party is not necessarily any better than a capitalist member of the same party, perhaps not so good; but that a working man who wishes to safeguard the interest of his class must withdraw from all capitalist political af-

iliation, and in deciding how he should vote in any great question should consult, not with the capitalist members of the corporation, but with the committee of the organisations which secured his election.

Now we propose to the toilers of Ireland that it is time to make an effort to retrieve the situation, and to once more raise the banner of a militant Irish Labour Movement upon the political field. The victories once achieved can be more than duplicated, the mistakes once made will serve as beacons of warning for the guidance of our future activities. What were the factors at work in 1899? They were: First, a Labour Electoral Association representing an aroused working class in hot rebellion against its social and political outlawry, but ignorant of the real causes of its subjection; second, a small Socialist Republican Party, not much more than two years old, but militant, enthusiastic and with a thorough knowledge of the causes of social and national slavery. These two factors operated independently—the Socialists at all times supporting the Labour men, the Labour men not always supporting the Socialists.

In the nature of things this could not well have been otherwise at that time. But what are the elements in the Labour movement in Ireland to-day? They are a strong Socialist movement, representing some of the best intellects in Ireland, an independent Socialist feeling and education on Socialist thought in every city of industrial activity in Ireland, and a general feeling of comradeship and sympathy between the trade unions and the Socialists.

THE TIMES ARE RIPE FOR A FORWARD MOVE!

We suggest then the formation of a political party in Ireland which shall be composed of all bodies organised upon the basis of the principle of Labour, that in order to form such a party the Trades and Labour Council of Dublin shall be invited by the Socialists to take the lead in calling a Conference of Labour and Socialist organisations of the capital city, that it be set forth in such call that the purpose is to form a party which shall act and be distinct from all others, and entirely guided by the interests of Labour, and in order to secure and maintain the integrity of such party we also suggest that no one should be eligible for office in this party, or eligible to be considered as one of its candidates for any ward or constituency, unless he or she is a member of an affiliated Labour union. When this has been perfected in Dublin then calls or organisations should be sent to other Irish cities or towns for the purpose of forming similar bodies, and when a sufficient number have been formed then a National Conference should be called in order to formulate a common programme and concerted action. The Irish trade unions, the Land and Labour Associations and the Irish Socialist Party could easily find a common ground of action which would leave each free to pursue its ordinary propaganda, to maintain its own separate existence and to serve itself whilst serving others. Our own hope is to see all Irish economic organisations welded into one great body directing the whole force of Labour in Ireland upon any given point at once, but the initiation of our political union need not wait upon the realisation of our economic or industrial union. It can begin now. Who will achieve the honour of first moving in that direction? Who will bring this dream of so many minds, this hope of so many souls, to the concrete point of a resolution to test the feelings of the bodies interested? We have suggested Dublin first, but it is only a suggestion. It is open to any man anywhere who realises that the field of our hopes and destinies in Ireland is lying crying for the hand of the sower to nerve himself to the task.

"England," said the flamboyant orator of Irish capitalism, "has some dragon's teeth and they have sprung up armed men." Shall we not say that as capitalism has sown poverty, disease and oppression among our Irish race so it will see spring up a crop of working class revolutionists armed with a holy hatred of all its institutions.

If we were asked what would be the attitude of such a party towards Sinn Fein, Home Rule, Parliamentary Parties, etc., we would reply that the attitude of such organisations towards the party would determine its attitude towards them. Such a party, resting upon the working class—which is the only class capable of embracing the whole human race—must necessarily make of itself and its class a touchstone by which all other bodies must be tested. It must grow to the dignity of affirming that Labour is not on trial; it is Civilisation that is on trial—and all the elements of civilisation in Ireland, as elsewhere, must stand or fall as they are true or not to the Cause of Labour.

South Africa's Curse.

