

Workingmen  
of all  
Countries, Unite

# LABOR.

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

SIXTEEN PAGES:

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VOL. IV.

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NO. 143.

## IS LIBERTY DEAD!

### THE PEOPLE VS. MILITARY DESPOTISM IN COLORADO!

Never in the history of the United States of America have the rights of citizens been so ruthlessly torn and trampled, as during the last few weeks in Cripple Creek District, Colorado.

Innocent men have been arrested without warrant! held without charge! confined for weeks in a bull-pen! and denied the writ of Habeas Corpus! The civil process of law is ignored! Women and children terrorized, and threatened with imprisonment! The freedom of press and speech is throttled!

These terrible outrages are but chapters in the dark and subtle conspiracy to defeat the will of the people of this State, where a majority of forty thousand electors declared for an eight-hour law for persons employed in mines, mills, smelters, reduction works and blast furnaces.

To prove that a conspiracy exists, it is only necessary to say that the military is rented to the Mine Operators, 1500 armed men hired out like convicts, to shoot down the strikers if need be, anything to break the strike.

General Chase says: "The militia will remain in Cripple Creek until Unionism is wiped out."

General Bell says: "Only the Lord and the military powers know what our next move will be."

Judge Advocate McClelland says: "To hell with the Constitution; we are not following the Constitution."

Gov. Peabody, when presented with a petition signed by 3,000 citizens, asking that the troops be recalled, brutally replied: "The soldiers will stay in Cripple Creek until the strike is broken."

Frank Woods, Manager of The Gold Coin Mine, told his employees they must sever their affiliation with the Western Federation of miners or be discharged. Every man quit rather than violate his obligation.

The striking Miners, Mill and Smeltersmen of Colorado are standing firm and determined for an eight-hour day and the right to organize and to prevent discrimination.

No man with a drop of red blood in his veins will go to Cripple Creek as a strike-breaker, and work under rifles, bayonets and gatling guns.

Workingmen, be true to yourselves; stay away from Colorado, and thus help win a victory for Justice and Humanity.

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS DENVER, COLO.

*Charles Moyer*

PRESIDENT.

*W. D. Haywood*

SECY-TREAS.

Comrade **LABOR!** It is Our Most Effective Weapon.



# Lessons in Scientific Socialism.

FOR SOCIALIST STUDENTS.

## THE PROLETARIAT.

By Karl Kautzky.

### DOWNFALL OF THE SMALL PRODUCER.

Socialism maintains that:

1. The economic development of the capitalist social system leads with the certainty of doom to the downfall of small production, whose foundation is the private ownership by the worker in his means of production—machinery, tools, land, etc.; it divorces the worker from his means of production and transforms him into a propertiless proletarian, while the means of production themselves become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and landlords.

2. Hand in hand with the monopolization of the means of production proceeds the crowding away of the disjointed small industries by colossal concerns, the development of the tool into a machine, and the gigantic increase in the productive capacity of human labor. But all the advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and landlords. To the proletariat and the sinking middle classes—artisans, small farmers, etc.—it means only greater uncertainty of livelihood, and increase of misery, oppression, vassalage, degradation and exploitation.

3. The number of the proletariat grows larger and larger; the army of superfluous workers swells ever more and more; the contrast between exploiters and exploited grows ever sharper; and ever bittered grows the class struggle between capitalists and proletarians, which divides modern society into two hostile armies, and is distinguishing characteristic of all industrial countries.

4. The chasm between the property holders and the propertiless is further widened by the crises which are inherent in the capitalist system of production, which spread over an ever-increasing area and become every more destructive, which raise the popular uncertainty in the earning of a livelihood into a normal condition of society, and which furnish proof positive that the productive powers of modern society have grown over its head, and that the system of private ownership of the means of production has become irreconcilable with the adequate application and complete development of these productive forces.

Many a fellow imagines he has said something clever when, in opposition to this, he declares: "There is nothing new under the sun; as things are today, so have they even been, and so will they ever be." Yet is there no more mistaken and foolish assertion than this. Modern science has proved that nothing is at a standstill; society, like nature, undergoes a steady development.

Production, whether in agricultural or industrial pursuits, starts with the labor of the individual alone, or of individual families. The productivity of such efforts is slight. So long as this stage lasts industry is carried on upon a small scale. At this stage, at the stage of small production, the product depends wholly upon the laborer, upon his personality, his diligence, his powers of endurance. As a result of this, he appropriates his own product as his personal property. But this individuality in production can not be developed by the laborer unless he is personally free and can freely dispose of his means of production; in other words, unless these means of production are his private property. Private property in the means of production is the basis of small production.

Now, it is this very ownership by the small producers in their means of production that the economic development of capitalism destroys, and thereby it abolishes the system of small production and the small producers themselves.

The stages by which this development takes place are at first imperceptible, until the stages of factory and finally of the factory itself are reached. In this development machinery plays a gigantic role. By its introduction the capitalist system was finally placed in possession of a weapon which enabled it to overcome easily all opposition, and turned the course of economic development into a triumphal march for capital. This march was further accelerated by the invention of the steam power, which by degrees conquered all the industrial nations of the world. The productivity of labor was thereby multiplied many thousandfold. Communication and transportation were in their turn revolutionized. Prices tumbled down in proportion as merchandise became more plentiful; and in proportion as this process went and still goes on small production, and with it the small producer, went, and is going, by the board. To attempt to compete with production on a large scale, propelled by steam and electricity, is an act of despair on the part of the small farmer or city industrialist; neither can produce as plentifully, hence as cheaply, as the perfected factory or large farm; their prices must be higher than the market can afford, and their downfall is but a question of time. That there should still be as many small farmers and industrialists as there are to-day is simply an evidence of the capacity of man for starvation.

The complete disappearance of small production is, however, not the first act of a tragedy that may be entitled "The Downfall of Small Production." The first effect of capitalist competition is that the artisan—and what is said of him holds good at all points of the small farmer—begins to throw into the beach, one after another, all the savings of his own industry, together with such as may have come down to him from previous generations. The small fellow grows poor; to stem his decline he becomes more industrious; the hours of labor are lengthened, and drawn deep into the night; wife and children are dragged into the vortex; yet despite all this, and notwithstanding the extreme lengthening of the hours of labor and the feverish activity that affords him neither pause nor rest, the quantity of food he consumes becomes steadily less, and the expense for household and clothing suffer ever increasing retrenchment. There is no existence more miserable than that of the small farmer or small industrial producer who is endeavoring to hold his own in competition with a large agricultural or industrial producer.

There is no little truth in the saying that the wage-earner of to-day is better off than the small farmer or the small industrial producer. Those who most frequently use this phrase mean to imply thereby that the wage-worker has no reason to complain. This statement is, however, a boomerang that hits, not the Socialists, but the advocates of capitalism. If, indeed, those who are wholly propertiless are better off than those small producers who still have some property left, of what use can property be said to be to the latter? If the artisan and the small farmer stick to their small production, although they could earn more in the factory as wage-workers, simply because they still retain some property, it is evident that their property hurts rather than benefits them. To the small producers, whether agricultural or industrial, his property has been

transformed from a shield against into a bond that fetters him to misery. To him the effect of private ownership in the means of production has changed character; that which a hundred years ago was a blessing to his class has now become a curse.

But, it may be objected, this misery is the price which the small agricultural or industrial producer pays for the greater degree of independence which he enjoys over the wage-worker, who is wholly propertiless. Even this is false! Wherever small production is forced into competition with large production, the former sinks quickly into complete dependence upon the latter. The artisan becomes an appendage to the establishment of the capitalists; his home becomes an outhouse of the factory, or he sinks still lower. And as to the small farmer, to whom it is impossible to stand up against capitalist competition as farmer, he is forced either to take up some industrial pursuit in his home as the employe of capital, or he is bound to hire out either himself or members of his family as wage-workers to the large farmer. What has become of the independence of these? Their little property is the only thing that distinguishes them from the proletarian, and it is this very property that prevents them from taking advantage of the best opportunities to labor; it rivets them to their own threshold, with the effect of making them more dependent than the wage-workers who are wholly propertiless. Observation shows that private ownership in the means of production not only increases the physical misery, but also the dependence of the small holder. The effect of these small holdings has wholly changed character; before the day of large production these small holdings were a bulwark of freedom; to-day they are a means of slavery.

Another contention is that such small holdings vest in the producing small farmer or artisan the product of his labor. When this is true it is but a trifling consolation, considering that the declining prices brought on by large production render the product of these small producers insufficient for their domestic needs. But even this consolation is mainly illusory. It does not hold good in most cases; for instance, it is wholly false in the cases of those who are in debt. The usurer who has a mortgage on a farm has a stronger claim upon the labor of the farmer than the farmer himself. The usurer must be first satisfied, only what is left falls to the farmer; whether this remainder suffices to support the farmer and his family does not concern the usurer. Accordingly, the small agricultural and industrial producers work as absolutely for the capitalist as does the wage-worker. The only difference established between them by the private property of the former is that the wages of the propertiless workmen is, in general, controlled by their needs, while in the case of the small property holders, there is no limit downward; it frequently happens that interest on mortgages will absorb the whole product of the labor of the small holder. In that case he has worked for nothing and paid his own expenses to boot—all this, thanks to his ownership of a little property!

What can be the result of this painful wrestling of the small with the gigantic power of the large producer? What future is there in store for the small agricultural and industrial producer as a reward for his thrift and his industry, and of his having dragged his wife and children with him into slavery at the cost of their physical and mental ruin? The reward for all this is bankruptcy, their final divorce from all means of production, their downfall into the class of the proletariat.

This is the inevitable result of the economic development in modern society, a result that is as inevitable as death itself. The same as death appears as a deliverer to him who is afflicted with a painful disease, so bankruptcy, too, often present itself as a deliverer to him who was bo-

down by the burden of small property. Such is the degradation and misery of the small producers that it is doubtful whether it is not less charitable to keep them up in their present condition, and thereby defer the day of their final downfall into the class of the proletariat than actually to hasten the process. Because, let it be remembered it can only be a question of deferring their final downfall; to reinstate the small producer in his pristine vigor is simply impossible in these days of steam and electricity.

This is a bitter truth to those who are interested in the upholding of the present social system, because the small farmer and the small city producer are recognized as the main props of the present system of private ownership in the means of production. For this reason the exploiting class is beating about for panaceas to save the small producers. The woods are full of quacks ready with specific for absolute cure. In most cases these specific are old. They have all shown their uselessness or their harmfulness. At best they can be useful only to a favored few, who may thereby be enabled to drop their small production, and swing themselves up into the category of large producers, i. e., capitalists—at the expense, of course, of their less favored comrades, out of whose class they have raised themselves.

All the "social reforms," all the schemes to save the small farmer and small producer generally, may be compared, in so far as they are at all effective, with a lottery: a few may make a hit, but the large majority draw only blanks, and must foot not only the bills of the happy few who draw the prizes, but also of the whole scheme. If a poor devil who holds in his pocket a lottery ticket, were to imagine himself rich because of it, he would be considered a fool. And yet this is exactly the mental condition of but too many small agricultural and industrial producers. They imagine they are that which they would like to be; not what they are in fact. They carry themselves as capitalists, yet are they not a whit better off than proletarians.

Present or prospective proletarianism is the lot of the masses of our people, if the capitalist system of production is to remain in force. Freedom can not be conquered or reconquered without the national, collective, ownership of the means of production; without, in a word, the co-operative commonwealth.

### SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

There are undoubtedly many Socialists living in places where there are no local organizations, who would like to have a speaker visit their localities, but are unable to assume the financial responsibility attached to the undertaking. If every such Socialist reading these lines will send his name and address to the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., and state what he or she can do in the way of entertainment, arranging and advertising a meeting, guarantee toward the expenses of speaker, how much notice of speakers coming would be needed, etc., the names will be filed and attention given to the application as soon as possible. Of course it is understood that the national office does not guarantee a speaker immediately for every locality, but the best efforts will be made to satisfy the demand. We want to see every militant Socialist a member of the party. Address the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

If you buy the product of other men you better your own condition. When you buy the product of other men you buy the product of other men. Do you smoke union cigars? Do you get shaved in a union barber? Do you get bread, clothes, shoes, etc., by union bread, clothes, shoes, etc.? Do you get the names appearing thereon. Do you reduced so that one could remember having union-made goods when you purchase the unfair list would soon be on file.

If one wants a thing and asks for thing else it reminds us of the ngman on election day.



# PROFITABLE CHARITY

FROM THE WORKER

Superintendent Jenkins of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children made his report to the Board of Directors the other day for the months of May, June, July, August, and September. Here is one item from the balance-sheet he presented:

Children relieved and sent to homes and institutions.....3.811

Is not that a fearful enough indictment of our capitalist system, that in one city during five months—and those the easiest of the year, the ones in which the lot of the poor is most endurable—positive destitution and misery should reach such proportions that over three thousand eight hundred children should be handed over through one society alone to the cold hands of charity?

And if you would know what becomes of the little victims, read this New York "Times" dispatch, which appeared without comment the same week:

## "IMPORTING BOYS FROM NEW YORK.

"CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 10.—For years the glass factories of Fostoria have had trouble getting enough boys to work for them. Recently the proprietors tried the experiment of importing a score of lads from an orphan's home of New York City. The scheme seems practical, and arrangements will be made to get several hundred of these boys. A large building is to be erected that will be run as a hotel, and the lads will be housed there in proximity to the works."

The poverty of Ohio workingmen, it seems does not furnish enough helpless orphans to supply the demand of Ohio capitalists for cheap labor to grind out profits for them and help keep wages down and intensify poverty, so the charitable societies of New York are engaging in a veritable slave-trade for their benefit.

What work in the glass factories means, as those factories are run today, even for men—the long hours, the "rushing," the intense heat and then the going out, drenched with sweat, into the cooler air, the alternating of day and night shifts with its consequences of broken rest and lowered vitality—all this is well enough known. Consumption, bronchitis, asthma, rheumatism, and chronic insomnia are among the penalties that the glass workers pay for the prosperity of the glass capitalists. And for the sending of the most unfortunate children of our class from the hell of the city streets into this yet worse hell of the glass factories, we are expected to be grateful to our business-like philanthropists.

Is it not high time that the working class ceased bowing down to these men that trade in our flesh and blood under the cloak of charity, that we hurled them from their high places and used our own power and our own intelligence for our own salvation? Or are we to go on forever, permitting them to make paupers of those who create their fortunes and then thanking them for making slaves of the children of those they have pauperized?

