

Editor Fred Warren's Speech Against Class Justice

When Sentenced to Six Months' Imprisonment and Fine of \$1500.00 the Appeal to Reason Editor Indicts Court and Entire Capitalist System. But One Little Battle in Great Class War between Labor Movement and the Mercenary Forces of Capitalism

FRED D. WARREN SAYS COURTS ARE TOOLS OF MASTERS

Fort Scott, Kan., July 1, 1909.—No court in the history of jurisprudence ever presented a scene more replete with dramatic interest than that witnessed in the federal building at Fort Scott Thursday afternoon when in response to Judge Pollock's invitation to show cause why sentence should not be pronounced Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, arose and began to speak. The last bit of uncontradicted evidence disclosing the bias and prejudice of the jurors who convicted Warren had been introduced. The last argument in behalf of justice for the defendant had been made by his attorneys. Bone and West, of the prosecution, had declined to reply to Darrow and Boyle. Judge Pollock had just delivered his decision overruling the motions for an arrest of judgment and a new trial. Everything that could be said and everything that could be done to reverse the processes of the court and snatch victory from defeat had been said and done. A stillness such as often occurs between engagements on a battle field overspread the crowded court room, and the eyes of every person present were riveted on the prisoner at the bar.

Tense were the feelings of the spectators as Warren faced the court. Instinctively it was realized that something was about to happen, but just what it would be no one could think or say. The benign face of Clarence Darrow, the celebrated lawyer who, in a hundred courts, had championed labor's cause and whose voice from a thousand platforms had been lifted in behalf of the poor and oppressed, showed concern, as did the faces of his associates, when it became evident that their defeated but unconquered client was about to initiate action in his own behalf. The government's agents and attorneys looked as if a red flag had been unexpectedly unfolded, or a bomb was about to be hurled, and they cringed speechless in their chairs. Judge Pollock himself, his eyes fastened on the figure before him, his countenance plainly revealing the conflicting emotions of his mind, sat as if stricken dumb.

"Yes, your honor, there are some reasons why sentence of the court should not be pronounced."

With his hands on the table before him and his eyes looking straight and fearlessly into those of the court, Warren's voice rang like a clarion as he began a speech as remarkable as it is without a parallel. The unexpectedness of the proceeding, and Warren's boldness of utterance astounded Judge Pollock. Once or twice Prosecuting Attorney Bone looked appealingly at the court as if the latter dignitary ought to foreclose on the speaker's remarks, but the court was too preoccupied with amazement to except. To a silenced judge and in the presence of an audience whose very breathing could neither be felt nor heard, capitalism's most prominent victim and labor's uncompromising champion proceeded with the uncovering of the causes that had led to his conviction. Briefly he illustrated the class struggle that has split society in twain since the institution of private property and on this basis he built up an argument that illuminated with the clearest analysis the operations of capitalist industry and the processes of capitalist courts. Never in his life had Judge Pollock listened to a speech like this; never in the history of jurisprudence was there a speech like this made in a federal court.

Warren represented in the concrete the agony and woe, the blood and tears of the working class of the world. He typified the issue between the ruling class and those who are fighting the age-long war for human emancipation. Through him was voiced the outraged sentiments of men, women and children who, in the fields, factories and mines do the work of the world and who in some way would protest against the methods by which the wealth their work creates is taken from them and given to those who labor not. Here in this federal court, the strongest bulwark of the system that is responsible for the agony and blood and outraged sentiments, Warren, already convicted and about to receive sentence, faced without hesitation and without a tremor the flesh and blood embodiment of capitalism's mighty power and challenged him to do his worst.

It was a situation dramatic beyond power of words to describe and rep-

resented the culmination of years of capitalist prosecution of a man and a cause, both of which, by reason of this prosecution, are made glorious as their prosecutors have become infamous.

Warren's speech climaxed his defense and clinched it irrefutably in the consciences of his auditors. If there had been any doubt as to the injustice and origin of it this doubt rapidly dispelled as the speech proceeded. After sentence was pronounced and the prisoner was admitted to bail pending an appeal, John H. Crider, one of the most prominent republicans in Fort Scott and probably in secret society circles the most influential man in Kansas, who had listened to Warren's address, came forward and volunteered to sign his bond. The offer was accepted. Down stairs after adjournment of court a group of men, democrats and republicans, united in open endorsement of the speech and unqualifiedly expressed their admiration for the man who made it.

"If ever that man runs for president he will get my vote," declared one of those who participated in the discussion.

"And mine, too," responded another of the group.

"Darrow's argument and Warren's speech put this case in a different light," said R. J. Finley, one of the jurors who voted to convict, and who sat through the proceedings of the day. "There is no question as to Warren's ability and sincerity. I am not a Socialist, but as far as I am able to determine I believe Warren is as honest and free from criminal intent as can be found," Finley declared.

It is difficult to interpret the impression that was made on the mind of the court. Ordinarily convicted prisoners accept sentence in silence; Warren's course petrified with astonishment the court to whom his remarks were addressed. An age seemed to have elapsed before Pollock recovered sufficiently to proceed. It was very evident that he did not know what to say. Undoubtedly he had made up his mind as to the severity of the sentence, but this speech from the prisoner apparently upset his plans. Now he vibrated between doubt and despair. Warren, possibly with a note of defiance, had announced that he did not ask or expect clemency or mercy, that he was not guilty and was not conscious of having committed an offense. The United States district attorney had demanded that the full penalty of the law—five years in the penitentiary and a \$5,000 fine—be inflicted.

With halting tones and in a manner plainly denoting the confused condition of his mind Pollock began the pronouncement of the sentence with an apology in part, and an attempt at argument in reply to Warren's speech.

"I don't know of a case where I have been so much in doubt," frankly declared the court. "When this matter was first presented I was strongly inclined against the indictment; but after taking it under advisement and consulting higher authorities I reached a different conclusion. True, the indictment does not contain libelous, defamatory or scurrilous matter, but it does contain a threat, and therefore it comes within the statute invoked in my judgment, although I may be wrong. If I knew that it was the intent of the defendant to violate the law I would have no hesitancy in imposing the full penalty; I cannot believe, however, that Warren knew he was violating the law or that his intent was to violate the law when he authorized the transmission of prescribed matter through the mails. It is the judgment of this court that he be fined \$1,500, that he pay the costs of the prosecution, and that he be confined for a period of six months in the county jail."

According to The Fort Scott Tribune Warren's impassioned address made a most profound impression.

"The fact that Judge Pollock stated he had given the case weeks and weeks of deliberation and had hardly known what to do, shows that Warren may have had some merit in his claim that the government had sanctioned kidnapping. The speech Mr. Warren delivered will be kept as a treasure by many who are with him in this case," declared The Tribune. The speech, published entire in the Fort Scott paper, and which is des-

igned to become immortal in revolutionary literature, is as follows:

Mr. Warren said: I wish to call the attention of the court to the fact that this case is the outgrowth of the kidnaping of three workmen by the agents of the great mining corporations, with the connivance of the state officials of Idaho and Colorado. The kidnaping of these workmen was acquiesced in by the president and sanctioned by the supreme court of the United States.