Another shipload of Indian Coolies has reached Natal; recently two shiploads were detained in quarantine because about 95 per cent. were suffering from hook-worm disease. As long as Natal was ploughing a lone furrow, the other parts of South Africa could be told not to interfere in any local policy; even when that policy acted as a menace to the other Colonies. Now that Natal has become a partner in the Union it becomes necessary to apply the principles of self preservation. It is a well-known fact, that Natal has very little control over her Coolies; large numbers abandon their employers and are lost sight of. One of the largest estates admitted a loss of 45 per cent., with the further admission that once these left the estates no efforts were made to find them. Numbers of these people are illegally at large, and evidence given before the recent Commission proved that the machinery was quite incompetent to deal with the question. Towards the close of 1906 the Labour Members in Natal conducted an anti-indentured Labour campaign and prov'd beyond all dispute that the country as a whole was opposed to any further immigration of Indians. A motion was then tabled in Parliament to the effect that legislation should be initiated, providing for effective action with a view to securing the speedy abolition of immigration. This motion was deliberately shunted. Undaunted by rebuff the Labour Party introduced a Bill which led to not only a memorable and effective debate, but so forced the hand of the Government that a Commission was appointed. After a most thorough investigation

that Commission held the unanimous opinion that the abolition of the immigration of Indians at the earliest possible moment was desirable and with a view to securing this, recommended

- A more effective organisation of the native labour of which Natal has a great deal, and
- Legislation which should provide for the utilisation of the many thousands of "free," ex-indentured Indians and the descendants of these Indians.

The representatives of the Indian community are opposed to immigration of indentured labour, and maintain that the local supply is far in excess of the demand, and much evidence points in that direction. That planters and others required the labour they had was a mere truism; they were not likely to employ more than they needed, but those who had given the matter the most careful attention maintain that properly utilised the local supply is far more than adequate. After making every allowance and concession to the strongest pro-Coolie employers, less than 20,000 were said to be essential; the N.G.R. employs about 4,000; these, the Commission were told could be dispensed with. Yet there are probably 30,000 indentured persons engaged, with another 100,000 at large, and still they come. At the present rate of increase in another ten years there will be 250,000 Indian Coolies, and their descendants with the right of domicile in the adjoining State creating a problem, not for Natal alone but for the whole of South Africa. The commission were not allowed to enquire into Indian grievances; it was no part of their task to reveal any abuses, or spite of the fact that two planters were on the commission, the report would have sent a thrill of horror through even the most callous South African community. Politically and industrially the Indian Labour movement in Natal is a menace socially, and nationally it is a disgrace. Could the Government of India make an impartial enquiry into the matter, it is fairly certain the last shipment would soon leave India. Meantime, in connection with the question, South Africa should speak.

(The Worker, Johannesburg, South Africa.)

Milwaukee Socialists in Action.

JOHN I. BEGGS WILL BE COMPELLED TO GIVE BETTER STREET CAR SERVICE.

Other Important Reforms Ordered by Socialist Administration.

The Milwaukee Social-Democrats have opened the fight against the Milwaukee street railway company. This company has been most extortionate and reckless of public health and even human life. The Social-Democrats propose to make the company at least give the city decent service, pending the time when Milwaukee can secure home rule, and thus become enabled to own and operate its own street railways.

Accordingly Comrade Victor L. Berger, in the last meeting of the Milwaukee City Council, limbered the guns against the public enemy. He introduced a resolution directing the City Attorney to draw up seven ordinances for the regulation of the Milwaukee railway company.

The first ordinance will provide that all the street cars shall be provided with lifting jacks. Many heart-rending cases have resulted from the absence of these lifting appliances. Little children have been caught under the cars and pinned fast, until the repair car could be sent for and arrive with proper tools for lifting the car from the tracks. In one case, the agonized mother was compelled to stand nearly an hour as a helpless spectator of this terrible scene.

The second ordinance will require cleaner cars. This is a much needed reform, the sanitary condition of the cars being a disgrace to Milwaukee and a menace to the public health.

The third ordinance requires air brakes. At present the Milwaukee street cars are simply murderous, having destroyed one human life every two weeks during the last two years.

Other ordinances provide for more cars and better service.

The resolution also instructed the City Attorney "to investigate the shortage of seats during rush hours" and take proper steps to remedy the evil.