## THE CANAL QUESTION.

We are asked by several readers to advise whether Social Democrats in the state of New York should vote for or against the proposed expenditure of \$101,000,000 in enlarging the Erie Canal. The party as such has made no decision on this question, but we have little hesitation in advising that our readers vote for the measure, since it is submitted to them.

We quite understand that the enlargement of the canal, even though it is a public property, is not a great issue for the working class. We quite understand that, so long as the government of the state is left in the hands of the capitalist class through its Republican and Democratic agents, the working class is not going to be freed from wage-slavery nor its condition materially improved by the extension of the public functions.

But we are calling on the workingmen to use their votes to take the control of the state out of the hands of the capitalists by voting for a Social Democratic legislature and judges and local officers on November 3. Consistently with that advice, we advise that they vote to enlarge the canal, to improve by so much the industrial plant of the state and nation and especially that part of it which already belongs to the state that we call upon the working class to capture. The fact that Senator Depew of the New York Central is opposed to the proposition is, by itself, a good reason for workingmen to vote for it.

In some quarters the objections are raised that, in the present state of affairs, the voting of such an appropriation will give unlimited "graft" to capitalists and politicians, and that the work will be done by badly paid and overworked laborers and mechanics, to the great profit of the contractors. Certainly it will, if the workingmen, voting for the canal, vote also for one or the other of the two parties that support capitalism, with all its ramifications of "graft," large and small. But that is not a reason for voting against public improvements. It is a reason for voting to put the public powers into the hands of the one party of the working class—the Social Democratic Party, which pledges itself against profits for contractors, against profits for any non-producers, and for the reduction of working hours in proportion to the increased productive power of labor, for the right and duty of every man to work, and for the payment to the workers of the full value their labor creates.

The way to prevent "graft" and scab conditions on the canal is not to vote against the canal, but to vote for the Arm and Torch.

—Socialists of New York City, a dollar put in the hands of the Campaign Committee NOW will do more to help in the campaign than two dollars a month from now. Send your contributions at once to C. A. Spenger, Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street.

# NATIONAL PLATFORM

—OF THE—

Socialist Party of the United States.

The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means and production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists, and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. This once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole race is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by

constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the proper tied classes.

## IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the state of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication, and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

## The Bartenders' Protective and Benevolent League,

NO. 51, A. F. of L.

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

W. EDWARD HORNE, Secretary and Business Agent, Imperial Building, 918 Pine St.

KINLOCH B-1990.

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

STRICTLY UNION.

Telephone Bell, Sidney No. 810.

## Concordia Turner Hall,

Thirtieth and Arsenal Streets.

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

Bar Supplied With Finest WINES, LIQUORS AND CIGARS

I. J. BAUER, Manager.



**HAVERHILL CAMPAIGN FUND.**

**Comrades, Assist Our Party in Massachusetts.**

Formerly received .....	\$10 00
A. Blaettler .....	5 00
Louis Kober .....	1 00
H. Slickerman .....	1 00
W. Bellmare .....	1 00
Tenth Ward Branch .....	3 00
W. Rochling .....	1 00
Karl Kilwinski .....	50
C. Chally .....	1 00
Martin Langer (Washington D. C.) .....	50
Mich Lerch (Dardanelle, Ark.) ..	25
Wm. Liebe .....	25
S. Schmoll .....	1 00
Cash .....	1 00
Frank Bruner (Kidd, Ill.) .....	1 00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$27 50</b>

**GROSS' PARK PICNIC REPORT.**

**As Submitted by the Festival Committee.**

Advertising union label (Cigar Makers' union) .....	\$ 25 00
Donation for raffle prizes by picnic committee .....	2 25
Donation for raffle prizes by Struckhoff family .....	5 00
Proceeds of bowling alley .....	45 55
Proceeds of ball-pitching game ..	9 30
Gate receipts (admission) .....	78 00
Flowers sold .....	90
Proceeds of lunch stand .....	26 20
Proceeds of literature stand .....	6 50
Proceeds of machine raffle .....	59 25
Proceeds of (Socialist Women club) raffle .....	99 20
Proceeds of bar .....	263 55
Proceeds of advance sale of tickets .....	136 90
<b>Total receipts .....</b>	<b>\$757 60</b>
<b>EXPENDITURES.</b>	
300 cigars .....	\$ 9 00
Printing bill .....	41 25
E. V. Debs, speaker's expense ..	25 00
Soda water .....	10 20
Music .....	39 00
Rent of Gross' park .....	20 00
Beer \$60 and ice 75c .....	60 75
Refunded to Arbeiter Zeitung and LABOR adv. for machine .....	14 00
Advertising (Labor and Arbeiter Zeitung) .....	20 00
Drayage \$3.54, postage \$1.63 .....	5 17
Articles for raffle .....	7 25
Children's prizes .....	4 10
Miscellaneous .....	5 60
<b>Total expense .....</b>	<b>\$261 32</b>
<b>Net proceeds .....</b>	<b>\$496 28</b>
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$757 60</b>
Turned over to Arbeiter Zeitung .....	\$248 14
Turned over to St. Louis LABOR .....	248 14
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$496 28</b>
Audited by	
W. E. ECKART.	
PHIL. H. MUELLER.	

**SOCIALIST PARTY OF MISSOURI.**

**An Appeal to the Socialists Throughout the State.**

Liberal, Mo., Oct. 12, 1903.  
Comrades—The question of organizing the state for the Socialist Party has been carefully weighed by the quorum and myself. My term of office will terminate January 1, and another will take my place. With the present resources of the party, salary for the secretary can not be thought of. And to pay an organizer to go over the state is out of the question. I am willing to serve until my term ends, without pay, and furnish typewriter and office, but no longer. We may be able to have one or more agitators visit

all the clubs in the state that are willing to pay their part of the expenses during the months of November and December. They can go to such new places as can pay the expenses. To carry out this programme will leave the party on January 1 with from 60 to 80 clubs and about \$150 in cash on hand. This will be a gain both in membership and cash since my term begun about three to one. This is not so bad, yet we should have done much better.

The question before us is, what have we in the future we must do? The state convention is to be held—the expenses paid. Candidates named. Petitions circulated to get on the official ballot. Speaker's routes must be arranged and speakers furnished. All this and much more must be attended to from state headquarters. Hence we must have a secretary who will give his or her entire time to the party. To be efficient, this person must have no other task. For this they must be paid. But few, if any, realize the work attached to this office. I did not before I accepted the place. All this must be paid by the members of the party. If capitalism is to be dethroned, it must be done by the working class. We have no Moses to lead us—I hope we need none. Three months will soon pass, and time must not be wasted. One must not wait for another. Every Socialist who knows of five or more Socialists should try to organize a club. Send to me for the material. I can aid you, but without your aid I am useless to the party.

My letter of September 6 has caused a movement among the clubs for organization which will result in good. The party seems now to be freed from political grafters and cow traders. So also has the disposition to sidetrack with "Reforms" disappeared. The public ownership, union labor and other capitalistic side-shows are no more. I trust from this on we will have one purpose only in view, and that to drive capitalism from the earth. We need have no secrets, offer no quarters, tolerate no thought of compromise, or recognize no offer of fusion with any party, but drive straight ahead. Let each comrade be inspired with an ideal of the co-operative commonwealth. So long as capitalism is in the saddle we must have cruel wars and suicides, robberies, thefts and debauchery, prostitution, murder and riot strikes, boycotts and lockouts. As the sun of Socialism comes in view these horrors will disappear, as does the morning dew before the brilliant sun. The reward is worth our effort. Will your club shirk, or will each member and every Socialist work day and night for this glorious reward?

With kindest regards for you all, I am, fraternally,

CALEB LIPSCOMB,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

The First Ward Banner branch held a successful eucher party at Schulte's hall, last Saturday evening.

**A New Local in St. Louis County.**

Friday, October 23, at 8 p. m., a small body of men met at Comrade Powell's house, 3308 Commonwealth avenue, Greenwood, for the purpose of organizing the fifth Socialist local in St. Louis county. Formalities were laid aside and a general discussion of the subject entered into. Questions were freely asked and as freely answered. The Kirkwood comrades succeeded in showing the prospective members the necessity of united concerted action, which resulted in a local of seven members.

J. C. Burton, Cambridge avenue, Maplewood, was elected recording secretary, and John Keegan, 7566 Comfort avenue, Maplewood, organizer.

Wednesday, October 4, is the date of next meeting place, 3308 Commonwealth avenue.

The comrades are very enthusiastic, as their field of operation is a very fertile one. Maplewood being settled almost entirely by workingmen, the prospects of building up a large local are very bright.

If you live in that neighborhood and are in sympathy with the movement, you are invited to attend next meeting.

J. H. SENTENNE,  
Organizer Local Kirkwood.

The St. Louis Tenth Ward club is doing excellent work. The club met last Thursday evening at southwest Turner hall, and listened to the report of its central agitation committee. One dollar was donated for the national propaganda fund and \$3 to the Haverhill campaign fund. It was decided to meet in public meeting every third Thursday, at southwest Turner hall, to arrange for lectures and make the meetings interesting. The meetings will open at 7:30 o'clock. The club has now about sixty members. A full report of the ward agitation committee, signed by Comrades Ruesche, Cody and Hansermann, will be published in next week's issue of LABOR.

Five hundred copies of last week's LABOR went to Haverhill, Mass.

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- Neuhoff, butcher, Newstead & Kennerly ave.
- Seifried pork house and meat shop.
- Eichschlag, butcher, 1209 Chouteau ave.

Workingmen of this country have been very liberal with the American heiresses who have married titled profligates from foreign countries. The product, from the value of which the price of these titles were paid, was furnished by these workers, whose wives and children received insufficient food, shelter and clothing.

**Socialist Party of Missouri.**

**NOTICE OF NOMINATIONS.**

Liberal, Mo., Oct. 12, 1903.

To All Members of the Socialist Party of Missouri:

You are hereby notified that the term of office of Geo. H. Turner, national committeeman from this state, and Caleb Lipscomb, secretary-treasurer, will expire on the last day of December of this year.

It is my duty to notify you to make nominations, so as to have them in my hands by November 10, 1903. I refer you to Article 10 of the constitution, as to eligibility, and if your club is not in good standing, please arrange to have it so, and take a part in this election. The term of office will begin January 1, 1904, and end on the last day of December following. In order to obviate confusion, I will here state that I will not be a candidate for reelection. You will also observe by the constitution that it is the duty of the party in each congressional district to elect a congressional representative, as

all terms expire at the close of the year. Fraternally,  
CALEB LIPSCOMB, Sec.-Treas.

Socialism means an industrial government under majority rule.

**Our Duties Towards the Socialist Press.**

Every comrade, every advocate of Socialism and every supporter of the general labor movement should at once take hold of the task of introducing our new 16-page LABOR to their fellow workers. Men and women, boys and girls, can all contribute their efforts. The best results will be obtained by personal solicitation. Come to the office, or send for as many copies at two cents per copy as you can afford, and canvas your fellow working men and women for subscriptions. Don't be disappointed if you approach many who will refuse to subscribe the first time you mention LABOR to them. Leave a copy with them anyway, with a promise to return within a week, and if you don't secure their subscription then remember that you have helped the cause by introducing LABOR to a stranger. Don't forget this "stranger" and try him again next month with another copy. Another plan which some comrades have adopted is to pay for sending LABOR to a list of their fellow workers and friends for one month through the mail and have comrades from the office call on them to solicit their subscription. Try either one of these two plans and keep as large a list going as you can afford. Let us make a supreme effort and a united pull to push LABOR up to a position of influence from which it will be of great service and a great power to the working class in its coming critical struggle against organized capitalism, in the trade union battles as well as the political battles of the wage earners against capitalism.

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LABOR.

Our Local Socialist Press the Thermometer of Our Local Socialist Movement.

The number of Socialist Party votes in the presidential campaign on Tuesday, November 8, 1904, can be approximately given not later than October 31, 1904, by counting the number of names that will appear by that time on the subscription books of LABOR and of our German organ, ARBEITERZEITUNG.

A comrade writes us from Indianapolis: "Election is over. Socialist vote insignificant. What is the cause of it? We have no Socialist paper to fight our battle. How can the wage slave vote our ticket, when our Socialist press will not reach him regularly once a week and keep him in close touch with the LOCAL MOVEMENT, as well as with the movement throughout the world!"

Comrades of St. Louis, you have today one of the best Socialist papers in the English language. LABOR will be a splendid means of propaganda, and a

powerful weapon in your St. Louis and Missouri party movement. It is a Socialist paper and a progressive trade union paper at the same time. It may be read by the sons and daughters of toil, and by the men of "higher education" to equal advantage.

The last two week's work shows what you can accomplish. Double this list next week. By the hundreds we must get the union men to subscribe. LABOR is their paper, their friend, their weapon.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Were secured during the past week by the following comrades and friends:

- T. C. Stephens, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- A. A. Haehn, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- L. Hausermann, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- H. Erdmann, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- M. A. Esty, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Louis P. Philippi, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Wm. Crouch, St. Louis, Mo.....4
- H. Siroky, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- R. Poenack, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- L. Drake, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Julius W. Thiely, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Aug. C. Jennerich, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- James Love, St. Louis.....1
- Chas. Goodman, St. Louis.....4
- P. C. Fish, St. Louis.....4

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

NOTES.

The political problem of the working class is no superficial one. It must be fuller, stronger, broader, deeper than the economic one to correspond with the greater efforts to be made, and the greater power to be used. The political field is not the one on which to merely repeat the demands for trifling alterations that can often be better secured upon the economic field. True, all these smaller movements in aid of labor are mightily helped by political action, but it is almost equally easy to get the greater ones, and most important of all, asking for the greater is the swiftest way to get the less. So it is that a political party of the working class can not content itself with asking simply for a larger share of labor's product, but must and should demand the whole product. It is not enough to ask the amelioration of exploitation, it must demand its abolition. It should no longer beg for favors from a ruling master class, but should declare its intention of seizing the political power for itself and by making the workers masters and all persons workers, abolish at once and forever all rulers and all masters.