In referring to the manner in which these workmen were taken from their homes as kidnaping I wish it understood that no less distinguished a personage than Justice McKenna of

the supreme court of the United States used this term in dissenting from the opinion of his associates. Justice McKenna, after reviewing the facts laid before the supreme court said:

In the case at bar, the states, through their officers, are the offenders. They, by an illegal exertion of power, deprived the accused of a constitutional right. Kidnaping is a crime, pure and simple. All of the officers of the law are supposed to be on guard against this. But how is it when the law becomes the kidnaper? When the officers of the law, using the forms and exerting its power, become abductors? This is not a distinction without a difference—another form of the crime of kidnaping, distinguished only from that committed by an individual by circumstances. If a state may say to one within her borders and upon whom her process is served, "I will not inquire how you came here; I must execute my laws and remit you to proceedings against those who have wronged you," may she claim that against her officers? May she claim that by mere physical presence within her bor-

ders, an accused person is, within her jurisdiction, denied of his constitutional rights, though he has been brought there by her violence. And constitutional rights the accused (the three working men I have alluded to) in this case certainly did have and valuable ones.

Justice McKenna voiced my views and the views of every law abiding citizen on this important matter touching the rights of the individual. But the supreme court declared otherwise and refused to grant the relief asked for by these workmen and guaranteed to them by the constitution of the United States and by every consideration of fair play and justice.

It was during the heat of this struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the wealthy Mine Owners' association of the west that I conceived the idea of offering a reward for ex-Governor Taylor, who, as was generally known, was a fugitive from justice from his home state of Kentucky and in hiding in Indiana, protected from the service of requisition by the governor of Indiana whose position was endorsed by Governor Roosevelt, of New York, and every prominent republican politician and newspaper in the United States.

Would the supreme court hold to its opinion that kidnaping was not a crime if the victim was a member of the republican party and a representative of the capitalist class? I did not believe that the \$1,000 offered by the Appeal would induce any man to undertake the abduction of Mr. Taylor, as for seven years the state of Kentucky had a standing reward of \$100,000 for the capture of the murderer of Governor Goebel, for which crime Taylor had been indicted by the Franklin county grand jury in January, 1900.

But I did expect that the offer of this reward in the manner and with the language used would attract public attention to the kidnaping decision of the supreme court. I felt that if this decision, sanctioning the kidnaping of poor and defenseless workmen by rich and powerful capitalists, was understood by the American people a wave of protest would sweep the country and force the supreme court to recede from its position as had been done before, notably in the famous Dred Scott decision, and will undoubtedly be done again.

This Taylor reward was circulated through the mails in a manner in daily use by banks, private detective agencies, Anti-Horse Thief associations, sheriffs and marshals. I have here three postal cards mailed by national and state banks offering rewards for the arrest of men whom these banks allege to have committed crime. The card which I offer for the inspection of the court, it will be noted, bears upon the back or outside of the card in large letters, figures and characters the following language: "B. B. Bond, produce dealer, wanted for issuing forged Bills of Lading. \$250 reward will be paid by the First National Bank, Nashville, Tenn., for his arrest and delivery to Nashville authorities."

It will be observed that this language, to quote this court's decision on our demurrer to the indictment, "is calculated to impress the readers of the language with the thought that Bond was guilty of the commission of some crime for which he would be prosecuted by the Tennessee authorities if captured and returned to them." It can further be said, following the court's line of reasoning, that this language was obviously intended by the First National Bank to reflect injuriously upon the character of B. B. Bond, and from its terms, the manner and style in which it was displayed on the postal card is calculated to have that effect.

The other cards contain similar language and display. This is characteristic of thousands of cards which daily pass through the mails of the United States, and yet in not a single instance has any effort been made by the government to rid the mails of this objectionable matter and protect those of its citizens who are fugitives from justice.

My arrest and conviction is the first instance on record where a man was prosecuted for attempting to bring to the bar of justice an indicted fugitive charged with the crime of murder.

There must be some reason why I alone, of the thousands of men who, according to the rule of this court and the opinion of the district attorney and his assistant, have committed substantially the same act, should be singled out and marked for prosecution.

The reason is not hard to find. Society today is divided into two classes. On the one side we find the work people—men, women and children, who have no means of obtaining a livelihood but by their hard labor. On the other hand we find a relatively small group of men who own the land and the tools which these people must have access to if they are

to live. It is the primary if not the sole purpose of the men who own this productive property to obtain as large profits as possible, while on the other hand the work people strive constantly to increase their wages. This creates a class conflict.

This conflict began with civilization and has come down under varying forms to this day and will continue with increasing intensity so long as a small group of rich men are permitted to lay upon the masses, to quote from Pope Leo, "A yoke little better than slavery." Discussing the ever present problem of labor and its compensation John Adams in 1776 observed:

It is of no consequence by what name you call your people—whether by that of free men or slaves. In some countries the laboring poor men were called free men; in others slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at first hand?

Coming down to the civil war period we find that the Charleston Baptist association in presenting a memorial to the Georgia legislature in 1835, discussing this ever-with-us problem of labor, gave expression to the following conclusion:

It amounts in effect to this whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold and themselves become property, or whether they shall be free men, or whether their labor only become hirelings, as in some other states.

It will be seen from these two quotations, clearly reflecting the opinion of the revolutionary and civil war periods, that the master class recognized no difference between the chattel slave and the wage hireling. In 1865 Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism, summed up the labor problem in the following striking sentence:

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for him self on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or work shop six hours daily for himself and six hours daily for his employer, it comes to the same thing.

This surplus value over and above that which is required by the slave the serf and the wage worker to maintain his physical existence is the portion which the master, the feudal lord, and the capitalist have taken by force of arms in the first case, by ownership of land in the second and by ownership of tools and cunningly devised laws and court decisions in the last instance.

The slave master built up a civil and political system which protected his right of property in the bodies of his slaves and the wealth they produced. One does not have to go very far back in the history of this country to find confirmation of this statement. Prior to 1860 the laws enacted by congress and by most of the several states, backed by the decisions of federal and state courts, had for their object the protection of the slave master in his right of ownership of men, women and children. The man who dared raise his voice in protest against the exploitation of the black man was branded as a traitor to his country; if he attempted to speak he was thrown in jail; and if he attempted to print a newspaper voicing his sentiments his press was destroyed and he was mobbed or murdered.

What was true in the two revolutionary periods which marked the disappearance of a political system based on kingcraft and a political system based on chattel slavery is true today.

The men and the newspapers that have espoused the cause of men, women and children who work in the fields, factories and mines of this nation are marked for persecution as were the revolutionary and abolition editors before them. For ten years as editor of the Appeal to Reason I have been in constant conflict with the ruling class, and the men who hope to pick up the crumbs which drop from the tables of the great captains of industry, on whose will employment depends not alone in the industries but in the government and municipal service.