The Social-Democratic council promptly passed this resolution. Thus these crying evils, which have existed under all former capitalist Administrations, are at once overhauled by the Socialist administration. Of course, these measures are not a substitute for municipal ownership, but until Milwaukee's charter gives us a free hand, they are the best relief we can offer to a long-suffering public.

While the slums of Milwaukee are not equal in extent or misery to the poor districts of New York or Chicago, yet some places in the Milwaukee slums are probably as bad as any thing to be found even in New York. Mayor Seidel is considering this problem very seriously. The housing question is one which he is now studying with the help of experts. It is his plan that the city shall acquire vacant land outside the congested districts and erect model houses for the working people. This plan is now being carefully digested with the aid of those who have made the housing problem a study, and in the near future action will be taken along these lines.

Of course, for such improvements as these, funds will be necessary, at least at the start, until the thing can be put on a paying basis. But the Social-Democrats are all the time finding ways to save the city's money. For instance, the Social-Democratic treasurer is now engaged in buying up city bonds which mature in July and which are now paying a good rate of interest. These bonds could and should have been bought up last winter. But the capitalist politicians, although they howled for "economy of the people's money" whenever the Socialists suggested any public improvement or humane measure, nevertheless took no means for really saving the public treasury from exploitation by their own class. Thus the interest on these bonds was not saved until the Socialists themselves got control of the administration.

Another means of saving the public money has been discovered by the Socialist City Attorney. Heretofore banks in Milwaukee have not paid real estate taxes, the claim having been that as the stocks were taxed, the building should be exempt. But since a Socialist lawyer has got at the law books, he is finding some new and useful points in these dismal old volumes. And he has decided that the bank nabobs must pay taxes just like common folks.

All of which throws some light on the question: Where is the money going to come from?

The Social-Democrats for some years have been urging an extension of the University of Wisconsin to Milwaukee. As the University is situated at Madison, many bright young people of the working class in Milwaukee are debarred from a university education by the expense of leaving home, and thus the privileges of a college course are reserved to young people of means only. Comrade Whitnall has devised a plan for enlarging the public library of Milwaukee and installing the university extension in this building. Thus the Socialists are working for democracy in education, as well as political and economic democracy.

These are some of the lines along which the Milwaukee Social-Democrats are starting their work. Here is only a little beginning. But in these embryos may be seen the spirit of the Socialist activity. The welfare of the working class, as far as it may be improved under the present system, is the aim of their efforts. Out of these smaller things, big things will ultimately grow.

E. H. THOMAS, State Secretary.
Milwaukee, Wis., May 16, 1910.

Socialism and Efficiency.

BY F. C. CONSTABLE, M.A., IN LONDON LABOR LEADER.

I propose to consider, shortly, what the effect of a Socialist State would be on Labour and Art. Would Labour be rendered more efficient and higher in form, or the reverse? Would Art benefit so that the beautiful and the true would be more fully manifested in all output of labour, or the reverse? And, herein, I refer to all forms of labour, from the simplest to the most complex.

In the first place, we have the fact that, whatever our social state from that of an absolute monarchy to that of revolutionary anarchism, the great majority of men must engage in labour. Destroy, to-morrow, all forms of competition for personal gain in rank, wealth or power, and still men will engage in labour. They must do this. Why? Because if they do not work to get the means of subsistence they must all die. For the complex organism, man, personal labour is a condition precedent for the continued existence of the organism. The argument that under Socialism men would no longer labour because the spur of personal advantage in competition for rank, wealth or power would be wanting is so unscientific that it requires no reply.

But then the individualist argues: It may be true that, under Socialism, men will continue to labour. But their labour will deteriorate in form and the community sink back into barbarism. For it is the spur of personal competition, the strife of each individual to excel his fellow in rank, wealth and power, which causes the evolution of civilisation: it is to this spur, and this spur alone, that we can refer our constant advance in art, science and literature.

The argument is specious, but I deny the truth. I think, on the contrary, that if we consider the history of man's past we find the evidence against any such argument. The following statement, I submit, approximates more closely to what is the truth:—

When any man is engaged in any form of labour, simple or complex, the less he is subject to the spur of personal competition for the acquirement of rank, wealth or power, the greater is the degree of perfection he attains in the output of his work.