Woman has for centuries held a position in society subordinate to man, and even to-day, with all the advancement she has made, she is still considered man's inferior, both physically and intellectually. Years of subjection and repression have left their trace upon her, and although she is now working in open competition with man in the industrial world, she is doing so handicapped as man never dreams of. Not only is she in the class struggle, standing side by side with the men in the effort to throw off the chains of wage slavery, but she is also striving for social and political freedom that she may also secure sex emancipation. Women the weaker class! Yes, possibly, in bone and sinews, but tenfold stronger in energy and endurance.

Sometimes workingmen are put upon the Republican and Democratic ballots—for the same reason a fisherman puts a worm on his hook.

To all these tests, and nothing less is sufficient, and many more might well be added, there is but one party that conforms, and that is the Socialist Party. International in its scope, fundamental in its philosophy, time tried in its integrity and tested in its principles and organization, embracing in its demands the entire working class and the whole historical mission of that class, it stands as the logical exponent of trade union principles on the political field. When the trade unionists of America shall have learned to accept the full logic of what they preach in their union halls and practice in the workshop, and shall cast in their lot with the Socialist party, then we shall have, not simply trade unions in politics, or politics in the trade union, but trade union politics in city, state and nation. Then will come the realization of that of which the trade unionist has only dared to faintly dream, the triumph of the laboring class throughout the whole social field, the downfall of class tyranny and exploitation and the dawning of the day when the creators of wealth shall rule over the processes of wealth creation and shall enjoy the fruits of the triumph which men and machinery have won over nature.

LABOR in POLITICS

Call to Action for the Presidential Campaign in 1904. Address delivered by E. V. Debs at the Gross' Park Picnic of the St. Louis Socialists has been published in a splendid pamphlet in English and German, together with the Socialist Platform, Trades Union Resolutions, etc. Price, 5c a copy. Every Union Man should read it. 100 copies \$3.00. Order at the LABOR office.

To-day, the misery of enforced idleness is only in very exceptional instances the result of a disturbance in production through influences from without; enforced idleness among the workingmen is but a necessary result of the development of the present system of production. To-day, just the reverse happens of what happened under former systems of production. To-day, such disturbances in production rather improve the opportunities for work than otherwise; war, with all its devastating influences, has for its result an immediate increase in the demand for labor.

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People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

The regular election meeting of the association will be held November 29, being "the first Sunday following Thanksgiving day," according to Article V, Section 1. The time is 3 p. m.

A committee was elected to revise the constitution, composed of the following: Messrs. Allan, Dilno and Baker. This action was taken at association meeting.

An appropriation of \$300 was allowed for the purchase of a "stereopticon and moving picture outfit," "to be used for educational purposes in a course of lectures on the economic questions of the hour." Petition for same was drawn up by Mr. D. Allan, and duly signed. The secretary subscribed, when informed that the "machine" was to be the property of the P. F. U. A.

Messrs. Allan, Arnold, Baker, Beard and Haskins were elected a "standing committee" to purchase and handle "machine."

In the south, negroes are quite skillful in "toting" baskets on their heads, and if the secretary had lived where she was born might have become an adept in "carrying water on both shoulders." As it is, she is unable to perform such a feat, physically or spiritually, and Chairman Allan must bear in mind that a request for report of money spent is not "wrangling," and the association has a right to know what business is being transacted by its officers.

The secretary is also a member of the board of directors, and acted in accord with C. S. Allen and Joshua Nichols in the matter of informing the proper persons that Mr. L. Kober did not represent C. T. L. U. There was no great hurry about it either, for the vacancy occurred in June, and the bank, etc., received the news in October. Why such secrecy, anyway?

The auditing committee found that Mr. Louis Kober's checks corresponded to the "stubs" in check book, and amount agreed with entries in bank book.

A report of receipts and expenditures will be printed for the annual meeting. Also house committee's statement, Mrs. Nichols and secretary.

Owing to delay occasioned in "auditing" checks were not made out, as Mr. Lawrence, the new treasurer, was unavoidably absent, and Mr. Kober said though "legally" he was treasurer until Mr. Lawrence had secured all papers.

The secretary agrees with Comrade Kindorf, in general, about the case of "tramps," so-called, for the born tramp

never changes—only his "coat of appearance."

As no prohibitionist is so merciless as the "reformed drunkard," no "Christian" so bigoted as the reformed "sinner," so is no tramp so inhuman to his kind as the reformed tramp. Mr. Dilno gave a good talk on the subject of tramps last Sunday, and blamed the conditions existing for the production.

Word from Mr. How, on his way to Cincinnati, states that he thinks it would be well for the association to cooperate with Mr. W. T. Mills and Mr. Will, president of American Socialist college, in Wichita, Kas. The secretary is in receipt of letter from Mr. Will in relation to "Junior" work.

Mr. Hoehn, editor of LABOR, has consented to give a talk on the "Power of the Press," Sunday, November 1, at 8 p. m. Now is your time to come out, friends. Get here at seven to Brotherhood meeting, and talk on the "Golden Rule"—the difficulties encountered in attempt to follow it in these times.

Mr. Maschmeyer is still considering the Book of Job from the Unitarian standpoint, that the book is simply a "drama." Of course Brothers Beard and Parrish combat that idea. Mr. Parrish made a good defense for the Bible last Sunday night. Mr. Beard has presented several books to the association, among them the Mormon Bible.

Mr. Martin, "our Dan," was released from serving on petit jury. A good thing for the judge—for Mr. Martin would not have hesitated to set him right on the iniquities of the entire system, and give him Bible texts, too. Just come Friday evenings to hear Mr. Martin. It is a good thing the sun shines here, for this building is dark in the day, and not particularly well lighted at night. Let us buy a moon.

ELLA C. KELLY.

THE WORK FOR LABOR.

How to Build Up Our Socialist Press.

What have you done since the last copy of LABOR reached you? Have you secured a new reader, or have you not tried? Failed to try because you thought it would be done by someone else? The men or women who labor at your side must be reached by you. No one else can do that so well as you. Don't wait till someone else takes up the subscribers in your pathway. Don't



# MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

By CLAUDE TILLIER.

Translated from the French by Benjamin R. Tucker, with a  
Sketch of the Author's Life and Works,  
By LUDWIG PFAU.

## CHAPTER VII—Continued.

"What!" replied the priest quickly, "you, Monsieur Tabellion, you believe in the Wandering Jew?"

"Why then, should I not believe in him as well as in Saint Maurice?"

"And you, Monsier doctor," said he, addressing Fata, "do you believe in the Wandering Jew?"

"Hum! hum!" said the latter, taking a huge pinch of snuff.

"And you, respectable Monsier Minxit?"

"I," interrupted M. Minxit, "agree with my confrere, except that, instead of a pinch of snuff, I take a glass of wine."

"You, at least, Monsieur Rathery, who pass for a philosopher, I really hope that you do not honor the Wandering Jew with belief in his eternal peregrinations."

"Why not?" said my uncle; "you believe in Jesus Christ."

"Oh! that's different," answered the priest, "I believe in Jesus Christ because neither His existence nor His divinity can be called in question; because the evangelists who have written His history are men worthy of faith; because they could not have been mistaken; because they had no motive to deceive their neighbor, and because, even if they had desired it, the fraud could not have been carried out."

"If the facts recorded by them were manufactured, if the Gospel were, like 'Telemaque,' only a sort of philosophical and religious novel, on the appearance of the fatal book which was to spread trouble and division over the surface of the earth; which was to separate husband from wife, children from their fathers; which rehabilitated poverty; which made the slave the equal of the master; which conflicted with all received ideas; which honored everything that up to that time had been received, and threw as rubbish into the fire of hell everything that had been honored; which overturned the old religion of the Pagans, and on its ruins established, in the place of altars, the gibbet of a poor carpenter's son"

"Monsieur priest," said M. Minxit, "your period is too long; you must cut it with a glass of wine."

The priest, having drunk a glass of wine, continued:

"On the appearance of that book, I say, the Pagans would have uttered an immense cry of protest, and the Jews, whom it accused of the greatest crime that a people can commit, a decide, would have followed it with their eternal denunciations."

"But," said my uncle, "the Wandering Jew is supported by an authority no less powerful than that of the Gospel—the lament of the bourgeois of Brussels in Brabant, who met him at the gates of the city and regaled him with a pot of fresh beer."

"The evangelists are men worthy of faith; grant it. But in fact, inspiration aside, what were these evangelists? Tramps, men who had neither fire nor shelter, who paid no taxes, and whom the authorities to-day would prosecute as vagabonds. The bourgeois of Brussels, on the contrary, were established men, householders; several, I am sure, were syndics or churchwardens. If the evangelists and the Brussels bourgeois could have a discussion before the balliff, I am very sure that the magistrate would defer to the oath of the Brussels bourgeois."

"The Brussels bourgeois could not have been mistaken; for a bourgeois

is not a puppet, a man of gingerbread, and it is no more difficult to distinguish a man over seventeen hundred years old from a modern than to distinguish an ordinary old man from a child of five.

"The Brussels bourgeois had no motive to deceive their fellow-citizens: it was of little importance to them whether there was or was not a man who travels on forever; and what honor could they derive from sitting at table in a brewery with the superlative of vagabonds, with one of the damned, so to speak, a hundred times more despicable than a galley-slave, to whom I myself would not like to take off my hat, and from having drunk fresh beer with him? And, looking at the matter rightly, they even acted, in publishing their lament, rather against their interest than for it; for that bit of poetry is not calculated to give a high opinion of their poetic value. And the tailor Millot-Rataut, whose 'Grand Noel' I have many a time surprised around a bit of Brie cheese, is a Virgil in comparison with them."

"The Brussels bourgeois could not have deceived their fellow-citizens, even had they wished to do so. If the facts celebrated in their lament were manufactured, on the appearance of that document the inhabitants of Brussels would have protested; the police would have consulted their registers to see if a certain Isaac Laquedem had spent such a day in Brussels, and they would have protested. The shoemakers, whose venerable brotherhood has been forever dishonored by the brutal conduct of the Wandering Jew, himself a knight of the awl, would not have failed to protest; in short, there would have been a concert of protests sufficient to crumble the towers of the capital of Brabant."

"Besides, in the matter of credibility, the lament of the Wandering Jew has notable advantages over the gospel; it did not fall from Heaven like a meteoric stone; it has a precise date. The first copy was deposited in the royal library, well and duly signed with the name of the printer and the street and number of his domicile. The lament of Brussels is accompanied by a portrait of the Wandering Jew in a three-cornered hat, polonaise coat, Hessian boots, and carrying a huge cane; no medallion, however, has come down to us bearing the effigy of Jesus Christ. The lament of the Wandering Jew was written in an enlightened, investigating century, more disposed to shorten its creed than to lengthen it; the Gospel, on the contrary, appeared suddenly like a torch, lighted no one knows by whom, amid the darkness of a century given over to gross superstitions, and among a people plunged in the deepest ignorance, and whose history is only a long series of acts of superstition and barbarism."

"Permit me, Monsieur Benjamin," said the notary; "you have said that the Brussels bourgeois could not have been mistaken as to the identity of the Wandering Jew; yet the inhabitants of Moulot took you this morning for the Wandering Jew; you yourself, in that capacity, have worked an authentic miracle in presence of the entire people of Moulot; your demonstration fails therefore in one point, and your rules regarding historical certainty are not infallible."

"The objection is a strong one," said Benjamin, scratching his head; "I admit that it is impossible for me to answer it; but it applies as well to

Monsieur's Jesus Christ as to my Wandering Jew."

"But," interrupted my grandmother, who always wanted to come down to facts, "I hope that you believe in Jesus Christ, Benjamin?"

"Undoubtedly, my dear sister, I believe in Jesus Christ. I believe in Him the more firmly because without believing in the divinity of Jesus Christ one can not believe in the existence of God, as the only proofs of the existence of God are the miracle of Jesus Christ. But then that does not prevent me from believing in the Wandering Jew, shall I tell you how I view the Wandering Jew?"

"The Wandering Jew is the effigy of the Jewish people, sketched by some unknown poet of the people, on the walls of a cottage. This myth is so striking that only a blind man could fail to recognize it."

"The Wandering Jew has no roof, no fireside, no legal and political domicile; the Jewish people have no country."

"The Wandering Jew is obliged to travel on without rest, without stopping, without taking breath, which must be very fatiguing to him with his Hessian boots. He has already been seven times around the world. The Jewish people are not firmly established anywhere; everywhere they live in tents; they go and come incessantly like the waves of the ocean, and they too, like foam floating on the surface of the nations, like a straw borne by the current of civilization, have already been many times around the world."

"The Wandering Jew always has five sons in his pocket. The Jewish people, continually ruined by the exactions of the feudal nobility and by the confiscations of the kings, always came back to a prosperous condition, as a cork reascends from the bottom to the surface of the water. Their wealth sprang up of itself."

"The Wandering Jew can spend only five sous at a time. The Jewish people, obliged to conceal their wealth, have become stingy and parsimonious; they spend little."

"The torment of the Wandering Jew will last forever. The Jewish people can no more reunite as a national body than the ashes of an oak struck by lightning can reunite as a tree. They are scattered over the surface of the earth until the centuries shall be no more."

"To speak seriously, it is doubtless a superstition to believe in the Wandering Jew, but I will say to you as it is said in the Gospel: let him who is free from all superstition cast the first sarcasm at the inhabitants of Moulot. The fact is that we are all superstitious, some more, others less, and often he who has a wen on his ear as big as a potato makes sport of him who has a wart on his chin."

"There are not two Christians who have the same beliefs, who admit and reject the same things. One fasts on Friday and does not go to church on Sunday; another goes to church on Sunday and eats meat on Friday. This lady mocks at Friday and Sunday alike, and would consider herself damned if she should be married outside of a church."

"Let religion be a beast with seven horns. He who believes only in six of its horns mocks at him who believes in the seventh; he who grants it but five horns mocks at him who recognizes six. Then comes the deist who mocks at all who believe that religion has horns, and finally passes the atheist who mocks at all the others, and yet the atheist believes in Cagliostro and consults the fortune-tellers. In short, there is only one man who is not superstitious—namely, he who believes only in that which is demonstrated."

It was dark and more than dark when my grandmother declared that she wished to start.

"I will let Benjamin go only on one condition," said M. Minxit, "that he promises me to take part on Sunday in a grand hunting party which I decree in his honor; he must become familiar with his woods and the hares

within them."

"But," said my uncle, "I do not know the first elements of hunting. I could readily distinguish a hare stew from a stewed rabbit, but may Millot-Rataut sing me his 'Grand Noel' if I am capable of distinguishing a hare on the run from a running rabbit."