The postoffice department was first employed to hamper and harass the Appeal to Reason in its work of education and enlightenment. The most absurd rules and regulations were specially formulated to apply, as Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden wired to the Girard postmaster, "to the Appeal to Reason." In every instance where our right to the mails was questioned the Appeal won a signal victory, because we strictly obeyed the spirit and the letter of the law.

Then the aid of the courts was invoked to accomplish what the postoffice department had failed to do. The courts today, as prior to 1860, are with the owning and ruling class. Daily this fact is becoming more apparent. One has only to refer to the long list of decisions in which the interests of labor and capital are opposed to verify this statement. The black-list has

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It is the Backbone of Your Socialist and Trade Union Movement.

Who hates St. Louis Labor?

1. The Citizens' Industrial Alliance outfit.
2. The capitalist politicians and corporation tools.
3. The enemies of the Socialist Party.
4. The enemies of the Trades Union movement.
5. The political grafters in the labor movement.
6. The "comrades" who have failed in every attempt to make out of St. Louis Labor an Utopian will-o'-the-wisp and clairvoyant organ.
7. And some others who may have good reasons to hate and knock an uncompromising press organ of the Proletarian class struggle.

WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT OUR LOCAL SOCIALIST PRESS.

Comrade Ben Hanford, of Brooklyn, N. Y., under date of December 17, 1908, writes:

"I regard St. Louis Labor as one of the very best of the papers devoted to the labor movement, both from the standpoint of the Socialist and the Trade Unionist. I have not the heart to criticize the editors and managers of labor papers. I know how hard they work and how they are handicapped for financial means to do with. * * * The best possible improvement in St. Louis Labor would be to increase its circulation, thereby increasing its field of usefulness. If there is anything that I can do to help the paper at any time let me know. With very best wishes,

"Yours truly,
"BEN HANFORD."

Comrade Geo. H. Goebel, of Newark, N. J., National Lecturer and Organizer of the Socialist Party, writes:

"Comrades—I see my subscription has expired. Enclosed find one dollar for renewal. I consider St. Louis Labor one of the best edited and most valuable papers that the party has today. One especially commendable feature is the mechanical make-up and appearance of the paper, it being such as to encourage the average man to pick it up and read. The comrades of Missouri are to be congratulated on their paper.

"Fraternally yours,
"GEO. H. GOEBEL, National Organizer.
"Newark, N. J., Dec. 14, 1908."

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, writing from the Red Special train, under date of Duluth, Minn., Sept. 21, 1908, says:

"My Dear Hoehn:—The extra copies of the papers were received. You not only published the article as requested, but gave it central space on front page. You are a peach. A thousand thanks! When you become a flying agitator and I am the editor of a great paper I will reciprocate. In the meantime you can bet your plug hat that I appreciate fully your invariable response to my every request, and that I'll not forget.

"Yours always,
"GENE."

Another Letter From E. V. Debs.

"Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 25, 1908.

"My Dear Hoehn:—I have to thank you for the fine tribute and touching appreciation which appeared in St. Louis Labor of the 7th inst. This should have been done sooner and would not have been so long neglected had I been less busy. Since the election hundreds of letters have been pouring in from all directions and I have had pretty nearly as active a time of it in meeting demands of all kinds as when the campaign was in full swing.

"Such kind and generous expressions as you have made of my small service sound mighty well and feel exceedingly good to a tired agitator. Not that he needs any comforting assurances to keep him steadfast to the cause, but there is something about the cheering word of a comrade beloved when the load is heavy that takes the weariness out of the flesh and tones the blood like a draught of old wine. And so I am thanking you, dear old comrade, for being so thoughtful and considerate as to send me your message of devotion and cheer at a time when it did me a world of good.

"You and your papers rendered valiant service during the battle. I congratulate you all around. We must now line up the forces for the next fight. The future holds out both hands to us.

"Yours always,
"E. V. DEBS."

At a later date, after last fall's campaign, when asked by the editor for suggestions or recommendations concerning further improvements of our paper, Comrade Eugene V. Debs sent us the following note:

"My Dear Hoehn:—Your letter of the 25th of November has been received and carefully read. The optimistic spirit of it especially appeals to me. Your backwards looks and your figures and conclusions are all noted with interest. Your summing up is right ac-

been legalized and the boycott outlawed. The injunction has been used with telling effect in labor controversies to terrorize and crush the men who work while it has proven ineffective and of no avail when directed against great capitalist interests, as President Roosevelt pointed out when he was engaged in his battle with the great packing industries.

The people of Missouri in their capacity as sovereign voters recently elected a governor and legislature on a platform demanding relief from railroad extortion. A two-cent fare bill was enacted into law. This law was upheld by the state supreme court. The railroads went to the federal courts, who, with the stroke of a pen, nullified the will of three millions of people. So closely allied has become the federal judiciary of this country to the great corporations that even now there is pending in congress a resolution demanding an investigation of the acts and conduct of the federal judges who have prostituted their high office to the profit of these corporations, three-fourths of which, according to a statement made by Governor Hadley, are either illegally organized or unlawfully conducted.

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court today a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the department of justice at the instance of the president of the United States, had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the attorney general's office in Washington.

When the Pierson envelope, on which this action is based, was sent to the postoffice inspector of this district from Los Angeles, that gentleman turned it over to the district attorney. The district attorney returned the envelope to the postoffice inspector with the opinion that there was no ground for action. The inspector in making report to the department at Washington marked the case "closed." He later explained to me that this meant that so far as the district of Kansas was concerned no further action would be taken. But soon thereafter word was received from Washington, so the assistant district attorney announced in the presence of this court, that there had been a violation of the law and that the case must be re-opened and vigorously prosecuted.

The district attorney's office at Topeka, however, revised its decision, after hearing from Washington, that there was no ground for action against me. One of my attorneys journeyed to Washington and laid before the department thousands of reward cards, similar to the Taylor reward, which had been mailed from nearly every city in the union. When my attorney inquired why the Appeal was singled out for prosecution on this flimsy charge while all the senders of these other cards who were equally culpable were not molested, the representative of the government opened a drawer in his desk and produced an armload of marked copies of the Appeal.

Blue pencil marks designating certain articles in the Appeal indicated that this paper is pretty closely read by high government officials. The government official shrugged his shoulders in reply to Darrow's question and remarked, "We are after the Appeal."

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this nation.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked while in Washington it is evident that secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for lo, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry alleged violation?

Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

The government's witnesses testified here on the stand that I submitted to them copy of the matter I expected to mail and asked whether in the postmaster's judgment it constituted a violation of the federal law. That official after looking the matter up said it did not, and I want to say here that during the ten years of my connection with the Appeal to Reason I have had frequent occasion to consult with the postmaster at Girard on matters relating to the postal laws and in no instance was his judgment ever at fault. He assured me that in his judgment the matter I proposed mailing was identical in character with the thousands of postal cards mailed at his office by the sheriff, the marshal and the officers of the Anti-Horse Thief association.