There are "slackers" in all classes of society, but I say that in the average man there is an inherent, instinctive prompting to justify his personality by doing his best whatever the form of labour he is engaged in. Whether this inherent "spur to endeavour" be the result or not of evolution affects in no way the present argument.

Let us consider the facts of human experience which are in point as to this question.

We probably find the highest output of human labour in the discoveries of science; indeed, successive epochs of evolution in civilisation are marked by these discoveries. And when we consider the labour of such men as Galileo, Newton, Faraday, Pasteur or Darwin we find they have been moved only by personal instinctive love of work; by inherent prompting to use their genius in its highest form of manifestation for output of labour. Indeed, not only were they unmoved by personal ambition for rank, wealth or earthly power, but it is apparent that the influence of such ambition, if in being, would have militated against the efficiency of their labour.

What statesmen and politicians personal ambition plays a great part, but I think all must admit that the less any of such men are influenced by personal ambition and the more they are influenced by desire for the welfare of the nation or even humanity at large, the more efficient is their labour—that is, the more surely it ensures for the advance of civilisation. And there is one fact in politics we are apt to ignore: great statesmen and politicians have never originated those supreme measures of legislation for the benefit of civilisation and humanity with which their names are commonly associated. It is the comparatively unknown martyrs of society who have originated these measures; statesmen but stereotype by law what is already written in the blood of men, despised and rejected, who have preceded them. At all stages of history a few men exist who see a little farther ahead than their fellows where the path to liberty and human advance lies. They are despised and rejected, but with their blood and bones they leave behind them paths in the wilderness toward the true goal of humanity. And it is these paths that statesmen make use of.

These martyred forerunners are moved in no way by the spur of personal advantage in rank, wealth or earthly power.

In art, the less men are moved by personal ambition for wealth, rank, or power, the more efficient is their output of labour, the more nearly they manifest the beautiful and the true.

But perhaps the question of most importance for humanity at large is that of ordinary, commonplace labour.

Under our existing competitive system the ordinary workman depends for work on some capitalist who employs him: he has a certainty of work for only one week, and the sole object that he has in working is to obtain money for the bare subsistence of himself and his family. For the overwhelming majority, I think, there is no possibility of "rising in the world"—that is, the spur of competition for personal advantage in rank, wealth or social power does not touch him. Why, then, should he give labour that is efficient? It would appear that, as a reasonable being living under a system of competition, his sole object should be to obtain the highest wages he possible can for the least possible expenditure in labour. If the individualist reply, "It is the duty of the workman to do his best," I would reply: "Don't talk nonsense." If however, the individualist reply that the ordinary workman does do his best, then I agree with him. But why does the workman do his best? Because of an inherent prompting in most of us to do our best, quite apart from any question of economic personal advantage.

The spur of competition for personal advantage in wealth, rank or social power does not now touch the majority of working men; therefore, if, under Socialism, the spur were taken away, this would not make the working man's labour less efficient. But Socialism would increase the efficiency of the labour. For now the working man is handicapped by constant anxiety lest he lose employment, and his interest in his work is confined to the making sure of his weekly wage. Remove this anxiety, make the man's subsistence allowance sure, and then his natural love of work, the prompting inherent in him to justify his personality in doing his best will have free play and his output of labour will be more efficient.

When Lord Roseberry, Lord Curzon and men of like ilk admit that they are less efficient members of society because they are born with possession of rank, wealth and power—that is, because they are not touched by the spur of personal ambition in competition with their fellows of rank, wealth and power—then I will admit that if we place ordinary working men in like economic environments they will also be less efficient members of society. But, until that admission is made, I maintain that the honest man who is will-

ing to work will be rendered a more efficient workman by granting him that certainty of subsistence which Lord Roseberry and Lord Curzon already possess.

OUR PRINCIPLES PLAINLY STATED
Line of Arguments for Socialism.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty. Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner can not dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor powers—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class can not expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grind their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master.

The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built, political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage workers can not be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

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ANTON MAYER HONORED.