"So much the worse for you, my friend; but that is one reason more why you should come; one should know a little of everything."

"You will see, Monsier Minxit, that I shall do something awful; I shall kill one of your musicians."

"Oh! be careful not to do that, at least; I should have to pay his bereaved family more than he is worth. But, to avoid any accident, you shall hunt with your sword."

"Well, I promise," said my uncle.

And thereupon he took his leave of M. Minxit, accompanied by his dear sister.

"Do you know," said Benjamin to my grandmother when they were on their way home, "that I would rather marry M. Minxit than his daughter?"

"One should desire only what he can have, and whatever one can have he should desire," answered my grandmother, dryly.

"But..."

"But... look out for the ass, and do not prick him with your sword, as you did this morning; that is all I ask of you."

"You are out of sorts, my sister; I should like to know why."

"Well, I will tell you; because you drank too much, debated too much, and did not say a word to Mlle. Arabelle. Now, leave me in peace."

(Continued.)

## SOCIALISM IN TENNESSEE.

### Marked Increase in the Socialist Vote.

At the Nashville, Tenn. municipal election held on October 8, the Socialist Party polled 400 votes in twenty-one wards, casting votes in every ward. The vote in 1900 was 61. The vote polled is over 10 per cent. of the total vote cast. Secretary Stockell writes: "We are well satisfied with the result under all the circumstances. At one time it appeared as if we would elect some of our candidates, but the democrats got scared, got out the best speakers they had, city and congressional. All of the party machinery was set in motion during the last two weeks of the campaign, an unprecedented thing for 15 years, after a primary election, as the Democrats always count on a sure thing. The party lash was applied in every way, clerks were kept in the stores, workmen in the shops, everything done to prevent workingmen from voting. We had a well disciplined organization. The polls were watched closely and while we lost a good many votes by not having enough men to watch their workers at the polls, we succeeded in getting our vote counted. We go on with our meetings every Saturday night, on the square just as though the campaign was still on. In this fight we have tested the mettle of the club and have found a lot of fine material. We will work from now on more systematically than ever before." The Nashville comrades are to be congratulated at the splendid showing made under exceptionally bad conditions.

### TRADES UNIONS

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Increase independence and decrease dependence.

Develop manhood and balk tyranny.

Establish fraternity and discourage selfishness.

Reduce prejudice and induce liberality.

Enlarge society and eliminate classes.

Create rights and abolish wrongs.

Lighten toil and brighten man.

Cheer the home and fireside and



# Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

## SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN. 4

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Addresses Delivered at the Tenth Woman's Convention at Cooper Institute, New York, May 10 and 11, 1861,

What do we toil for? Why, my friends, I do not care much whether a woman actually goes to the ballot-box and votes—this is a slight matter; and I shall not wait, either, to know whether every woman in this audience wants to vote. Some of you were saying to-day, in these very seats—coming here out of mere curiosity, to see what certain fanatics could find to say: "Why, I don't want any more rights; I have rights enough." Many a lady whose husband is what he ought to be, feeling no want unsupplied, is ready to say: "I have all the rights I want." So the daughter of Louis XVI., in the troublous times of 1791, when somebody told her that the people were starving in the streets of Paris, exclaimed: "What fools! I would eat bread first!" Thus, wealth, comfort, and ease say: "I have rights enough." Nobody doubted it, madam! But the question is not of you; the question is of some houseless wife of a drunkard; the question is of some ground-down daughter of toffy whose earnings are fleeced from her by the rum-debts of a selfishness which the law makes to have a right over her, in the person of a husband. The question is not of you, it is of some friendless woman of 20, standing at the door of the world, educated, capable, desirous of serving her time and her race, and saying: "Where shall I use these talents? How shall I earn bread?" And orthodox society, cabined and cribbed in Saint Paul, cries out: "Go sew, jade! We have no other channel for you. Go to the needle, or wear yourself to death as a school-mistress." We come here to endeavor to convince you, and so to shape our institutions that public opinion, following in the wake, shall be willing to open channels for the agreeable and profitable occupation of women as much as for men.

People blame the shirt-makers and tailors because they pay two cents where they ought to pay fifty. It is not their fault; they are nothing but the weather-cocks, and society is the wind. Trade does not grow out of the Sermon on the Mount; merchants never have any hearts, they have only ledgers; two per cent. a month is their Sermon on the Mount, and a balance on the wrong side of the ledger is their demonstration. [Laughter.] Nobody finds fault with them for it; everything according to the law of its life. A man pays as much for making shirts or coats as it is necessary to pay, and he would be a fool and a bankrupt if he paid any more. He needs only a hundred work-women; there are a thousand women standing at his door saying: "Give us work; and if it is worth ten cents to do it, we will do it for two;" and a hundred get the work, and nine hundred are turned into the street, to drag down this city into the pit that it deserves. [Loud applause.]

Now, what is the remedy? To take that tailor by the throat and gibbet him in the New York Tribune? Not at all; it does the women no good, and he does not deserve it. I will tell you what is to be done. Let public opinion only grant that, like their thousand brothers, those thousand women may go out, and wherever they find work to do, do it without a stigma being set upon them. Let the educated girl of 20 have the same liberty to use the pen, to practice law, to write books,

to serve in a library, to tend in a gallery of art, to do anything that her brother can do.

This is all we claim; and we claim the ballot for this reason: the moment you give woman power, that moment men will see to it that she has the way cleared for her. There are two sources of power—one is civil, the ballot; the other is physical, the rifle. I do not believe that the upper classes—education, wealth, aristocracy, conservatism—the men that are in, ever yielded except to fear. I think the history of the race shows that the upper classes never granted a privilege to the lower out of love. As Jeremy Bentham says, "the upper classes never yielded a privilege without being bullied out of it." When man rises in revolution, with the sword in his right hand, trembling wealth and conservatism say: "What do you want? Take it; but grant me my life." The duke of Tuscany, Elizabeth Barrett Browning has told us, swore to a dozen constitutions when the Tuscans stood armed in the streets of Florence, and he forgot them when the Austrians came in and took the rifles out of the Tuscans' hands. You must force the upper classes to do justice by physical or some other power. The age of physical power is gone, and we want to put ballots into the hands of women. We do not wait for women to ask for them. When I argue the temperance question, I do not go down to the drunkard and ask: "Do you want a prohibitory law?" I know what is good for him a great deal better than he does. [Applause.] When I meet an ignorant set of boys in the streets, I don't say "My poor little ignoramus, would you like to have a system of public schools?" I know a great deal better what is good for them than they do. Our fathers established public schools before dunces asked for them.

What proves the clearest of woman's need of the ballot? Why, the very inertness and ignorance which the lack of it has caused her. Like all other injustice and slavery, its worst effect is that it weakens, degrades, and darkens its victims, till they no longer realize the harm done them. Wasted on trifles, cramped by routine, lacking the stir and breadth which interest in great questions gives, many women grope or flutter on, ignorant of the real cause that saddens their life, burdens their toil, starves their nature, and sows their path with thorns. Those whom circumstances have lifted to broader views must not wait for her request before they open to women the advantages by which they have profited so much. Besides, we lose half our resources when we shut women out from beneath the influence of these elements of growth. God gives us the whole race with its varied endowments, man and woman, one the complement of the other, on which to base civilization. We starve ourselves by using in civil affairs only half—only one sex. I spoke a year ago of the stride literature made when women began to write and read. Politics will reap as great a gain when she enters its field.

I mean to get the ballot for women—why? Because republicanism demands it; because the theory of our institutions demands it; because the moral health of the country demands it. What is our western civilization in this state of New York, in this city of New York? A failure! As Humboldt well said, as Earl Gray has said in the house of lords: "The experiment of American government is a failure to-day." It can not be denied. If this is the best that free institutions can do, then just as good, and a great deal better, can be done by despotism. The city of Paris to-day, with but one will in it, that of Napoleon, spends less,

probably, than the city of New York spends, and the results are, comfort, safety, health, quiet, peace, beauty, civilization. New York, governed by brothels and grog-shops, spends 25 per cent. more, and the results are, murder, drunkenness, rowdiness, unsafety, dirt, and disgrace! I think there is something to be said for despotism in that point of view. I weigh Paris, the representative of despotism, against New York, the representative of "Young America," and New York kicks the beam. No man can deny it. It is a failure on two grounds, it is a failure, because the law of political economy has given to man good wages, and science has invented for him drink cheap as water, and held it to his lips, and said: "Make a brute of yourself!"

[To Be Continued.]

Workers can not effectually fight capitalists with capital. They must carry the fight to the ballot box, where the workers are invincible.

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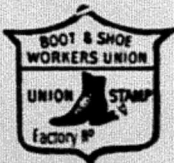
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DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

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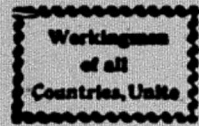
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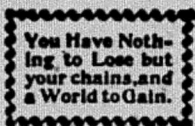
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# LABOR



Published Every Saturday by the  
**SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.**

**SUBSCRIPTION**—One Year, \$1.00. Six Months, 50c. Three Months, 25c. Single copies, 2c.

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A. J. LAWRENCE, Secretary,  
2521 Benton Street.

## CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Subscribers changing their residence are requested to promptly notify this office of new address. Also state old address.

## OUR GERMAN ORGAN "ARBEITER-ZEITUNG."

The fifth annual report of our German Socialist organ ARBEITER-ZEITUNG has just been published. It is an interesting document and shows the growing strength of our press and our movement.

## CASH RECEIPTS.

Amount on hand August 23, 1902.....	\$ 48 42
Subscription receipts .....	3,238 48
Advertising receipts .....	2,035 65
Loans from comrades .....	809 19
Single copies .....	28 40
Festival and excursion proceeds .....	164 23
Matrices .....	3 75
Postage stamps .....	1 89
Rent from Labor and Federal Labor Union .....	30 00
Donations .....	24 50
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$6,384 51</b>

## CASH EXPENDITURES.

Paper, presswork, mail list, etc., to Kellogg Printing Co.....	1,543 81
Composition and plates to German Am. Plate Co.....	1,075 98
Editor Hoehn for salary and on old account .....	809 59
Commission for advertisements and subscriptions .....	744 86
L. E. Hildebrand for salary .....	566 00
Second class mail .....	191 51
Mailing .....	162 57
Office rent .....	97 00
Matrices .....	76 45
Express stationary and miscellaneous expense .....	190 44
Electrotypes and cuts for cartoons .....	128 03
Postage stamps .....	39 35
Loans returned .....	680 19
Expenses for raffle and excursion .....	12 65
Returned subscription money .....	1 80
Office fixtures .....	1 75
Extra composition .....	11 50
Cash on hand August 23, 1903 .....	51 17
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$6,384 51</b>

## RESOURCES.

Subscriptions due .....	\$1,045 85
Advertising due .....	55 00
Electros and printing material .....	192 88
Office fixtures .....	11 75
Cash .....	51 17
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,356 65</b>

## LIABILITIES.

Balance due on salary to G. A. Hoehn .....	\$510 48
Commission, etc., to A. E. Sanderson .....	78 71
Loans from comrades .....	129 00
A. N. Kellogg & Co.....	30 00
German American Plate Co .....	22 00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$770 19</b>

Net resources .....

This is to certify that I have prepared the foregoing statement from the original entries on the books of the Co-Operative Commonwealth Publishing Association for the period above named and that

the original entries have been carefully made.

DAVID ALLAN, Accountant.

ST. LOUIS, MO., OCTOBER 25, 1903.

Comrades—The accompanying ARBEITER-ZEITUNG statement has been delayed through my being so occupied that I could devote but a limited time each day to the work. I trust you will kindly consider the conditions and find the report satisfactory.

Your editor and manager, Comrade Hoehn, has been very considerate in recognizing the limit of my time, and is himself in no way responsible for the delay. Fraternal yours,

DAVID ALLAN, Accountant.

The number of subscribers to ARBEITER-ZEITUNG is 3,100. The growth of the paper during the five years of its existence may best be seen by the following statement concerning the weekly cost. The average cost per issue was:

At the end of the first year .....	\$ 49 96
At the end of the second year .....	61 62
At the end of the third year .....	88 57
At the end of the fourth year .....	92 00
At the end of the fifth year .....	125 00

Comrades of St. Louis, now let us make up our minds to build up Labor on the same solid basis. The field for Labor is at least 75 per cent. more favorable, because it is unlimited, while the Arbeiter-Zeitung's field is limited to German-speaking workingmen only.

To work, comrades! Within four weeks we shall also publish the first annual report of Labor.

\* \* \*

## DE LEONIZING THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

The American Labor Union Journal is preparing for a second edition of De Leonism. The main object of the editor of that paper seems to be to fight the "fakirs" and to show that the American Federation of Labor is bound to die some day.

At this very moment when the Western Miners Federation is engaged in a most desperate struggle in the Cripple Creek district and when Organized Labor throughout the country is appealed to to come to the support of their brave brothers and comrades in Colorado the editor of the A. L. U. Journal sees fit to continue his puerile work of widening the breach between the Eastern and Western forces of Trades Unionism. We say frankly that it is a crime against Organized Labor when in the midst of such a desperate labor war the official organ of the A. L. U. tries to introduce the De Leonite tactics into the Western Labor movement. In its issue of October 22, the A. L. U. JOURNAL reprints a sensational article from the capitalist CHICAGO CHRONICLE with the following double column headings:

"FEDERATION OF LABOR TOTTERS—LABOR LEADERS FEAR FATE OF CENTRAL BODY—DESERTIONS BY LOCAL UNIONS INDICATE A STAMPEDE—COAL AND PACKING TEAMSTERS FOLLOW EXPRESS DRIVERS—POLITICS, SALARY GRAB, INEFFICIENCY AND FRACTIONS BREED DISCONTENT—RECORD OF STRIKES LOST APPALS ENERGETIC MEMBERS—SIMILAR CONDITIONS HAVE CAUSED COLLAPSE OF ALL PREDECESSORS."

There are certainly Socialists enough in the Chicago labor movement to attend to their own business, besides our Chicago comrades have a first class Socialist paper that is doing good work in the local Socialist movement. A Representative of the Western Miners Federation of Miners, Comrade Jordan, has come east to collect funds for the brave men in the Cripple Creek district. He is visiting the American Federation of Labor Unions and we are glad and proud to inform the Western Federation of Miners that their representative, Mr. Jordan, is meeting with splendid success in his great mission of soliciting funds for the strikers.