In submitting to this court these postal cards mailed by bankers it is not my intention that the government should proceed against these men on the evidence furnished by me. I know these gentlemen are immune from prosecution because they represent the dominant class in society today. The rewards which they offer are for men who have committed crimes against property and in the prevailing social system the property of the rich is of vastly more consequence than the life and liberty of the poor.

On the other hand the editor who has espoused the cause of the wage slave today, has, in the eyes of the ruling class, committed a crime against existing institutions for daring to offer a reward for the apprehension of an influential member of the dominant political party.

I have also dared to criticize a decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the United States. Judge West, the assistant district attorney who assisted in my prosecution, in his argument a year ago last November, after presenting his reasons why the demurrer in this action should be overruled, closed his argument in a burst of passion with the statement that, "As a matter of fact this literature was sent out for the purpose of bringing into contempt and discredit the supreme court of the United States." Is criticism a crime? And is it for this I am being prosecuted?

Smarting under the vicious attempt of the English king to prevent the circulation of revolutionary newspapers during the period preceding the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the first amendment to the new Constitution was made to provide for a free press and free speech, always and everywhere recognized as the sustaining pillars of free institutions.

Our colonist forefathers, imbued with the high ideals embodied in their immortal declaration, shouldered their guns and shot to death the divine right of kings; and then the cunning enemies of democracy raised in its stead the supreme court with its many federal arms reaching out into all the states of the union.

The federal court has become in fact the reigning monarch of the American people. No measure of relief demanded by the voters of this nation, enacted into law by their elected representatives and signed by the president, may become operative without their judicial sanction. At the command of the Lords of Privilege any obnoxious law is promptly declared unconstitutional. The supreme court of the United States has today more real power over the people than is vested in any monarch of the old world.

The late Senator Hanna boasted that the courts are maintained to buttress property rights. Ex-President Roosevelt denounced a federal judge for his interpretation of the law in the government's prosecution of the beef trust. President Taft in his Hot Springs, Va., speech expressed a decided opinion upon the same question in referring to the inability of the poor to cope in the courts with men of wealth. With expressions like these from men of prominence, do you wonder that there is a growing distrust on the part of the poor people of this nation that the courts are against them?

In the western district of New York of thirty cases decided in favor of injured employes, twenty-eight were reversed in favor of the master class by the higher courts. United States District Attorney Sims of Chicago was waging a vigorous fight against the white slave drivers and when victory was almost in his grasp, his hand was paralyzed by a decision of the supreme court, which virtually put an end to the prosecution of that unspeakable infamy. There are property interests involved in the wholesale debauchery of young girls and these property interests must be safeguarded at whatever cost. As for the girls they are the daughters of the working class and in point of value are not to be compared to property.

Our modern system of jurisprudence is a survival of medieval times when judges presided by right of ownership of lands and castles and it will require another political revolution similar to that of 1776 and that of 1860 to abolish this bulwark of special privilege and capitalist exploitation.

I was convicted by a jury composed of partisan republicans. It was shown by competent evidence introduced in this court today that two of the jurors had expressed hostile and prejudicial sentiments against me. Affidavits herewith filed show that one of the jurors, Mr. Nelson, became deathly sick in the jury room and he affirms that it was because of this sickness and his fear of death unless medical attention could be secured that he was forced into voting for a conviction. Again it is shown by competent evidence introduced at this hearing that the principal witness for the government, ex-Governor Taylor, made statements which were untrue. He stated that at the time the reward which I offered was circulated through the mails he was not a fugitive from justice nor was there any charge pending against him of a criminal nature in Kentucky. Affidavits, state records and letters signed by Taylor himself, all on file in this court, show that Taylor had been indicted and that for seven years prior to the offer of our reward he had been a fugitive from justice with a price on his head. It is the common practice in all courts that where the defendant can show that a juror in qualifying perjures himself a new trial is granted. Perjured testimony on the part of the prosecuting witness is also ground for a new trial in ordinary cases. Of course I understand that this is not an ordinary case. The whole history of these proceedings shows conclusively that it is not an attempt to secure the ends of justice, but an effort to punish me because of my political views.

In conclusion permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class? In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protests for the sake of justice or in the name of the future is an enemy of society and is persecuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race had been sanctioned by the so-called courts of justice.

This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

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(Continued From Page One.)

According to my idea. There was nothing the matter with our vote. Every possible factor that could draw a vote from us was in the field and our vote this year is a clean and solid Socialist vote. We are now fairly started and in the field with an equipment for the contest of the future. I have never been so confident of the future as now.

"Now as to St. Louis Labor. I do not know that I can suggest any improvement in the paper. If I was with you for an hour I would like to talk over the matter of the press, but I cannot write it and do it justice.

"I want to say to you frankly that so far as St. Louis Labor is concerned, I do not see how it could have been improved during the campaign. Each issue bristled with good stuff in abundant variety, and each issue undoubtedly added to the strength of the party and to the solidity of the movement. The columns were wholly free from petty quibbling and given entirely to the great issues of the campaign. I read every issue of St. Louis Labor during the entire campaign with grateful appreciation. Hope to see you soon.

"Always yours faithfully,
"E. V. DEBS."

Comrade E. H. Thomas, State Secretary of the Wisconsin Social-Democratic Party, writes:

"St. Louis Labor has been very interesting of late. It seems to be getting better all the time."

Mother Jones, our old pioneer agitator, says: "I have talked to Wayland and Warren about St. Louis Labor. Warren told me that he considers St. Louis Labor one of the best Socialist and Labor papers in the country."

Comrade Marcy, with Charles H. Kerr & Co., and associate editor of the International Socialist Review, writes under date of October 13, 1908:

"We congratulate you on the appearance as well as the contents of the paper you are publishing."

Comrade Earl B. Schofield, of Springfield, Mo., writes: "Enclosed find \$1.00 for which please send me St. Louis Labor, as it is one of the Socialist papers I do not want to be without, and as I have not received it since resigning the position of Secretary of this Local, please resume my name on your subscription list."

Ignorance Upholds Restrictions.

In eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Rambai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

The Tendency Toward Concentration.

Just take a look around you and see in how many places this same law is working. The little manufacturers are being bought up or ruined by the trust because it can, if it wishes, sell its product cheaper than they can. The small towns are dying out because their industries are destroyed, and the people who used to work in them

THE FACT IS

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

The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

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

Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

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

GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON

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

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

THE GIRL WHO LEAVES HOME.

The "Baltimore Sun" delivers the following little preachment, filled with sound sense, to the girls who are anxious to leave home, and "see life," as it is called.

"Little girl, you may think your life is dull, and that the rest of the world is enjoying itself in one long round of pleasure. You may think your parents are rather uninteresting people and that by their rules and restrictions they are just keeping you from having a good time. But there is many a girl who has wandered away out into the world, who longs and prays for some such sheltered nook where love and peace and quiet happiness dwell.

"Once you go through that door into the outside world, you leave the charmed circle and find yourself in a maze of dangers of which you never dreamed. It is a magic door that holds safe all those within, but seldom opens again to those who have passed through it and try to return. When a girl wanders out into the wide world she finds a thorn in every rose, a serpent at the bottom of every sparkling glass."