Bro. Anton Mayer, the faithful servant of Local Union No. 51, B. I. L., celebrated his 50th birthday last Tuesday, May 18. He was surprised by a delegation of friends and fellow workers who presented to him a splendid present as a token of appreciation for his faithful service in behalf of Organized Labor, and especially in behalf of his colleagues. We congratulate Bro. Mayer and hope that he will live to be 100 years old.

New Subscribers

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The Banner of Labor.

BY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

"Bravery without brains," wrote the late Professor York Powell, "has never saved an animal, much less a nation, from extinction." By a parity of reasoning it can be said with equal truth that Toil without Art has never made a nation rich. A nation may store its coffers to overflowing with gold, cover the earth with its commerce, bedeck its women in silk and pearls, and yet be poverty-stricken. "There is no wealth save Life," was Ruskin's dictum, and who shall gainsay him? For, "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world but lose his soul?" If health and wealth are convertible terms, then the ideal industrial system, like the ideal city, is that which produces the largest number of healthy whole-souled, wellordered human beings.

Congenial work is pleasurable, but the task of the hirling is irksome. All congenial work is ennobling. Freedom to bend one's energies to following one's bent is a real patent to nobility. We hear less in these days than was common half-a-century ago about the "dignity of labour." The phrase was, and is, a mockery when applied to the forced toil of a spiritless set of drudges, and was often used to justify working conditions which were, and are, in themselves degrading and demoralising. No dignity can attach to the doing of work which a man is compelled to do, and in the doing of which he can find no pleasure. That kind of work is degrading and demoralising, and is destructive of character and self-respect. I assert, none the less, that a real dignity attaches to, and grows out of, honest work well done. But it must be work which has been freely undertaken, and not the forced task set by the taskmaster.

The race of the "eident", thrifty, hardworking mother and housewife, who toils early and late for those she loves, acquires a sweet dignity which betimes I could almost worship. The lines of care are often there; often there is a pathos in the eye; Love, and Grief, and Care have all had their share in developing the patient strength which the face reveals. The middle-aged Craftsman has often the same expression, only in more rugged form. When brought into contact with such people one feels a sense of confidence in them and respect for them. Their brain is well balanced, their judgement to be trusted, and their outlook upon life healthy. There is nothing neurotic about them.

But this type is, I fear, becoming rarer. Modern conditions are not favorable to its production. Its presence implies an absence of rush and a fair measure of repose. The brain must be called upon to plan and the hand to execute. If work is to result in the building up of character as well as the production of goods, it must carry with it a sense of responsibility for its performance which will call all of a man's faculties into action. Where this is the case the work becomes interesting, and the worker is not reduced to the level of an automaton.

There must also be free play for individuality. To be compelled to go on always doing the same thing in the same way hour after hour, day after day, year after year, all through the years of a man's life, is an outrage upon manhood. Our work should be an expression of ourselves. Work without art is brutality, says someone. Art, I presume, is the expression, mainly though not entirely of the beautiful. There can be no justification for making ugly or unbeautiful things. Nature never does, why should man. Everything which the worker makes is made for the use of himself and his fellows. Why, then, does he not surround himself with things that are beautiful and real? Why make shoddy instead of cloth? Why build noble, enduring buildings in which to worship God, or store gold, and miserable scamped houses for children to dwell? It is strange, yet true, that the sham is more costly than the real. And yet men go on making and producing shams. Why?

Work then, to sum up, should be pleasurable, because in it a man should find a healthy outlet for his energy in making true, useful and beautiful things, and thus strengthen and develop all his faculties. Tested by any such standard as this, we are able to see the hopeless industrial puddle in which we are now wallow. It is no only that there is little, if any, scope for individuality in work—the machine rules that out—but that the results bring neither security to the worker nor plenty to the home. It is true that wealth, in the Stock Exchange meaning of the term, is increasing at an almost fabulous rate. But, by some strange perversion, the more it grows the more insecure and precarious becomes the position of the worker, the wealth producer.