In St. Louis Comrade Jordan is enjoying most cordial welcomes.

Last Sunday, in the Central Trades & Labor Union meeting with 400 delegates present, he was tendered an enthusiastic reception and by almost unanimous vote \$250.00 were donated to the Western Federation of Miners.

However, Secretary Kreyling expressed the sentiment of the delegates when he stated that the support of the central body should not be taken as an endorsement of the A. L. U. attempts to organize rival unions right in our immediate neighborhood. The rank and file of Organized Labor should not tolerate the tactics of further splitting up the labor movement.

At about the same time when Comrade Jordan is doing such excellent work in St. Louis for the boys in Colorado, organizers of the A. L. U. are sneaking around here trying to organize some suspended or dissatisfied element into A. L. U. locals. As Socialists and trade

**EVERY WORKING WOMAN SHOULD READ LABOR.**



unionists we protest against this kind of work. We protest that such organizers, (who in fact are disorganizing) shall parade with the Socialist Party button or membership card. We shall fight them as we have fought the De Leonite disorganizers in past years.

Within less than five days, from last Friday till Tuesday, Brother Jordan solicited the following funds from St. Louis A. F. of L. local unions for the Western Federation miners:

St. Louis Central Trades & Labor Union.....	\$250.00
Brewers & Malsters' Union No. 6.....	100.00
Beer Drivers Union No. 43.....	500.00
Electrical Workers' Union No. 1.....	100.00
International Teamsters' Union No. 405.....	10.00
Stove Mounters Union No. 34.....	10.00
Brewery Engineers No. 246.....	5.00
Iron Moulders No. 10 (collection).....	2.00
Cigar Makers Union 44.....	200.00
Amalgamated Wood Workers No. 2. (collection).....	7.05

Total \$1,184.05.

This amount was donated by St. Louis Unions in less than five days. The good work has just begun. The publication of the Western Miners' appeal in this issue of LABOR will have an educational effect and Organized Labor of St. Louis will give a splendid answer to the capitalist anarchy in Colorado.

The A. L. U. Journal is on the wrong track. The sooner this is realized the better it will be for the entire American labor movement.

If the St. Louis A. F. of L. unions would display the spirit of revenge and the same narrow conception of the mission of the modern labor movement Comrade Jordan would meet with very little success. Fortunately the St. Louis movement stands on higher ground and can not be dragged into a fight so eagerly sought by some would-be leaders, neither in Butte, Mont., nor in Washington, D. C.

Help the struggling miners in Cripple Creek!

\* \* \*

**LABOR'S LIBERTY.**

Sheriff John Ralphs, of San Bernardino county, California, chaproned strike-breakers that were gathered in the vicinity of Los Angeles, to the state line, at the request of the mine owners of Searchlight, Nevada. It has been generally supposed that the official power of a sheriff was confined to the county in which he is elected, but this precedent in California establishes the fact that a sheriff elected by a county, working in the interest of corporations, can clothe himself with state authority and become the custodian of "scabs" without trespassing upon any rights of that element of American citizenship who depend upon a job for a living. The strike-breaker realizes that he is a moral criminal and needs about the same kind of an escort as the legal transgressor who is furnished with a guardian to accompany him to the penitentiary. As the laws of every state are placed upon the statute books at the command of the capitalists who own the representatives in legislative bodies, the workingman need expect no consideration until he votes for himself, and tears out by the root the system that breeds scabs and furnishes a sheriff to protect them in their fancied right to become the usurpers of strikers' jobs.—The Miners' Magazine.

**Editorial Notes and Comments.**

Comrade E. V. Debs will speak in Alton, Ill., on November 20.

St. Louis Machinists' Union No. 41 has come out in favor of Socialism. Brave boys!

The James L. Blair scandal is still brewing. A pity that one of the strongest pillars of the aristocratic society got so helplessly rotten.

The run on the Mississippi Valley, Mercantile and Lincoln Trust companies caused so much excitement around our office and the Planters' hotel that the editor repeatedly forgot all about his editorial duties and viewed the nervously waiting and grumbling crowds in front of the bank doors.

What would become of the great navies of the earth if workingmen should refuse to hire themselves out to kill each other? Or what tyrant would fight his own battles with his own hands, which he would have to do if workingmen would refuse to serve in any army?—Appeal to Reason.

The approaching World's fair saved St. Louis from a dangerous financial "Krach" last Tuesday and Wednesday. The "Krach" will come, however, and the oiliest speeches can't prevent it. Capitalism has a down wind and must harvest storm. They may succeed in postponing it till after the World's fair.

The efforts of the capitalist papers to belittle the efforts and work of the Socialists is a good sign. And to have them call attention to our propaganda in such an effective manner is something unexpected. So long as they talk about Socialism we can rest assured that attention will be attracted to our work. Let them continue to advertise our movement.—Ohio Socialist.

\* \* \*

Comrades, the heroic miners of the west were your friends in your own struggles with capital. They never failed to reach their helping hand out to you. Their appeal for support must not go unanswered. Help them, and a thousand-fold will they reciprocate when the battle is over. Assist the Western Federation of Miners of Cripple Creek in their heroic struggle against the greed of capitalists and their hirelings. The fight of the Western Federation of Miners is the fight of the entire working class.—Brauer Zeitung.

\* \* \*

The Amalgamated Copper Co., operating in Anaconda, Mont., has discharged more than 500 of its employes for no reason save that they exercised their inalienable right to cast a ballot in accordance with the dictates of their judgment and conscience. These men, who have been thrown jobless upon the waves of the world, merited the vengeance of a trust because they refused to wear the political collar of a combination that respects no freedom or liberty that interferes with the mercenary growth of Standard Oil piracy. These brave, dauntless men who dared to sacrifice their jobs to maintain their honor and constitutional rights, will drift to the various mining and smelting districts of the west, and wherever they locate, the seed of an economic movement will be planted that will grow and expand until the political power of the masses shall be collected at the ballot box on the day of election and dethrone the arrogant might of "class conscious" plutocracy. Socialism will become lusty under the lash of persecution, and wherever the story of Amalgamated domination is told, there will be enlisted champions to join in the crusade against industrial slavery.—The Miners' Magazine.

\* \* \*

A Globe-Democrat editorial reads as follows: "Senator Hanna's appeal, at the National Civic federation conference, for forbearance and tact on the part of both labor and capital in their dealings with each other should be heeded by both sides. The labor disturbances which have taken place this year have cost labor many millions of dollars, and have given a hard blow to capital, though the latter can bear the loss easier than can the former. Threats of strikes are heard every few days, which, if put into operation, would be a national calamity, and be disastrous to the strikers. The 'let-up' in building operations in the past six or eight months, in comparison with the same time in 1902, is an eloquent admonition to the labor leaders (and likewise to the trust magnates who have arbitrarily put up prices of building materials) to go slow with their menaces. A panic would hit each side hard." Now, be good, ye dissatisfied, avaricious wage slaves! Mark Hanna and the G.-D. have always had the welfare of labor at heart. Reorganize your unions into mutual admirations clubs and Civic Federation side-shows, exclude all Socialists and kickers from your ranks, don't grumble, kneel down before the altar of St. Marcus Aurelius Hanna and pray to God Mammon while your wives and children may suffer and die in misery.

\* \* \*

Comrade Max Hayes, the A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union congress, crossed the North Sea and paid a visit to Hamburg, the old Hansa city. He writes to the Cleveland Citizen:

"Hamburg is our next stop. There are more Americans in this city than in any other in Europe. Hamburg, despite some of its old landmarks that stand as a living proof of the superior workmanship of the ancient guilds, is a modern city. Its Alster (a large body of water in the center of the city) is the principal attraction. Its natural and artificial beauty can not be described in a brief newspaper article, and the Hamburgers are naturally proud of it. I noticed that the people here, on a Sunday, are not compelled to dodge into a side door when they want a glass of beer. They take their families and go into a cafe or garden, take their time in sipping their beer and wine, listen to music, discuss the questions of the day, and go home at a seasonable hour in the evening. We went pretty well all over the city and saw but one drunken man. There may have been more, but I would bet my hat that there are fewer drunks in Hamburg on an average Sunday that you can see on the Cleveland public square alone on the same day. I am not prepared to state the reason—unless perhaps it be that the liberal tone of the city dignifies the people and encourages sobriety. Then, again, two out of every three men in Hamburg are Socialists. At the last election the latter party polled 99,000 votes in Hamburg, and all other parties but 50,000 combined."



# Trades Unionism and Socialism.

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

"The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalistic production, and represents the economic side of the working-class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades, and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention to trades-unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades-union forces to-day, while it

may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery, and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

Your vote is your voice in the affairs of government.

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### DIRECTORY

# Central Trades and Labor Union

Of St. Louis and Affiliated Unions.

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

DAVE KREYLING, Secretary and Organizer.

### AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS.

Table with columns: Name of Union and Place of Meeting, Time of Meeting (Sun, Mon, Tue, Wed, Th, Fri, Sat). Lists various unions like Arch. Iron Workers, Awning Workers, etc.

Table with columns: Trade Name and Address, Meeting Days (Sun, Mon, Tue, Wed, Th, Fri, Sat). Lists trades like Firemen, Flour & Cereal Mill Employees, Freight Handlers, etc.

\* Meetings every week



# The Wide Range of the Winter Fashions

Gossipy Notes of the Seasonable Modes as They Pass in Review.

There is no doubt that fashion has changed tremendously, but although these changes strike us forcibly now, they have been creeping in for some time past, surely if slowly.

For instance, most of us will remember how, this time last year, the Parisian couturieres tried to force the new Burgundy shade, popularly known as wine color, on the market. But it never got much further than a few leading ateliers in Paris. Green and royal blue became popular in its stead.

The pelerine has been gradually coming in for the last two years, and so has the full skirt. Nowadays, the modistic eye dislikes any sudden change, and innovations have to creep in by degrees.

Fashion at the present moment is extremely pretty, but there are two exaggerations which ought to be avoided—one is the sloping shoulder where it does not suit, and the other is the very voluminous sleeve.

Personally, I think the extra fullness in the skirt is becoming, and in many of the best models the hips are kept fairly plain.

The fancy for ruchings, and particularly those of ravelled silk, is a return to the early Victorian period. They are rather attractive and peculiarly quaint. All sorts of colored ruchings are used as trimmings, and velvet, of course, reigns supreme for best winter frocks.

One of the prettiest models I have seen was in wine colored chiffon velours. It was made with a drooping collar of dull gold, red and white embroidery edged with a heavy silken fringe. The velvet was cut plain to the knees, then came about seven rows of graduated ruchings of ravelled silk in a brighter shade. This really was a very sumptuous frock, and was to be worn in company with a large shaped stole and "granny" muff of ermine and a delicious 1830 velvet bonnet trimmed with shaded feathers to match. How delightful are these "granny" poke-bonnets covered with plumes and the

and is fetching fabulous prices. In fact, the garments de luxe are composed of sable lined with ermine.

Among cheaper furs there are very smart, inexpensive boleros of beaver, which is extremely effective. This fur is used instead of moleskin.

I fear it is a very expensive season as far as furs are concerned. Somehow, every available skin seems to be utilized



A SMART TRAVELING WRAP. Of ivory cloth of deep shade, strapped and stitched.

with such amazing rapidity that it must go up in price. It is even difficult to get good moleskin this year. Thus, with skins dearer and the furrier's work more elaborate than ever, it is useless to expect to be able to buy the better class fur garment at a low price.

Musquash is used for some of the boleros with great effect. It is a furry kind of skin which I think is remarkably becoming, and it is so well dyed that one can hardly realize that it belongs to the inferior order of skins.

Possessors of sealskin will be glad to know that once more it takes a foremost place in fashion's list. A favorite mixture is sealskin and ermine.

However costly and sumptuous the better class fur garment of to-day may be, manufacturers are able to produce the most effective little short basque boleros and loose sac coats at a comparatively small price.

When purchasing the cheaper skins I advise you not to attempt too much. For instance, avoid imitation ermine or sealskin. If you cannot afford the real where these skins are concerned, it is better to leave them alone.

Some of the smartest costumes are in all black and black and white, especially in the tailoring world, though brown is much used for the country.

Some of the most beautiful hats are made in white chenille, covered with black feathers. These, of course, are to be worn with ermine, and I have seen some perfectly lovely house frocks in white cloth with black panne trimmings. There is always something remarkably chic about the black and white toilette, even though it be only a shepherd's plaid, which, by the way, still continues most popular for winter wear.

There is a new form of Breton sailor which is admirable for the country, simply trimmed with queer wings in shadings to match the frock.

The winter millinery is on show. I think milliners are always more in advance of fashion than anyone else. They are also very ingenious in combining

suitable fabrics for the between seasons, such as chenille and straw plaitings.

How beautiful the tea gown or picture frock for home wear can be in conjunction with the present fashions. For instance, the long pelerine effects are so well carried out in any ribbon, lace or net we may be fortunate enough to have by us. All that is required to complete it is an undergown of accordion plaited point d'esprit, inexpensive silk or the more beautiful chiffon voile. In some cases long scarves of chine ribbon, silk or satin are carried over the shoulders and down the back, the long sash ends reaching to the hem of the skirt; this gives a pretty, graceful appearance to



A NATTY WINTER GOWN. In fancy checked tweed, trimmed with galon and velvet. The vest of white silk embroidered in black.

a youthful figure. I am sure all who have silk remnants and beautiful ribbons and laces in their possession will

gladly welcome any practical ideas for utilizing them.

Nothing is more becoming to a young girl than a sunray plaited cashmere baby bodice and skirt, with a fichu effect of pretty, gay-colored chine ribbon, continued as a sash right down the back, caught with a folded band and buckle in front, with just a tucker of net or lace laid in to soften the decolletage, and elbow sleeves finished with lace or frills. This is really an inexpensive and ideally simple form of dress.

Such a frock as this does not present any great difficulties to the amateur, for the skirt is simply laced in at the waist, and falls in flowing lines, and the fichu sometimes hides a multitude of deficiencies!

Embroideries, buckles and buttons are all much used, and all those who have some of these trifles put away will find the fashion of to-day a convenient one. But I never advise a woman with a limited dress allowance to purchase indifferent bijouterie.

Another revival is the early Victorian lace veil known as a "fall." The lace "fall" is shown by the leading American milliners, but whether it will take a firm hold I very much doubt. Of course, a few elegant and beautiful women who look charming in anything may, for a short time, adopt a quaint old fashion of this kind, and once again bring out the scented veils inherited from their grandmothers.