Those critics who profess to support the Union cause but find fault because at some point it does not quite measure up to their standard of perfection are reminded that none of us and not even they themselves are perfect.

A man who is a member of a total abstinence society and drinks intoxicants, is no greater hypocrite than a member of a Union who buys Non-Union goods.

move into the great cities, where things can be produced and distributed cheaper. Finally, we see those nations who can produce the cheapest have grown to be the largest and strongest and are crushing all the weaker nations of the earth. We can sum all this up by saying that there is today a great and widespread movement toward concentration, and that this movement is due to the fact that the largest producers can sell their goods the cheapest.

How So-Called Public Opinion Changes.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, the women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history and ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

Many Changes in Last Fifty Years.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

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Women Organize

Why Weakest Should Protect Themselves

By HENRY STERLING,
Noted Boston Labor Leader.

If it is true that those who are weakest most need protection, then women in industry, above all others, should belong to a union. For of all classes of workers they are least able to protect themselves against greed, caprice, petty tyranny and imposition. The low wage which women receive is not so much because of their inefficiency as it is a measure of their economic helplessness. It matters not that this helplessness arises from their own lack of courage and determination to be well paid and fairly treated. They are underpaid because they fear the consequences if they demand more.

Few realize how great is the necessity for protection for all the weaker ones in industry. The child, the woman and the less efficient man bear the brunt of the burden and suffering that arise in the brutal competition of industrial activities. No mercy is shown to the weak. We all get the most we can from one another and return as little as we may. More can be got out of women and children for the same money than out of men and that is the reason for their presence in the workshop. They can be driven harder, paid less and abused more than men. The physical effects are plainly visible.

The only efficient remedy for wrong is organization. Unity of aim and act alone brings relief. Women, knowing the conditions under which they work, are to be blamed for their shortsightedness in not seeking to better them. A woman who neglects or refuses to unite with her sisters in efforts to better working conditions is responsible for her own sufferings and helps to continue the sufferings of others. She lessens the number of homes and her own chances of owning one. She aids in robbing unborn children of mental and physical vitality. She lowers the wages of her father and brothers and renders it more difficult for her sweetheart to make a home.

For her own immediate welfare, for greater self-respect and more respect from others, for her own beauty, health, strength and happiness, not to mention the good of her family, friends, the community and future generations, every working woman should unite with her sisters in efforts to improve the condition of women in industry.

Henry Sterling

Comic Opera Is Now Dead

By LILLIAN RUSSELL.

Just cast your eye down the line of American comic opera offerings that intersect the horizon. It requires but a fleeting glance to reveal that there is no longer anything left to challenge the serious intentions of the comic opera star. Not to indulge in personalities, but take the principal figures in that once brilliant field and where do you find them? Gone into vaudeville, musical comedy, and the airy fairy froth that prevails for stage entertainment, where once a book was necessary and a score of some intents and purposes were deemed essential. A few have been a little more fortunate and, seeking a broader outlet for their talents, have found their advancement in comedy. So you see we who have been forced to undertake something else are not deserters. I have always been associated in comic opera with a better quality of production than is now the vogue in musical comedy. Without cataloguing a long list of successes, it is easy enough to arrive at this conclusion by a simple process of recollection and accompanying comparison.

Please do not gather from this statement that I am at all opposed to the present call or am objecting. What's the use? The public in its patronage of the theater moves in cycles. The various forms come and go, and even in the drama there are periods when romance has its vogue, only to be supplanted by the problem play, and then to shift to the frothiness of farce. But in them all there is a sustained effort. On the musical comedy stage this is different.

A few personalities and a lot of specialties are now strung together through a maze of striking scenes, and out of this is evolved a bill that pleases apparently. But in this rapid fire action of the spectacular specialties those who were trained in the older school were as flounders out of water.

One inclined to quarrel with conditions and thereby seek a solution is welcome to the task. There remains the one evident fact that the comic opera, so long in the public eye, is dead as dead can be. There is not a comic opera in sight and not a star to handle one, as a result of the inroads made by the prevailing style of entertainment. Also, if there are any composers or men writing librettos of the sort they have not been able to break into the limelight at any angle. The last several years I was on the musical stage demonstrated this, and for a time I was absolutely lost for a suitable vehicle in which to continue in the line of work I had so long been identified with. In times gone by we had our choice of any number of excellent works. It illustrates the shift of the times.

Personally, I am glad, for it has opened up an opportunity for me which I might never have seized under any other circumstances, and the work is far more congenial, and I truly believe is much more worth while.

Do Not Take Religion Seriously

By Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D. D.

We do not know what to do with a martyr nowadays, because people do not take their religion seriously enough to get excited about it. It is all well enough to get excited over a game of bridge whist or a bad-fitting gown, but it is bad form and bigoted to be too orthodox or particular about creeds or reforms.

Even the loudest shouter about the great age in which we live and the most shining example of optimism must see that we, as a nation, are rapidly passing from the heroic period into that of selfishness and ease because we will not permit any great and fundamental principles of government or morals to stand higher than personal and business interests. It takes more patriotism than merely to stand up with glass in hand after a seven-course dinner and drink to Old Glory if we are to have the law regarded and if we are to save ourselves from the whirlwind of lawlessness in days to come.

A government official has just told us that in some respects this country and Chicago are worse than oriental lands in the white slave evil. So we applaud Salome and laugh with Herod, and the orchestra plays loud enough to drown the dying groans of the victims of our indifference.

YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN.

Laborers, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain. Unite, that your mission may be speedily realized. If you would be free, you yourselves must strike the blow. You have no subject class, like earlier classes struggling for mastery, to use as a weapon to fight your battles. You must achieve your own emancipation; and to accomplish this you must unite for political action in a party which recognizes your class mission, and recognizes that the time for its fulfillment is at hand. The realization of this mission means the abolition of all class rule, for under Socialism all society will be members of the producing class, and consequently, that which is for the benefit of one will be for the benefit of all. We rejoice that the proletarians of the world are beginning to realize their mission and are uniting in mighty class-conscious armies, before whom the ruling powers are beginning to tremble; they are uniting to the end that they may conquer the public powers and convert the nations of the world into Co-operative Commonwealths.

WHAT OUR PARTY STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

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

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

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

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

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1877 494,000
1887 931,000
1893 2,585,000
1898 4,515,000
1903 6,825,000
1900 over 7,000,000

Warren's Indictment

Our readers are fully acquainted with the Warren case.

Fred S. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, was sentenced to a fine of \$1,500 and imprisonment for six months. Hon. John C. Pollock, of Fort Scott, is the Federal Judge whose sad mission and commission it was to pass sentence on the dangerous Appeal editor.

We say **dangerous**, for men like Warren are always dangerous to the class of parasites and exploiters of labor.