"Riches without health and security, or the knowledge of how to use them, are merely a danger and a daily reproach to an individual. They are also a danger and a daily reproach when unused, ill-used, or wasted to a nation." There is the disease from which we are suffering. The worker is being sacrificed to the production of wealth; the wealth when produced is acting upon the nation like a poisonous substance in a healthy body. The body politic is full of running sores. Not knowing the cause we are applying all manner of plasters, and dosing the patients with all manner of drugs. The results are not encouraging.

Henry George had a tale about a bull tethered to a stake. The animal had walked round and round the stake unconscious of the fact that each turn put a coil of rope on the stake, and thereby curtailed his already limited freedom. This went on until he had no freedom of movement left; whereupon the bull began to struggle violently and might have killed himself had not the farmer seen his dilemma, and by shoving him round in the opposite direction uncoiled the rope, whereupon all went well. In like manner it is only by undoing the methods by which the disease in the body politic has been produced that wealth can again be restored. For four hundred years our rulers have been pursuing a policy of depriving all save a mere handful of themselves from owning land, and for a century and a half they have been discouraging even the cultivation of land. And so, whilst wealth has been accumulating men have secured by the land robbers and the peasant yeoman turned adrift to beg or steal.

The next move was to dispossess the Artisan class. Machinery and factories did this, and coincident with this and resulting from it came another change of far-reaching importance. The old time craftsman owned what he produced, and found his reward in its sale. Then the workman is hired by a master for so many pence an hour, and the master is the owner of all which the worker produces. Thus the worker, peasant and craftsman alike, has been reduced to a position of dependence upon those who own land and capital, and there we have the root cause of the trouble. The remedy lies in the worker regaining control of the land and the instruments of production. We can never go back to individual ownership of these things, but we can regain the old effective control by collective ownership. That is why the Banner of Labour has Socialism blazoned upon it.

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 |

The city of Milwaukee cannot go on in the future as it has drifted along until now. The city of Milwaukee must accomplish reforms.

The Social-Democratic administration and the Social-Democratic party furnish a bridge for decency in public life and honest progress. The Social-Democratic party offers what we believe is the last chance in this country for a peaceable settlement of great questions and for a lawful transformation of present society.

If Socialists and the Socialist party should fail—on account of reactionary and crooked legal obstacles that put in its way—if the great mass of the people should be convinced that the legal way of betterment of conditions is impossible, that the laws are made for the benefit of thieves, grafters and capitalists exclusively—then the masses will very soon despise all laws and all legality. Then the principle opposite to Socialism, the principle of anarchism, will get the upper hand.

What will be the result?

The result will be that if—

Humpty Dumpty shall continue to sit on the crooked wall,

Humpty Dumpty will have a great fall,

And all the King's horses and the King's men

Will never make Humpty Dumpty whole again.

Again I say, progress and reform for Milwaukee are almost impossible unless we get home rule. All the three parties declared for home rule in their platforms in the last municipal election.

Now, will the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, and the corporate interest that is behind it, oppose home rule in the next legislature?

VICTOR L. BERGER.

J. W. VAN CLEAVE'S WAR ON UNIONS ENDS IN DEATH.

President of Bucks Stove and Range Co. Passes Away as Recovery Seems Near.

HIS ILLNESS TRACED TO BOYCOTT FIGHT.

St. Louis, Monday, May 16. James Wallace Van Cleave, president of the Buck's Stove & Range Company, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, relentless foe of the union labor boycott, and particular Nemesis of Samuel Gompers, died at his home, No. 4209 Morgan street, at 6 o'clock yesterday morning from a heart affection, superinduced by a stomach complaint of long standing.

Mr. Van Cleave was nearly 61 years old. Until six months ago he was in robust health. H. C. Thompson, vice president of the Buck's Stove & Range Company and for thirty years his business associate, said yesterday Mr. Van Cleave's breakdown could be traced to his war with the labor unions.

Mr. Van Cleave attracted international attention and became a power to contend with in both of the large political parties in national conventions by reason of his uncompromising attitude to-

When the Buck's Stove and Range Company, of which he was president, was boycotted, following a dispute with a local union, he obtained an injunction against Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; John Mitchell, formerly president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L.