ELLEN OSMONDE.  
WHIMS OF FASHION.

Notions and Novelties in Feminine Apparel That Are Now Taking the Fancy.

Fleeced cravenette, a moisture-proof fabric, is a novelty introduced for gloves for general winter wear, says the Brooklyn Eagle.

Smart toques for motor or traveling use, and designed by an English milliner, are fashioned from plaited chenille and long nap felt. In royal blue, with no other trimming, and worn with a veil to match, these toques are very dressy.



A FASHIONABLE PELERINE. Made of brown chiffon, velours and mink, fastened with old enamel buttons, and worn with a "beet-eater" hat, trimmed with ostrich feathers to match.

huge fur muffs! But such garments are only suitable for carriage wear, and are truly the exclusive property of la grande dame.

Ermine is on an equality with sable

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# From the Other Shore

IMPORTANT NEWS

## SOCIALISM IN BELGIUM.

The coming session of the Belgian Parliament promises to be a stormy one. The Socialists, who hold nearly a third of the seats in the lower house, will again take up the fight against the abuses in the Congo State in Central Africa, of which King Leopold, as member and agent of an international gang of financiers, is the head. There is a scheme on foot to transform the Congo State formally into a Belgian crown colony for the purpose of strengthening the hold of its exploiters. The Socialist deputies will fight this, as they fight the whole colonial system, both because it always means terrible oppression to the natives of the field invaded and because it means demoralization at home and increased power for the most corrupt elements in the home government.

In this the Socialist deputies will probably have the support of some others, but they do not intend to stop there. It is expected that they will make a strong attack on the institution of royalty. A great popular propaganda on these lines is already being carried on.

The Brussels correspondent of the New York "Times"—in spite of the desire of the whole capitalist press in this country to spread the idea that European Socialism is merely a moderate reform movement, in order to discredit the "extreme" Socialists of the United States—is compelled to admit, in his letter published last Sunday, that the Belgian Socialists are in a thoroughly revolutionary frame of mind.

## ANOTHER BUFFER PARTY GONE.

The dissolution of the Social-National party in Germany, which was decided upon by a congress held at Göttingen on Aug. 29, marks one more step in the clearing of the field for the final conflict between the capitalist system and the rising forces of Socialism. The National Social party was formed some years ago, under the leadership of some probably well-meaning but unpractical clergymen and theorists, its avowed object being to combine something of the purpose and spirit of the Social Democratic Party with the bourgeois idea of national patriotism. As was predicted by the Social Democrats, it never showed much vitality, because of its lack of consistency and thoroughness of purpose. It inclined too much toward the Socialists to please the propertied classes; its narrow patriotism was distasteful to the workingmen who, as they learned to recognize their class interests, learned to regard the workingmen of Russia and France and every other land as their brothers; and its whole theory and policy were too timid and vacillating to command the respect of independent thinkers. In the Reichstag election last June it polled but 27,334 votes. The leaders recognized that something was wrong with their beautiful scheme for reconciling antagonistic social tendencies and the rank and file showed a growing divergence—those who thought more of the jingo side of the party's policy inclining toward one or another of the frankly capitalist parties, and those who had joined it on account of its promise of aid to the workers recognizing that the Social Democratic Party is really doing the work this double-headed little party was proving itself incompetent to do. "Vorwärts" applauds the decision of the Göttingen congress and welcomes those of the Social-National party who come over to the Social Democratic ranks.

If the denunciators of Socialism can not prove it to be wrong, they are not worthy of notice.

## MAY HE ACCEPT?

Dr. John S. Pyle, a member of Local Toledo, O., writes us as follows:

"I wish to submit a question for editorial opinion. Some years ago, before the Socialist Party had come into existence, the Legislature of Ohio, at the request of the citizens of Toledo, passed a law, the spirit of which was to remove from party management the public schools, the Toledo University, and the Library Board of the city. The law is local and applies only to the city of Toledo. The law aimed at securing the services of its citizens in the above-named public departments regardless of political views. To serve on the School Board, the name of the prospective member must be presented by petition to allow his name to appear upon the School Board ticket free from party affiliation. No political party can name candidates for the School, the Toledo University, and the Library Boards. The law, however, named the acting Mayor as the person to fill vacancies upon the Library and University Boards. The spirit of the law requires him to appoint citizens that will secure the best possible management regardless of political affiliation. The Mayor appoints a Socialist. Can the Socialist accept without being subjected to party discipline? Of course it is understood that the law only affects Socialists living in Toledo."

The question on which we are here asked to give an opinion and which, in this exact form, has never, we believe, been acted upon by the party organization, is, it must be admitted, a somewhat debatable one.

In the application of the rules of Socialist discipline, as in the application of all other rules, there is always the question where to draw the line. Human ingenuity has never yet succeeded in formulating laws that would not require interpretation in special cases.

It is a well established rule of Socialist discipline that party members must not accept political appointments at the hands of officials belonging to and elected by the capitalist parties. The purpose of this rule is evident. The old-party machines are always very willing to give valuable "plums" to agitators and popular leaders who have been troubling their peace, knowing that all men are more or less frail and fallible and that even honest men may often be unconsciously bribed and gagged by material interest and their power for good destroyed, once they can be got to accept a favor from the enemy. Our party, also recognizing this fact, therefore declares that any member who accepts a political appointment from a capitalist administration must be expelled and repudiated. It is a good and necessary rule.

But of course the question arises, What is a political appointment? We all know that even the jobs of laborers on the streets are often considered by the old parties as part of the "spoils of office," to be used for rewarding adherents and consolidating the ruling party's power. Yet probably no one would argue that a Socialist who goes to work for the city as a laborer on the street must be expelled as a traitor. Probably no one would argue that Socialist discipline debars party

members from holding positions as school teachers or college professors, though we know that appointments to these positions are often made on partizan grounds.

In some aspects, the case put by our correspondent seems still more distinctly outside the rule. We believe, though we are not positively informed, that the positions to which he refers carry no salary or, at most, a merely nominal salary—that they are positions whose incumbents do a good deal of real work and get no reward but honor and the consciousness of having done their duty. Are such positions to be considered as "plums," as possible bribes, which a Socialist must not accept—must not accept even in good faith because of the doubt which his action throws upon the party's integrity in the public mind?

Especially, are we to take this strict view in a case where the spirit or the letter of the law governing appointments plainly takes the office out of the category of "spoils of office" and requires appointment for fitness, regardless of partizan affiliation?

To some it will no doubt seem plain that these cases ought to be treated as exceptions to the rule, that a party member ought to be free to accept such a position without being subjected to censure or punishment by the party. To us it is not so clear. The most we can say is that the case is doubtful.

"It is not enough that Caesar's wife be pure; she must be above suspicion." If public feeling is such that a comrade's acceptance of a position of this sort would be construed by the workingmen to whom we appeal as the acceptance of a favor from a capitalist administration, thus reflecting discredit or suspicion on the party, or if his acceptance of the position would cause suspicion or discussion among his comrades, then the harm which he certainly does in accepting the place far outweighs any possible good that he can do by the most conscientious fulfillment of its duties. True loyalty to the cause will not take account only of the letter of party law, will not look for exceptions to party law, but will cheerfully comply with its spirit; and the spirit of this law is, that comrades should so conduct themselves in these

matters as to command the fullest confidence of other comrades and as to maintain the party's honor free from any possible imputation.

Our answer, then, is this: If the party organization having jurisdiction in the matter—in this case the local objects, after fair discussion, to the acceptance of even such an appointment as this, it is certainly the duty of the comrade to whom it is offered to decline it; and if he refuses to obey the party's will, it is the party's duty to discipline him. The case is a debatable one; but it is the party, not the individual, that must act as judge and jury, interpreting the party law in the light of the facts. We will go farther. If the local objects to the acceptance of such an appointment, the state of the national organization has no right to uphold the individual against it; but though the local may permit the acceptance, if the state or the national organization finds it injurious to the cause, the higher organization has a right to intervene. The doubt is not whether the acceptance of the appointment will serve the cause, but whether it will hurt the cause; and wherever there is a question in doubt between individual interest or opinion and party interest or opinion, or between the interest or opinion of a smaller and a larger party unit, the benefit of the doubt should be given to the party as against the individual and to the larger party unit as against the lesser.

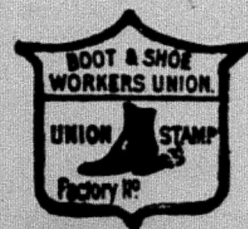
As to whether or not Local Toledo ought to forbid the acceptance of the appointment in question, that is a question which the comrades of that city and of that state can decide better than we, because they know the facts more intimately.

If kings rule by divine right, as they contend, why have so many been tyrants and oppressors? Why are they subject to death and disease? Why are they not endowed with a divine character? Reason exposes the "rule by divine right" fallacy.

The worker does not receive his product. The employer or master gets it and gives in return a small portion of its value as wages.

A lawyer will take either side of a case. There can be but one right side where interests are opposed.

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# AN ADDRESS TO THE JEWS

Translated From an Editorial, by A. Cahan, in the Jewish Daily "Forward"

There is much talk now in the great capitalist papers of New York and elsewhere concerning the importance of the Socialist vote. In one paper, for instance, we read:

"The Socialist vote is not to be slighted. It was tremendous last year, and may be greater still this year. What is most momentous is that the Social Democratic Party is gaining throughout the land."

The other papers write in the same spirit. Lately the great victory of the German Socialists created a stir; the leading periodicals have been printing articles on Bebel as the leader of the strongest party in Germany and on Lauré as the most conspicuous figure in the French Chamber. And now as the fall elections draw near, the press is reminded that the Socialists of this country are wide awake as well. The movement is pressing forward with gigantic strides. Comparing the movement of to-day with that of, say, ten years ago, one is amazed by its rapid growth.

Ten years ago if non-Socialists occasionally spoke of the movement, it was to remark that it was wholly in the hands of foreigners; here in New York the main force of the Socialist Party, for some time, was centered in the Jewish quarter. It was then that the question was frequently put: "Granting that all the Jews become Socialists, what then? Suppose we are all with you, what good will it do, so long as the native American mocks at Socialism? Can the Jews of the slums, unaided, succeed in re-establishing the golden age on earth?" In those days it seemed as if the Jewish immigrants were at the head of the entire movement, as if they led the way for the few American Socialists there were, and marching onwards called others to rally around their flag. It seemed, therefore, unreasonable to expect that the native American, who prides himself in his shrewdness and looks down upon Europeans with disdain, should follow a handful of "greenhorns" and consent to be instructed by them as to the right political course for him to pursue.

But things move rapidly here; intellectual as well as material progress advances with the speed of steam and electricity. In the ten years that have passed, Socialist ideas have so spread among the native Americans that at present one Socialist weekly is read by no less than a million people, while other Socialist papers are so profusely scattered over the country that they can hardly be numbered, and the growth of the Socialist vote has been so great as to compel the capitalist papers to speak of it in quite a different and a graver tone.

Jewish Socialists, however numerous, are now a mere handful in comparison with the American Socialists, just as the whole of the Jewish population is in proportion to the Americans. It is quite unreasonable now to talk of the Jews as the main force of the Socialist movement. The present version of the question is not whether the Americans will follow the Jews, but rather whether the Jews will follow the hundreds of thousands of American Socialists.

The Jews have always sympathetically responded to all that is good. The movement which is now spreading so rapidly among the Americans is the best and noblest humanity has ever known. It aims at the eradication of all oppression and injustice. It struggles to put an end to poverty and want on the one hand and to robbery and wrongful gain on the other. It strives to make everyone do some useful work and to open for each and all the way to an agreeable, blameless,

and peaceful life. You may rest assured that the wealth which Labor creates, even with the means of production now at its command, would suffice for all. It has been demonstrated by statistics. If now you imagine the whole of the enormous army of idlers in the land and all those whose powers are now wasted in creating things which are valueless to humanity at large, enlisted in the ranks of useful labor, how easy were it then for everyone to live a happy life. Whereas at present each one trembles before the dreary prospect of "hard times" and forced idleness; the people are in constant fear of want and they snatch the bread from each other's mouths, eringe and abase themselves, or clamber over and trample upon one another—and all for a mere miserable living. And yet humanity is so powerful; the earth is crossed and recrossed by railroads and by ships, men converse with each other across the oceans, nothing is so difficult but it can be achieved. And the only shortcoming in human capability is that it has not as yet brought man to live a manly life.

It is to achieve this with all possible speed, it is to bring happiness everywhere in the place of suffering, that the Socialists of America are striving.

Shall we, Jews, decline to yield them our assistance?

Let us join them! Election Day is drawing near. The land is stirred with campaign speeches. The Socialists of America—the Social Democratic Party—are using every moment of their time in explaining to the people what Socialism stands for. Join them, ye Jews, join them! Let the Jewish quarter be flooded with the Gospel of Socialism! Let each street corner, each tenement house ring with it! Golden words are those of the abolition of poverty and sham, robbery and wealth gained through other men's toil. Let those words peal throughout the land, so that all hearts be moved and all blood boil with a sense of the horrid wrongs of this world. Join the noblest of the Americans, ye Jews, join the American Socialists!

## SOOTHING DISCONTENTED LABOR.

Prof. John Quincy Adams, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is lecturing at the University of Chicago, proposes pictures, objects of art and music in the factories as a means of soothing discontented labor. Good idea. Here's another: Use hypnotism and make 'em believe they are capitalists, and that the factories are golf links. In case of great exhaustion or physical breakdown a little race horse dope would make 'em forget their condition. Any of these means of "soothing discontented labor" will be found cheaper than removing the cause of the discontent—capitalist exploitation. And something must be done, you know.—Saginaw Exponent.

We are heartily glad to announce the appearance of Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company. It is a work that has long been crying for some man patient enough and of sound judgment enough to do it. It is now well done. Comrade Hillquit has brought to the task just that combination of enthusiasm and of cool discrimination, of industry and of sense of proportion and of faculty of clear expression that enables him, in the midst of the fight and as a sharer in the fight, yet to tell the story of the fight, so far as it has gone, not as he would like it to have been, not as someone might imagine it to have been, but as it

actually has been.