The Warren case grew out of the Colorado class war. It is a natural and logical result of the outrages committed against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone by the Rocky Mountain Mine Owners' Association, the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, and their Pinkerton Crime Agency. When martial law was declared in Colorado; when habeas corpus was suspended; when bullpens for Union men were established, free speech denied, courts defied by the soldiery; when officers of the militia were considered great patriots for proclaiming: "To hell with the Constitution!" when hundreds of brave Union men were deported, and when the leading officers of the Western Federation of Miners were kidnaped; when these men were kept in prison for eighteen long months; when their families were broken up; where was then the Goddess of Justice of Old Uncle Sam?

She was entertained by the capitalist corporations. She was dancing the dance of Aaron in honor of the Golden Calf. She was the guest of honor of Wall Street. She was banquetted, dined and wined until she fell sound asleep.

Meanwhile the outrageous work in the Rocky Mountains went on. The Peabodys, the Pinkertons, the Orchards were doing their heinous work, which culminated in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone trial.

It was during those days of storm and stress that Fred S. Warren raised his voice in defense of the working class, in defense of Right and Justice. Warren offered a reward for the apprehension of ex-Governor Taylor, of Kentucky, accused of complicity in the murder of Lieutenant Governor Goebel and a fugitive from justice. In making this offer Warren wanted to demonstrate by a striking contrast the absolute falsehood of the assertion that all are equal before the law. He wanted to prove that while the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was adjudged legal by the Supreme Court of the United States, the kidnaping of Taylor would be adjudged illegal. He wanted to prove that there is one law for the workers and their representatives and another law for the capitalists and their representatives. In this he has but too admirably succeeded. Taylor was never brought before the bar of justice, but Warren is sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of \$1,500.

Technically Warren is convicted by a capitalist jury. He is sentenced by a capitalist judge.

What of that? Had Jefferson, Franklin and the rest of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, been placed before one of King George's juries or judges, every one of them would have been sentenced to hang by the neck until he was dead.

Warren is sentenced. What of it? Is he less honest than before? Less honored than before? Less loved than before? No. Fred S. Warren is today the greater man. Greater than the jurors who convicted him, greater than the judge who passed sentence upon him.

Warren's address to the Court, which we print in full in this week's St. Louis Labor, breathes the defiance of the brave and honest soldier in the great army of the proletarian movement for emancipation.

His address is an irrefutable indictment of Capitalism with its courts of class justice. Jurors and judges are the products of their economic, social and political environments. Unconsciously they are puppets in the hands of the master class.

Class justice reigns supreme. The outrages in Colorado were managed by the Citizens' Industrial Alliance forces. Few men, if any, did more than the Appeal to Reason editor, to show up the hellish crimes in the Rockies. For this brave and courageous work Judge Pollock and his jury mete out the "reward" to Warren: six months imprisonment and a fine of \$1,500.

The same Citizens' Industrial Alliance outfit extended their operation to the Eastern States. In New England they attempted

to wreck the Hatters' organization; in the Middle West they conspired to kill the Metal Trades Unions by means of the blacklist, by injunctions, etc. When Organized Labor resisted by means of the boycott what happened?

The Gompers-Morrison-Mitchell case tells the rest of the story.

No fear, ye Proletarians of America! It is true, the real fight has just begun, and the employing class, under the leadership of Kirby, Van Cleave, Parry, Post & Co., have a well organized army of Pinkertons and other mercenaries at work outside and inside the labor movement, but ours will be the victory and success will crown your heroic efforts.

If the Supreme Court should uphold the verdicts and sentences of the lower courts in the case of Warren and in the Gompers-Morrison-Mitchell case, we hope that no pardon will be asked for, but that these men will serve their terms of imprisonment like men. Like soldiers in the greatest army of emancipation in the history of mankind.

Comrade Warren, you "Old Kidnaper," accept our best wishes and hearty congratulation!

And to you, ye Warren jurors of Fort Scott, and to Honorable Judge John C. Pollock, we beg leave to extend our hearty sympathy.

International Peace

The Journal for International Conciliation for July contains an interesting address by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University. In speaking of the latest outbreak of Jingoism and war craze in England, Mr. Butler says:

"The storm center of the world's weather today is to be found in the condition of mind of a large portion of the English people. The nation which, for generations, has contributed so powerfully to the world's progress in all that relates to the spread of the rule of law, to the peaceful development of commerce and industry, to the advancement of letters and science, and to the spread of humanitarian ideas, appears to be possessed for the moment—it can only be for the moment—with the evil spirit of militarism. It is hard to reconcile the excited and exaggerated utterances of responsible statesmen in Parliament and on the platform; the loud beating of drums and the sounding of alarms in the public press, even in that portion of it most given to sobriety of judgment; and the flocking of the populace to view a tawdry and highly sensational drama of less than third-rate importance for the sake of its contribution to their mental obsession by hobgoblins and the ghosts of national enemies and invaders, with the traditional temperament of a nation that has acclaimed the work of Howard, Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, whose public life was so long dominated by the lofty personality of William Ewart Gladstone, and of which the real heroes today are the John Milton and the Charles Darwin whose anniversaries are just now celebrated with so much sincerity and genuine appreciation.

"What has happened? If an opinion may be ventured by an observer whose friendliness amounts to real affection, and who is in high degree jealous of the repute of the English people and of their place in the van of the world's civilization, it is that this lamentable outburst is attendant upon a readjustment of relative position and importance among the nations of the earth, due to economic and intellectual causes, which readjustment is interpreted in England, unconsciously of course, in terms of the politics of the first Napoleon rather than in terms of the politics of the industrial and intelligent democracies of the twentieth century. Germany is steadily gaining in importance in the world, and England is in turn losing some of her long-standing relative primacy. The causes are easy to discover, and are in no just sense provocative of war or strife. Indeed, it is highly probable that war, if it should come with all its awful consequences, would only hasten the change it was entered upon to prevent.

"It must not be forgotten that while there has long existed in Europe a German people, yet the German nation as such is a creation of very recent date. With the substantial completion of German political unity after the Franco-Prussian war, there began an internal development in Germany even more significant and more far-reaching in its effects than that which was called into existence by the trumpet voice of Fichte, after the disastrous defeat of the Prussian army by Napoleon at Jena, and guided by the hands of Stein and Hardenberg. This later development has been fundamentally economic and educational in character, and has been directed with great skill toward the development of the nation's foreign commerce, the husbanding of its own natural resources, and the comfort and health of the masses of its rapidly growing population.

"Within a short generation the pressure of German competition has been severely felt in the trade and commerce of every part of the world. The two most splendid fleets engaged in the Atlantic carrying trade fly the German flag. Along either coast of South America, in the waters of China and Japan, in the ports of the Mediterranean and on the trade routes to India and Australia, the German flag has become almost as familiar as the English. The intensive application of the discoveries of theoretical science to industrial processes has made Germany, in a sense, the world's chief teacher in its great international school of industry and commerce. With this over-sea trade expansion has gone the building of a German navy. It appears to be the building of this navy which has so excited many of the English people. For the moment we are not treated to the well-worn paradox that the larger a nation's navy the less likely it is to be used in combat and the more certain is the peace of the world. The old Adam asserts himself long enough to complain, in this case at least, that if a navy is building in Germany it must be intended for offensive use; and against whom could the Germans possibly intend to use a navy except against England? Their neighbors, the French and the Russians, they could readily, and with less risk, overrun with their great army. The United States is too far away to enter into the problem as a factor of any real importance. Therefore, the inference is drawn that the navy must be intended for an attack upon England. It is worth while noting that, on this theory, the German navy now building appears to be the first of modern navies intended for military uses. It alone of all the world's navies, however large, however costly, is not a messenger of peace!