The injunction was ignored and the three labor officials were sentenced to jail for contempt of the Federal Court of the District of Columbia. An Appellate court sustained the sentence and appeal was then taken to Supreme Court of the United States, where the cause is pending.

St. Louis Republic.

SOCIALIST WARD CLUB PICNIC.

The annual picnic of the 9th and 10th Ward Clubs Socialist Party will be given Sunday, May 29, at Risch's Grove, Lemay Ferry Road and Bayles avenue.

A good program will be prepared and all who will take part are assured of a good time.

ANNUAL SUMMER FESTIVAL OF ST. LOUIS SOCIALISTS.

Sunday, June 12, the annual summer festival and picnic of the St. Louis Socialists will be given at Risch's Grove in Luxemburg. Particulars later.

ST. LOUIS CAMPAIGN FUND.

Franz Muehlbauer's list No 12:—

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| F. Muehlbauer..... | \$.50 |
| A. Weiffenbach..... | .50 |
| W. Maier..... | .50 |
| H. Willmesmeyer..... | .50 |
| M. Howard..... | .50 |
| C. From..... | .50 |
| Carl Butz..... | .50 |
| F. Blust..... | .25 |
| J. Lenz..... | .25 |
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| C. Lienhard..... | .50 |
| T. B..... | .25 |
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| J. Luetzl..... | .50 |
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| C. Kiesmueller..... | .25 |
| J. Kannapel, Jr..... | .25 |
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| J. Renner..... | .25 |
| Adam Erk..... | .50 |
| R. Repmann..... | .25 |
| M. Brunhofer..... | .25 |
| L. Krahl..... | .25 |
| Fred Eder..... | .50 |
| Collection nominating mtg. | 3.56 |
| Total for week..... | \$19.56 |
| Previously reported..... | 138.31 |
| | \$157.87 |

Total for week.....\$19.56
Previously reported.....138.31

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Don't overlook the new subs; that is the most important part of the work. Our two weeks job of moving has interfered to some extent, but that is now over; every sub hustler must get back on the job with renewed energy. We are going to have a house warming soon and it would be a good idea for each visitor to bring in a new subscription as a contribution to the cause.

Eug. V. Debs on Labor Press.

BUILDING OF LABOR PRESS AND THE PIONEER AGITATION.

Eugene V. Debs in Terre Haute Clarion.

Slowly but surely the working class is building up a press of its own. The task is a stupendous one, but it is certain to be accomplished in the end.

A labor press is absolutely essential to the labor movement. Without a press of its own, organized labor is always beaten before the battle begins.

This is an age of ideas and therefore an age of literature and the workers cannot hope to successfully wage their warfare for economic freedom without educating their class along right lines, and at the same time enlightening the public in general as to the true meaning and mission of the labor movement.

When I speak of a labor press I have reference to papers, magazines, and periodicals that are the true exponent and actual representatives of the working class and under all circumstances loyal and devoted to the interest of that class. I do not mean the many alleged labor papers run by ward-heeling politicians, who wear the badge of union labor that they may traffic in the confidence of their deluded followers; such miserable mercenaries have been all too numerous and have shown themselves to be a disgrace to the real labor press and a curse to the labor movement.

It is a spectacle to excite both pity and contempt to see a paper calling itself a "labor paper," with an editor calling himself a "union man," doing the dirty work of first one set and then another set of capitalist politicians, for a consideration so paltry as to almost defy belief. The labor movement must shake of all such barnacles and give itself wholly and energetically to the task of building up a press based upon working class interests and edited and managed with strict fidelity to that class.

A paper worthy to be called a labor paper must be honest, fearless and uncompromising, and it must also be edited and directed with clearness and discrimination. These essentials in combination will give a paper character, inspire confidence, and enlist support, without which, success is out of the question.

The real labor paper is bound to champion all the interests of the working class, support labor in all its struggles, and steadily point the way to victory. It must show the workers, and never tire of showing them, that their interests are identical that they must cease to be divided, and that they must act together in unity to fulfill their mission and achieve their emancipation. It must stand for, not only shorter hours, larger wages, and better working conditions, but for complete working class solidarity, both economic and political, as a means of abolishing the wage-system and making the workers themselves the owners of the tools they work with and the masters of their own destiny.