The Utopian and other community movements that, in one of its aspects foreshadowed the coming of modern Socialism, the Free Soil, Union Labor Anarchist, Single Tax, Nationalist, and other movements of reform or of revolt that foreshadowed it in another way, and the development of the revolutionary Socialist movement on the political field to its present stage, as well as the present state of the Socialist forces, both in respect of strength and of quality, all receive ample attention.

Adequate notice is necessarily postponed for a time. For the present we can only urge that every comrade read the book for himself as soon as he possibly can.

"The History of Socialism in the United States" is a book of 371 pages well printed and well bound, and provided with a full index. It can be had of the Socialist Literature Company 184 William street, New York, at \$1.50 a copy. On orders of three or more copies to one address a discount of 10 per cent. is allowed; on orders of five or more copies, 20 per cent.

"Carnegie's 'Reverence' and Mine," by John Spargo, is a little out of the line of "Comrade" matter, but to our mind it is the feature of the October issue of that magazine. It is a Socialist's earnest comment on the millionaire's remark that steel has a soul that he can never pass a bar of steel without being reverent, "because in that bar there are all the mysteries of human life." Another feature is W. Harrison Riley's reminiscences of Karl Marx, interesting alike on account of the subject and of the author. Caroline Pemberton begins in this issue a story of proletarian life, "The Kid nappers," to be concluded in the November number. Among other contributions we note Leonard D. Abbott's "How I Became a Socialist" (with an excellent portrait), Ernest Crosby's "Tolstoy, Novelist and Radical," Pete Burrowes' "The Agitator," John A. Morris' "To the American Working men," Sadie Van Veen Amter's "Women Workers in Germany," Ernest Untermyer's "Anarchism and Socialism," and the editor's always interesting "Views and Reviews."

Old party politicians have been repeatedly elected to office on the strength of false promises; on the impossible promise of serving the interests of all the people, if elected. The socialists do not attempt to elect their candidates on false pretences, but declare they represent the working class interests, as opposed to capitalist interests.

One can not get that which he did not make unless some one else made that which he did not get.

## Socialism and the Negro.

Resolution Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.

WHEREAS, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

WHEREAS, The capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

WHEREAS, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Socialists of America, in National Convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world; be it further

RESOLVED, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the victim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor-power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world.

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# Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

## What Labor Can Do.

Labor sows, but others reap.  
 Labor creates capital, but has none.  
 Labor builds palaces, but lives in hovels.  
 Labor garners the grain, but eats the chaff.  
 Labor weaves fine vestments, but is clothed in rags.  
 Labor has the ballot, but doesn't know how to use it.  
 Labor manufactures pianos and plays the Jew's harp.  
 Labor builds palace trains and automobiles, but walks.  
 Labor elects representatives, but has no representation.  
 Labor manufactures guns and is shot down with them.  
 Labor makes books and libraries, but reads penny newspapers.  
 Labor builds labor-saving machines, but labors harder than ever.  
 Labor builds schools and universities, but remains in ignorance.  
 Labor digs coal from the bowels of the earth, but shivers with the cold.  
 Labor makes furniture, but eats a cold meal out of the "full dinner pail."  
 Labor builds streets and public highways, but is not allowed free assemblage upon them.  
 Labor digs diamonds and precious metals from the earth, but wears brass beads and brass jewelry.  
 Labor has brains, ability and the power to change and remedy all this, but is afraid of its own power. z

## World's Fair Strike.

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 28, 1903.  
 To Whom it May Concern—Let notice be given that Laborers' Protective Union No. 10998, A. F. of L., has, with the indorsement of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, ordered its members, the union laborers at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Co., to quit work because of the discrimination of said company against union laborers employed by them, contrary to the agreement entered into on the 5th of September.  
 The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Co., on the 21st of October, discharged nine union men who had been in their employment as much as five months, and the company proceeded to employ non-union men to take their places.  
 Every effort was made by Laborers' Protective Union No. 10998 to adjust a peaceable settlement, which efforts were not met by the officials of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Co.  
 After repeated efforts of the grievance committee, the union was compelled to withdraw their men in defense of their own men and the agreement previously entered into.  
 Eight hundred men or more have laid down their tools in defense of our rights, and the affiliated unions of the Central Trades have declared their intentions of lending every aid to the striking laborers.  
 D. O. TRONBARGER, Secretary.

## Roosevelt Anarchy vs. Goldman Anarchy.

New York, Oct. 25.—Armed with a warrant sworn out by Secretary Cortelyou of the department of commerce and labor, four immigration inspectors, with several secret service detectives and several policemen, went to Murray Hill Lyceum, to-night, and arrested John Turner, an Englishman, on a charge of inciting and promoting anarchy in violation of the alien labor laws.

Turner had just finished a lecture on "Trade Unionism of the General Strike,"

and the hall, which was crowded, was in an uproar when the arrest was made, but the police were too numerous for the crowd to do more than shout their disapproval.

Turner was put aboard a revenue cutter and taken to Willis island, where he was locked up.

Immigration Commissioner Williams has had a warrant for Turner's arrest for five weeks. The federal officials allege that he had been going from city to city preaching anarchy, and, though trailed by a number of secret service detectives, he was not apprehended until to-night.

Emma Goldman sat on the platform with Turner and denounced his arrest, but urged the crowd to leave the hall without making a demonstration.

Turner will be arraigned before a United States commissioner to-morrow.

There were more than 500 anarchists, including Emma Goldman and John Most, in the hall at the time. Secret service agents in this city recently learned that Turner has been consorting with John Most and Emma Goldman, and a few night ago they located him.

After the first excitement Emma Goldman sprang to the center of the platform, and bade the audience be calm. But for her presence a riot would have been precipitated. She afterwards went to the police station and denounced the police.

## 15,000 Smelters Out of Work.

BUTTE, MONT., Oct. 26.—Judge Clancy, in the district court here decided the famous Minnie Healy mining suit in favor of F. Augustus Heinze. The value of the mine is estimated at \$10,000,000. Judge Clancy's decision was not regarded as final to-day. The case, it is said, will be fought through the highest courts in the land.

As a result of the handing down of the decision, and then granting an injunction against the Boston and Montana company, the principal property of the Amalgamated Copper Co. in Montana, all the properties of the Amalgamated Copper Co. in Montana were to-night ordered closed for an indefinite period.

It is estimated by officials of the company to-night that at least 15,000 men will be idle, and perhaps 20,000, before to-morrow night. The shut-down is the most complete and extensive ever known in Montana. It is expected that the fires will be drawn from the Boston and Montana, Butte and Boston, Colorado and Washoe smelters to-morrow. The Washoe smelters at Anaconda are the largest in the world and employ 3,000 men. The effects of this shut-down will be felt in all parts of Montana, as there is hardly a county that the Anaconda company does not operate in one way or another. Woodchoppers and lumbermen will be idle and coal miners will be out of work in half a dozen counties. Much excitement exists in Butte and the city is thronged with idle miners, blocking the street corners, discussing the situation.

## Machinists' at the Ball.

The St. Louis Machinists' Unions gave a splendid reception at St. Louis Turner hall, last Saturday night which was well attended. The following members served on committees:

Arrangement Committee—Ben. Hockefeld, chairman; Maurice Feldman, Chas. Schneider.

Reception Committee—Edw. Fleissner, chairman; Wm. Blimel, Chas.

Mund, G. Thenrich, M. Fauth, Chas. H. Lange, G. Weller, C. Hauck.

Floor Committee—L. G. Alexander, chairman; H. Seibel, L. Mettler, W. Faust, W. Darmstetter, W. Schmidt, W. Pettshagen.

Musical Director—Edw. J. McCullen.

## Pertinent Paragraphs.

(By W. W. Baker.)

Poverty is unnatural.

Want and the fear of want drives men to crime.

One can not evade the penalty for violating Nature's laws.

Discontent results in progress. There is hope for the discontented.

If we have a right to live we have the right of access to the means of life.

The union man who advocates conservatism does not understand the meaning of unionism.

Republican and Democratic workmen are the allies of Parry and Baer on election day.

The supply of labor exceeds the demand, and as a consequence the price has an ever increasing downward tendency.

Capitalists do not vote the Socialist ballot because they know it represents the interests of the working class. They vote for their class interests.

All union officials should be elected by the membership. The power of appointment opens the door to corruption. Appointed officials are the representatives of the one who appoints them. The majority should rule.

The workingman who erroneously believes that the Socialists want to divide up would not lose anything if a division was made. The division that takes place under the present system leaves him so small a share of the value of his product that he is unable to accumulate anything except debts.

The present form of government is a positive failure. The newspapers teem with accounts of murder, suicide, bribery, corruption, misery, etc. Could anything be worse? The upholders of the present system charge the working class with incompetency, but are seriously indicted on the same charge by every result of the present unsystematic system.

Every consumer is compelled to contribute toward both Republican and Democratic campaigns. The direct contributors add the amount (which they consider an investment) to the cost of commodities sold by them, and thus the expense is shifted to the consumer. The money to defray the expense of Socialist agitation is raised by direct contributions and party dues, and no one is compelled to contribute unwillingly. Every cent is accounted for. As the money is used for legitimate purposes, no secrecy is necessary. If you desire to end the indirect and unjust methods which compel people to pay for what they do not want, vote for Socialism at the next election.

## FROM REVOLUTION TO REVOLUTION.

George D. Herron's new pamphlet is a masterpiece of pamphlet literature, a perfect classic, and should be read by every Socialist. Taking the ill-fated Paris Commune for his theme, the author deals with it in a manner that is as striking as it is new. With all the force of a latter-day Carlyle, he points out the lessons which we may learn from that tragic episode. The pamphlet is well printed by the Comrade Co-Operative Co. (11 Cooper Square, N. Y.), and contains a striking portrait of the author. Price, five cents.

## TENTH WARD BRANCH

Socialist Party of St. Louis.

St. Louis, Oct. 22, 1903.

To the Officers and Members of the Tenth Ward Branch Local, St. Louis:

Dear Comrades—We hereby submit the following report, which covers the time from April 17 to October 21, 1903, with a number of recommendations:

The ward central committee had a total of 25 meetings, which were held at 3734 Oregon avenue. The Branch had five active members and a total of 17 members in good standing, which number has been increased to over fifty members. It is to be hoped that the members will take a more active part in the work to be done, so we may be able to build up a strong organized for a systematic and a well-directed campaign of education in the principles of the grand and good cause of International Socialism, so that when the ballots be counted in November, 1904, we may have cause to rejoice at the great progress made by the American working class in the understanding of their class interest.

## FINANCIAL REPORT.

Total income to date .....\$71 13  
 Total expenditure ..... 62 33

Leaves cash balance .....\$ 8 80

## STAMP ACCOUNT.

Total stamps received ..... 317  
 Due from C. C. C. .... 50

Total of ..... 367  
 Stamps sold ..... 279

Total stamps on hand ..... 88  
 Cost value of stamps on hand .....\$13 20

## LITERATURE REPORT.

We sold books and received for subscription to Socialist papers \$14.95, expended for literature, for free distribution, \$13.15.

We have always tried to support all the undertakings, in support of our local press, ARBEITER ZEITUNG and ST. LOUIS LABOR, which can best be shown by the following: Sold excursion tickets to Montezano, 28; for picnic at Gross' park, 175. At said picnic the branch also arranged, with the permission of the picnic committee, a ball stand, at which we cleared \$9.30, which was turned over to the treasurer of picnic. In conclusion, we beg leave to submit the following recommendations:

1. That \$100 apiece be sent to the national organizing fund, and \$3 to Haverhill, Mass., to assist our comrades in their work.

2. That this branch meet every third Thursday at southwest Turner hall, the weekly meeting of Ward C. C. to be continued at a comrade's residence. Business meeting at 7:30; lecture at 8:30.

3. That as many comrades as possible agree to devote at least one evening a week to our movement, so that we may truly say we have an organization of workers.

4. That we divide the ward in as many districts as we have active members, and each one be assigned to a district, with the following work: To visit all members in his district who may be in arrears with dues, and collect same. To visit such men whose name and address will be furnished by the organizer, with the object of securing their subscription to a Socialist paper, and to become a member of this branch.

Hoping that the above will meet with your support, we remain, fraternally,

WILLIAM RUESCHE,  
 LUDWIG HANSERMANN,  
 EDW. CODY.

The report was indorsed.

The bedbug (like the capitalist) gets something to eat and a place to sleep, and does not have to work for it. If he sleeps in your bed he sleeps as well as you. If he eats you he gets as good food as you.

The only equality possible for the members of society is equality of opportunity.



# To the One Who Doesn't Count

By F. STAMPFER

Readers will kindly pardon me for publishing here an article which concerns only one, the individual who doesn't count. Although he is an old acquaintance of mine, I do not at this moment know his exact address. I only know that while I am writing this he is somewhere at home or in the saloon, where he meets all your earnest appeals to take more interest in public life with the philosophical remark that he is only one, and that he doesn't count.

I am not certain to which election district he belongs at present, but I venture to think that it is either a good district or a bad one. If it is a good district, my friend cheerfully declares that where so many enthusiastic comrades are at work carrying on a splendid Socialist campaign, he would be quite superfluous; and if the district happens to be a bad one, his equanimity is even less disturbed, for he alone, says he, could not get the pudding done, anyhow. I call him my friend, for he possesses in a large measure one of the most beautiful human virtues—modesty.

It is evident that every great political movement is made up of "individuals." At the last German election three million one hundred and nine thousand men voted for Socialism. All these were individuals; but they differ from my worthy friend in this respect, that they "count," and he doesn't. The three million one hundred and nine thousand individuals have filled the ruling classes with sudden amazement. The Kaiser and his ministers have made speeches against them. It has been tried to counteract their influence by special legislation, or to gain their good graces by measures favorable to the working class. You cannot pick up a newspaper or a periodical in the land that does not force those three million one hundred and nine thousand individuals upon your attention. The paper that has been consumed to write about them would more than cover the entire globe. The wise and the learned men of the state have written together and piled up in one mass, would rival the pyramids of Cheops. So important are these individuals, and so unimportant feels my poor friend who doesn't count.

But, says he, in these newspapers, these books, these speeches you always hear of Marx, Lassalle, Liebknecht, or other dead or living agitators and authors, never of the Joneses, the Smiths, the Meyers, the Lehmans, the Krauses.

Simpleton! If it wasn't for the Joneses, the Smiths, the Meyers, the Lehmans, and the Krauses, the ruling powers would little fear either the dead or the living agitators of Socialism. The thing is just the other way, my modest friend! Marx, Lassalle, Liebknecht, they are the "individuals who don't count"—as long as they remain individuals! It is not they that count but just you.