"One must needs ask, then, what reason is to be found in the nature of the German people, in the declarations of their responsible rulers, or in the political relations between Germany and any other nation, for the belief that the German navy alone, among all modern navies, is building for a warlike purpose? Those of us who feel that the business of navy building is being greatly overdone, and that it cannot for a moment be reconciled with sound public policy, or with the increasingly insistent demand for social improvements and reforms, may well wish that the German naval program were much more restricted than it is. But, waiving that point for the moment, what ground is there for the suspicion which is so widespread in

England against Germany, and for the imputation to Germany of evil intentions toward England? Speaking for myself, and making full use of such opportunities for accurate information as I have had, I say with the utmost emphasis and with entire sincerity that I do not believe there is any ground whatever for those suspicions or for those imputations. Nor, what is much more important, has adequate ground for those suspicions and imputations been given by any responsible person.

"Are we to believe, for example, that the whole public life in both Germany and England, is part of an opera bouffe, and that all the public declarations of responsible leaders of opinion are meaningless or untrue? Are the increasingly numerous international visits of municipal officials, of clergymen, of teachers, of trades unionists, of newspaper men, as well as the cordial and intimate reception given them by their hosts, all a sham and a pretense? Have all these men daggers in their hands and subtle poisons in their pockets? Are we to assume that there is no truth or frankness or decency left in the world? Are nations in the twentieth century, and nations that represent the most in modern civilization at that, so lost to shame that they fall upon each other's necks and grasp each other's hands and swear eternal fealty as conditions precedent to making an unannounced attack upon each other during a fog? Even the public morality of the sixteenth century would have revolted at that. The whole idea is too preposterous for words, and it is the duty of the thoughtful and sincere friends of the English people, in this country and in every country, to use every effort to bring them to see the unreasonableness, to use no stronger term, of the attitude toward Germany which they are at present made to assume."

In as cautious and inoffensive a language as possible, Mr. Butler traces the economic causes of the "Dreadnaught" disease and Jingoism in England. The fear of losing the commercial supremacy in the world's market moves the British capitalist class to action. Assisted by a powerful servile press they arouse the lowest passions among the less educated masses of the people. Even men who should know better, like Hyndman and Blatchford, get caught in the waves of Jingoism.

But there is a well organized army of about one-half million Socialists and Trade Unionists in Germany and England who enter an emphatic protest against any and all attempts of the Bourgeoisie to cause a bloody war between two of the most progressive nations on earth. Socialism and Unionism stand for international peace and for the universal brotherhood of man.

Editorial Observations

The Donation of \$10,000 to the Locked-Out Hatters by the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union was a noble act of solidarity.

Thank the Lord! The Fourth of July Is Over Once More. Flag and fireworks merchants made a nice little sum of profits. In St. Louis there were but three killed and 215 seriously injured.

Six Months' Imprisonment and a Fine of \$1,500 for Fred S. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason, by the Federal Court in Fort Scott, Kas. Sounds like the voice of Bismarck and his reign of terror during the Anti-Socialist laws period.

When August Belmont Declares That Germany and France made the mistake of not opposing Socialism in time, he is talking through his hat. The desperate fight of the European governments against Socialism is as old as the Socialist movement itself.

The Socialist Party of Germany Has Sixty-Eight Papers, and a number of those journals are daily publications. The leading daily Socialist paper of Germany has a circulation of 140,000 and nets a profit of \$25,000 annually. It is no wonder that the Kaiser becomes nervous occasionally when contemplating the growth of the rising party that is destined to make kings and emperors work for their living.—Miners' Magazine.

WAGE WORKERS, BE NOT DECEIVED.

Friends, be not deceived. You have no interest in the success or failure of parties composed of classes whose interests are antagonistic to your own. You surely have been befooled and used as a tool to do your master's bidding long enough. I am rejoiced to see that the laborers are at last getting their eyes open to the thorough capitalistic nature of both old parties and the fraudulent issues which they put forth. To be sure, the interests of various capitalists are conflicting, some being able to exploit labor better by one method and some by another, but all are united upon the policy that labor must be exploited. The laborer's interest, however, is one and alike everywhere; it is forever against this abominable competitive system which robs them of the larger part of the product of their toil.

The Law of Competition in Production.

The object of all industry is simply to change the things which are found upon the earth into forms which will be useful to men, women and children. This is all there is to the matter. No matter how many different forms a thing may take from the time it is a part of the earth until it is used by man, it is still simply a part of the substance of the earth changed in form and moved to some particular place at the time when it is wanted for use. Now it seems like the most natural thing in the world to say that this should be done with as little work as possible. If then the large establishment can do this with less work than the small one, then the large one should be used.

FIGHT FOR YOUR LIFE

By BEN HANFORD

Second Edition Now Ready

This book bids fair to be one of the best propaganda sellers in the Socialist movement. It is written in Hanford's well-known style, and contains many striking stories, each covering some special points in the Socialist argument. Just the thing to appeal to the workingman. Nicely gotten up, paper cover, with portrait and biographical sketch of the author. First edition exhausted first week. PRICE 20c.; BY MAIL 25c. LABOR BOOK DEPARTMENT, 212 S. Fourth St., ST. LOUIS, MO



Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

THE GOODS DELIVERED

"Union Labor Headquarters" and National Campaign Work.

At the time William H. Taft, now President, was a candidate for the nomination, a year or so ago, the usual "headquarters" for railroad employes was established at Chicago under the supervision of two members of the Order of Railway Conductors, a pair of notorious fakers named Ray and Fitch. The Appeal had a hand in uncovering the blind and soon afterward the "headquarters" was closed up and Ray and Fitch disappeared.

On the eve of every national election such a "headquarters" is established at Chicago and placed in charge of a brace of grafters who were once railroad employes and wear the union badge as the symbol of their stock in trade. They then launch an alleged organization and give it a high-sounding title such as "Railway Employes' National Political League," and declare their purpose to be the protection of the interests of railroad workers. The real object of this blind is to decoy railroad wage slaves into giving their political support to some capitalist candidate in exchange for a bribe and boodle in some form or other to the grafters in charge of the skin game. The foolish employes are of course left out in the cold to hold the bag.

This is the kind of a "headquarters" opened by Major (?) B. B. Ray and Samuel M. Fitch at Chicago last spring. The candidate they were plugging for was William H. Taft. Ray already had a fat political office, having been rewarded with a paymastership in the navy for dirty work done in a previous national campaign.

Fitch, then a conductor on the Illinois Central, with the record of a scab to his credit, was promised his plum under the Taft administration. Money was freely used by these grafters to secure the nomination of Taft. They had a working arrangement with the gentleman who is now President and with his brother Charles, who furnished the lucre with which the delegates were lined up and the nomination pulled off.