No real labor paper of this day can fail to stand for the overthrow of the wage-system and the industrial emancipation of the workers.

It is along this line that the labor press now building will fight the way to victory for the workers of the world.

PIONEER AGITATION.

Oh, how many there were, whose names are forgotten, who suffered untold agonies to lay the foundation of the labor movement, of whose real mission they had but the vaguest conception!

These pioneers of progress paved the way for us, and deserve far more at our hands than we have in our power to do for them. We must at best rescue their nameless memory from the darkness of oblivion, and this we undertake to do with the liveliest sense of obligation for the service they rendered, and the sacrifices they made in the early and trying stages of the struggle to improve the condition and advance the welfare of their fellow-toilers.

The writer has met and known some of these untitled agitators of the early days, whose hearts were set on organizing their class, or at least, their branch of it, and who had the courage to undertake the task and accept all the bitter consequence it imposed.

The union men of today have little or no conception of what the pioneer unionist had to contend with when they first started forth on their mission of organization. The organizer of the present time has to face difficulties enough, it is true, but as a rule the road has at least been broken for his approaching footsteps; the union has already been organized and a committee meets him at the station to escort him to the hotel.

Far different was it with the pioneer who left home without "scrip in his purse," whose chief stock consisted in his ability to screw his courage to the "sticking point" and whom privation and hardship only consecrated more completely to his self-appointed martyrdom.

Starting out, more than likely, after having been discharged for organizing a local union of his craft, or for serving on a committee, or interceding for a fellow, or "talking back" to the boss, or any other of the numerous acts which mark the conduct of the manly worker, distinguishing him from his weak and fawning brother and bringing upon him the reprobation of his master—starting out to organize his fellow-workers, that they might fare better than fell to his lot, he faced the world without a friend to bid him welcome, or cheer him onward. Having no money for railroad fare he must beat his way, but such a slight inconvenience does not deter him an instant. Reaching his destination he brushes up as well as his scanty toilet will allow and then proceeds with due caution to look up "the boys," carefully to elude the vigilance of the boss, who has no earthly use for a worthless labor agitator.

We shall not attempt to follow our pioneer through all his tortuous windings, nor have we space to more than hint at the story of his cruel persecution and pathetic end.

Our pioneer, leaving home, in many an instance, never saw wife and child again. Repulsed by the very men he was hungering to serve, penniless, deserted, neglected and alone, he became "the poor wanderer of a stormy day," and ended his career a nameless outcast. Whatever his frailties and faults they were virtues all, for the marked the generous heart, the sympathetic soul who loves his brother, and accepts for himself the bitter portion of suffering and shame that he may serve his fellow-man.

The labor agitator of the early day held no office, had no title, drew no salary, saw no footlights, heard no applause, never saw his name in print, and fills an unknown grave.

The labor movement is his monument, and though his name is not inscribed upon it, his soul is in it, and with it marches on forever.

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ONE-SIDED FAIRNESS.

The Business Men's League of St. Louis has joined with the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in a recommendation that Congress increase the second-class mail rate "to cover the cost of carriage on weekly and monthly periodicals, provided that the cost of carrying newspapers be not increased."

Why is the solicitude of our business men for postal deficits limited to weekly and monthly publications? Is it purely business policy to make the magazines pay their way and let newspapers create a postal deficit? We call to mind that it is the weekly and monthly periodicals who are exposing the business corruption and infamous methods on the "get-rich-quick" highways of commerce and can easily understand why some of our captains of finance should want the Government to drive them out of business with a prohibitive postal rate, but as the Business Men's League is supposed to represent the legitimate business interests of the city, we cannot understand their desire to place a destructive burden upon publications of large circulation.

We protest against the increase of either magazine or newspaper rate of postage because we regard them as the greatest popular educational medium extant. The low second-class mail rate gives the people instructive and entertaining reading at small cost and makes it possible for all the people to keep informed as to the extent that plutocracy is encroaching upon their liberties and rights.

The people can better afford a postal deficit than ship subsidies,
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