No matter how small you wish to appear, or how hard you may try to hide beneath your machine or behind your card-table—you cannot escape the statistician. You try to minimize yourself to a cipher, but you remain a unit in the election returns. There you will either form part of that great iron ball which holds down the people—the political indifference of those who do not vote at all; or you will, at the last moment, before you know it, fall into the hands of some demagogue, and help to swell the vote of a party with which you have nothing in common. But all the same they will boast and brag about you, the individual who doesn't count.

Thousands, tens of thousands, work, agitate, sacrifice for the party. Of all those you are the lowliest, the most useless, the most unfit, the poorest, for YOU don't count.

Of all the blunders, all the errors, of all forms of political superstition there is none so bad, abominable and dangerous as the self-negation of the one who "doesn't count." The constitution calls you a citizen; you debase yourself to the level of a slave. It gives you the right to fight for your conviction; but you say, "Thanks, I better be quiet." Your comrades, those of your class, call upon you to step in and close up the line of battle; but you respond, "Of what good can I be to you, I am so unimportant."

Thus you are the real curse and the true source of misery for mankind. On your account—for you are not of to-day or yesterday, you are immortal—men had to suffer oppression through thousands of years. For your sake millions go hungry. On the rock of your thick-headedness the best, the wisest, the noblest of men have been shattered.

When the Nazarene was nailed to the cross you were sitting in your cosy corner and declaring: "I am only one, who doesn't count." When the Duke of Alva was filling the Netherlands with blood and murder and the spirit of the holy inquisition, you stood safely behind your window-panes, for you, the one, could not have prevented the horrors. When the Bastille was stormed, you—were not there. During the memorable March days you were bemoaning your unimportance, and you were utterly powerless to stem the tide of the later reaction, for you were only one and didn't count.

Those who have searched for the truth and failed, those who strove to do right and did wrong, who fought with dull weapons, and trod on false roads are, compared to you, heroes, gods, saviors of mankind. For they have searched, striven, fought, and pushed onward. But you neither search, nor strive, nor fight; you stand forever still. No tyrant, no exploiter, no murderer has brought as much evil upon this world as you have.

I do not tell you all this because I hope to arouse you from your apathy, your baseness, your cur-like humility. You have been spoken to with angels' tongues, but your sole argument has remained invincible and irrefutable. With the same cadence you have calmly repeated it through all the storms of ages. Not that I cared to convert you, but just to tell you once more the truth—right in your face, the truth.

And you languidly throw down this sheet, stretch, and yawn, and say to your wife: "I am only one, I don't count."

A number of New York preachers held a conference the other night and decided to elect another committee to arbitrate labor disputes. Rev. David James Burrell was present and gave the peacemakers a disconcertingly candid opinion. He said:

"No governmental or ecclesiastical court is likely to expedite the solution of this problem. It will only be settled permanently by both parties coming to closer quarters, according to Queensberry rules."

Good for Rev. Burrell, say we. We honor the man in his position who has the courage to speak the plain truth, to rebuke the pretense that irreconcilable interests can be harmonized. We know he is against us, but we respect him as an honest opponent, anyhow.

—The Arm and Torch is the emblem of Socialism on the official ballot in New York.

## TWO SOCIALISTS ELECTED?

The election of two Socialists to the provincial parliament of British Columbia is reported—J. Hawthorn thwaite of Nanaimo, by a vote of 48 to 325 for the Conservative and 294 for the Progressive, and P. Williams of Newcastle, by a vote of 357 to 202 for the Liberal and 217 for the Conservative. The Socialist candidate in Vancouver polled 950 votes, in Victoria 699, in Kaslo 161, in Greenwood 330 and in Grand Forks 88.

It must be confessed that some doubt is thrown upon the quality of the Socialism of these representatives by a reading of the paper, *Rosslane "Evening World,"* from which we draw our information and which speaks approvingly of them. The word "Socialist" is getting popular nowadays and is likely to be used by people who have but a vague idea of what it means. The "Evening World," for instance, incidentally remarks that "the interests of Labor and Capital are not opposed, but they can be made to be opposed" and that "the World has ever upheld the interests of this city"—of Capital and Labor in "harmony," it would seem. If this is the brand of "Socialism" the two men elected stand for, we shall not boast of them.

Take on absurd airs if a woman treats them as men.

Regard early rising as one of the greatest trials of life.

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### Two New Propaganda Pamphlets.

#### WHAT WORKINGMEN'S VOTES CAN DO by Ben. Hanford

"One of the very best pieces of propaganda literature we have." (The Worker, New York)  
 "One of the best campaign pamphlets ever printed" (The Toller, Terre Haute, Ind.)  
 Another good propaganda pamphlet by the same author

#### HANFORD'S REPLY TO HAVEMEYER

With which is printed

#### PATRIOTISM AND SOCIALISM.

24 pages, illustrated, pocket size, with red parchment cover. Price 5 cents; 25 copies 50 cents; 100 for \$1.50. To shareholders of the Comrade Co-operative Company at half these rates. Any socialist may acquire by monthly payments of 50 cents a \$5.00 share in the Comrade Co-operative Publishing House and thereby enjoy special rates for the Comrade and other Socialist Literature.

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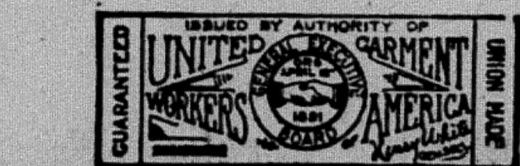
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# MONTHLY GENERAL MEETING —OF— LOCAL ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST PARTY

Sunday, Nov. 1, 1903, at 7 O'Clock, P. M.

AT DELABAR'S HALL, BROADWAY AND ELM ST.

All Comrades Requested to Attend. Important Business.

## PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION



Hanford Compelled to Close His Western Tour.

The national secretary regrets to announce that Comrade Ben Hanford will close his western tour after filling for November 1 and 2. Comrade Hanford is compelled to take this step solely on account of his physical condition. For some time he has struggled along keeping engagements made for him under great personal difficulties, and his decision to no longer continue the tour was arrived at only after it became apparent that he could not keep on without running the risk of doing permanent injury to himself, besides making it probable that engagements definitely arranged could not be filled without a serious loss to the locals interested.

This sudden change of plans is to be the more regretted since so far Comrade Hanford's tour has been very successful. Out of over 60 meetings held only four were poorly attended, and the reports reaching the national office have been most creditable to Comrade Hanford and gratifying to us. The outlook was also that the tour west of Nebraska would have been even more successful still. Dates aggregating nearly 200 were practically assured in Colorado, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Montana and Idaho. In addition applications for return dates in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri were already on file.

Engagements are now being made by which John W. Brown, of Connecticut, one of the most capable Socialist speakers in America, will take up the work where Hanford leaves off and complete the western tour. It is felt that under the circumstances an eastern comrade should take Hanford's place. Full particulars will be given later.

Comrade Hanford will return direct from Nebraska to New York and take

a rest before resuming his activity for the party.

WILLIAM MAILLY,  
National Secretary.

### The National Socialist Organizers' Work Throughout the Country.

National Headquarters,  
Socialist Party,  
Omaha, Neb., Oct. 24, 1903.

#### WHAT THE NATIONAL ORGANIZERS ARE DOING.

John W. Bennett, of Iowa, is meeting with success in South Dakota. He began work at Elk Point on October 14 with a good street meeting and sold some literature. Next day he mounted a soap box in the staid old university town of Vermillion, and had an audience of 100 for one hour and a half, all of whom appeared very much interested. On October 16 he addressed an audience of farmers at Spirit Mound, and organized a local of 14 members, and Comrade Hixson writes, "and started a lot of dormant gray matter to work." The Vermillion Plain Talk gave Bennett a good notice. He stayed three days at Yankton, and prepared the way for a local. At Canistota, on the 21st, he had a large audience in Masonic hall, and was down for another meeting the next night, and the comrades said it looked as though the hall wouldn't be able to hold the crowd. Comrade Lowes reports that "Comrade Bennett gave a fine lecture. He is a fluent talker, and has opened the eyes of the doubting Thomases. Bennett will do good work wherever he goes." Comrade Bennett will remain in South Dakota until November 12, closing at Britton, before beginning in North Dakota.

P. J. Hyland, of Nebraska, began work at Nebraska City October 4, and organized a local of 11 members. Held a good street meeting at Beatrice next day, and finished perfecting a local there. Through a late train, Hyland did not get to Fairbury as scheduled until too late to hold meeting. At Red Cloud held a street meeting, with large and attentive audience, but could not succeed in organizing. Hyland had the same experience getting to Alma as Fairbury, there being but one train a day each way, and county convention was held at Alma without him. A full ticket was placed in the field. The Alma comrades then drove Hyland 18 miles to Regan, where he held a large street meeting, and formed a station for the next speakers, with prospects of organizing soon. At Hastings another large street meeting was held, but Hyland was stopped by the police. A lecture station was established, however, and a local should soon materialize. Held two large street meetings at Grand Island, on the 13th, and got four new members. Two meetings were held at Litchfield, on the 14th, one open air in the afternoon, and another indoors at night. Good meeting at Broken Bow, and two at Alliance, afternoon and night, the latter being also stopped by police, but afterwards local with six members was formed. After a street meeting at Oering, Hyland went to Cheyenne,

where he stayed a couple of days, fixed up a route for Wyoming, which will take in Laramie, Rawlins, Rock Springs, Green River, Granger, Evanston, Diamondville and Kemerer; Wheatland, Douglas, Casper, Newcastle, Sheridan and Buffalo.

Geo. H. Goebel's dates in Texas so far arranged are as follows: November 2, Kaufman; 3, Elmo; 4, Grand Saline; 5, Mineola; 6, Alba; 7, Emory; 9, Greenville; 10, Tylar; 11, Chandler.

Geo. E. Bigelow is in Arkansas until November 16; M. W. Wilkins in Washington until November 10; Harry M. McKee in Arizona until November 6; Chas. Towner in Maryland until November 4.

John M. Ray will begin work again at Tullahoma, Tenn., November 2, going from there to Manchester, 3 and 4; Chattanooga, 5, 6, 7 and 8. After a couple of days longer in Tennessee he will begin his Georgia tour.

#### SPECIAL ORGANIZING FUND.

The following contributions have been made to the special organizing fund since last report:

Local Fairhaven, Wash	\$ 1 00
Harry Gable, Philadelphia, Pa	1 00
I. Isadore Bernstein, New York city	25
Joe A. Thomas, Medford, Ore.	25
L. Maier, Oxnard, Cal	1 00
From Wisconsin per E. H. Thomas, State Secretary:	
Branch 2, Kenosha	2 00
Branch 10, Milwaukee	5 00
Branch 4, Milwaukee	1 00
Chas. Pasar, Sheboygan, Wis.	2 50
R. K. Swope, Santa Clara, Cal	5 00
A. L., New York	25
Total to noon, Oct. 24, 1903	\$ 19 25
Previously reported	\$2,093 82
Total	\$2,113 07

Coin cards for contributions to the National Organizing Fund are being sent out from national headquarters to every local secretary of whom we have the address in the United States, and it is hoped that all of these cards will return to the national office with from 25 cents to \$1 enclosed. The close of the campaign in several states should enable the comrades to

strengthen the national fund so that the great work of preparation for the campaign of next year can continue.

Every Socialist should wear a party button for the purpose of keeping the word Socialism before the people. The national office supplies a beautiful design of the party emblem at one cent each or \$2.25 for 500, or \$6 for 1,000. These buttons are distributed at cost so as to enable local organizations to provide each member with one, as a means of advertising the party name. Order from your secretary or direct to the national secretary, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

#### From Nebraska.

With the help of State Organizer Schiermeyer, the comrades at Long Pine have organized a local and applied for a charter.

Comrade Schiermeyer spoke in Valentine on October 26th, Condon the 27th, Albany the 28th and 29th, Rushville, 30th and 31st. He will speak in Chadron, November 1 and 2, Crawford the 3rd and 4th and Chadron the 5th.

State Organizer McCaffrey has met with great success all along route No. 1. The comrades have been well pleased with his work, so much so that they send in long letters of commendation and ask that he be sent over the route again.

Comrade Hyland has done splendid work for the party on his trip through the state to Wyoming, where he will work for the national office as lecturer and organizer.

#### SPECIAL NOTICE.

The state organization desires to increase the number of lecture stations, and if possible to have a sufficient number in each county to reach all the people in the state. We ought to have ten lecturers constantly in the field. The response to the first call has enabled us to put two lecturers on the circuits. Please mail a copy of the enclosed agreement to every Socialist you know who lives in a town where no lecture station has been established. With our help we can organize the entire state and be ready for the campaign of 1904. Fraternally yours,

J. P. ROE, State Secretary.

The Socialists desire a system that will distribute the products among those who produce them. The capi-

## Socialist Party Local St. Louis, Mo.

HEADQUARTERS—Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut streets. DAVID ALLAN, city secretary.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening at headquarters.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS GENERAL MEETING first Sunday in each month, at 7 o'clock p. m., at Delabar's hall, Broadway and Elm street. DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

#### SOCIALIST WARD CLUB MEETINGS.

First Ward—First and third Fridays, 4449 Penrose street, Wm Young, secretary.

Second Ward—Third Thursday, 813 Hempstead street, C. E. Arnold, secretary.

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

Eighth Ward—Third Wednesday, 2301 South Broadway, G. Bohlring, secretary.

Ninth Ward—First Tuesday, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Paul H. Fromm, secretary.

Tenth Ward—Every Thursday, 3734 Oregon avenue, Ed. Ottesky, secretary.

Eleventh Ward—Third Friday, 7119 South Broadway, Wm. Holman, secretary.

Twelfth Ward—Second and Fourth Thursday, 2632 McNair avenue, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—Second and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Wm. F. Crouch, secretary.

Seventeenth Ward—Every Wednesday, 2563 North Market street, A. J. Lawrence, secretary.

Eighteenth Ward—First Tuesday, 2108 North Fourteenth street, W. E. Kindorf, secretary.

Twentieth Ward—First and Third Saturday, 2927 Cass avenue, F. W. Webking, secretary.

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

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

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

Twenty-Seventh Ward—South Branch—Second Tuesday 5371 North Market street, Chas. Kaemmerer, Secretary.

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

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