It will be remembered in this connection that Major (?) Ray was caught in the act of attempting to bribe Grand Master Hawley of the Switchmen's Union by placing a \$50 bill in an envelope and handing it to him after a brief interview, soliciting Hawley's support of Taft and in which Ray assured Hawley that he had already "fixed" the grand officers of other railway brotherhoods. The Appeal furnished the details of the infamous attempt at bribery at the time, for which, if justice were done, Ray, instead of being a paymaster in the navy, would be wearing stripes in a state prison. It is by selling out railroad employes that he has secured his present position, while many of his poor dupes are tramping about looking for work and their wives and children are suffering for bread.

The associate grand officers of Hawley were prepared to furnish all the necessary evidence to convict Ray, but for reasons satisfactory to himself Hawley, to whom the bribe was given, refrained from prosecuting the scoundrel who had attempted to dishonor him.

Now comes the sequel to the story. Fitch, above referred to as Ray's pal in the Chicago headquarters and a pet of the railroads for scabbing in the A. R. U. strike, received his reward. The papers announce that "he has risen in a day from obscurity to fame." That is the public view, but the fact is that he has descended to the depths of infamy.

President Taft has just announced the appointment of Fitch to the office of collector of internal revenue in Chicago at a salary of \$4,500 per year, "with endless opportunities for further advancement and more money." Thus has another traitor of labor received his reward under the Taft administration.—Appeal to Reason.

DETROIT IS ALL RIGHT.

Garment Factories Make Good Agreement With Union Machinists.

The manufacturers of garments in Detroit, Mich., who have had for some time satisfactory trade agreements with the Garment Workers' Union, have just signed with the machinists in their employ also. The principal points in the agreement are these:

Eight hours shall constitute a day's work. All over eight hours shall be considered as overtime and shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half until midnight, when double time shall be paid. Double time shall also be paid for Sundays and holidays.

Holidays shall be New Year's day, Washington's birthday, Decoration day, Fourth of July, Labor day, Thanksgiving and Christmas.

Thirty-seven and one-half cents per hour shall be the minimum rate of wages paid to competent machinists or machine adjusters.

All machinist work shall be performed by members in good standing in the International Association of Machinists.

Machinists' work shall consist of the making and repairing of all machines or parts of machines that have been built by machinists; also the aligning of all machines, motors, shafting and engines.

In case of depression in business, each company agrees not to discharge any machinists in its employ, but to divide the work so that all machinists shall have an equal share.

Each company agrees to demand that the union label of the International Association of Machinists shall be on all machines bought or leased by said company in future, when possible.

There shall be one apprentice for every shop and one additional for every five machinists employed.

In case of any trouble between these companies and any other organization the machinists reserve the right to assist said organization in any manner when called upon to do so.

It is provided that in case either party wishes to change, annul or abrogate any of the clauses in said agreement thirty days' notice in writing shall be given by the party desiring a change.

EIGHT HOURS FOR WOMEN.

Efforts to Be Made to Organize Female Workers by Women's Trades Union League.

The National Women's Trades Union League, which is country-wide and has as members many prominent women, is to hold a national convention in Chicago on September 27.

At this convention, the most important in the history of woman's attempt to organize and aid the feminine workers of America, Miss Mary MacArthur, secretary of the British Women's Trades Union League, will speak. Miss MacArthur will represent 12,000 women workers.

One of the most important matters to be taken up at the convention will be toward obtaining national legislation in favor of an eight-hour day for all women toilers and the elimination of night work, except in the case of waitresses.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trades Union League, said a few days ago:

"Twelve delegates are to go to the convention from New York, and Chicago is to be represented by sixteen. Boston, St. Louis and other cities will send representatives.

One of the vital points to be brought forward at the convention is to arrange for an exchange of cards between working women's organizations of various countries. The question of the organizing of the Italian women immigrants is to be discussed at length."

The first great step which every country that comes into the movement must take is always that of forming the working class into an independent political party.—Letters to Sorge, "Socialist Review," March, 1909, p. 26.

LUXEMBURG SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

Tomorrow, Sunday, July 11, Will Be the Grand Family Picnic of Branch Longwood, at Longwood Grove, 9401 South Broadway.

The Comrades of St. Louis County and the Comrades of St. Louis City and their families and friends are cordially invited to attend the annual family picnic given by Socialist Party Local Longwood (Luxemburg) tomorrow, Sunday, July 11, at Longwood Grove, 9401 South Broadway.

Comrades, come and have a good time together with your good, jolly "country uncles." Even those from Webster, Maplewood, Baden, etc., can easily reach the picnic grounds with a five-cent fare. Just think of it: for 5 cents you can ride nearly two hundred blocks! There will be amusements of all kinds for young and old people. Refreshments will be given gratis.

Admission to the park will be \$1.00 a family. Now, don't forget the direction: Longwood Grove, 9401 South Broadway, Sunday, July 11, i. e., tomorrow!

P. S.—There will be valuable prizes: \$2.00 umbrella and box of cigars for first and second; at Shooting Gallery: \$1.00 smoking pipe; Ten Pin Alley: \$3.00 pair of shoes, bottle of whisky, 25 cigars. Also for children, amusements and prizes too numerous to mention. Prizes will also be given for all kinds of races.

ANTI-UNION CRUSADE BEGUN.

Plan to Destroy the Labor Unions Decided On Over Nine Months Ago.

Pittsburg, July 7.—Reports being received at the headquarters of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers indicate that the strike order against the open-shop policy of the United States Steel Corporation was respected by every local union involved, and the tie-up is complete.

Fifteen plants, with a total capacity of over 190 hot mills, are closed, and the number of men out is estimated at 7,000. The International Association of Tin Plate Workers, the finishing mill men, joined the strike in the Wheeling district, bringing out 500 more men. Officials of the Amalgamated denied the report that there was widespread sentiment among the men in some mills to continue work, and pointed to the secret ballot taken at Newcastle, when only six men voted to continue work.

The attitude of the Steel Corporation toward the strike will hardly develop immediately, it being announced that the opportunity will be taken during the tie-up to make repairs at many of the plants.

The trust officers have declared that the plants will continue in operation, non-union men being employed, but at none of the plants affected was any attempt made to keep the furnaces going.

The Wheeling district is hardest hit by the strike order. Of the 7,000 men out, 4,000 are from the mills of that district. The officials of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Co. at Wheeling issued a statement saying no attempt would be made to operate the plants, the company depending on its non-union mills for its output.

That a prolonged struggle is expected in some quarters was evidenced when it was announced that the mill men at Newcastle had pledged \$4,000 for the opening of a co-operative store, some of the merchants having determined to refuse the strikers credit during the strike.

BLOW AT CHILD LABOR IN MINES.

International Congress Also Wants to Stop Work of Women Underground.

Berlin, June 26.—At the first day's session of the International Congress of Mine Workers here some interesting questions of policy were brought up and fought out on the floor of the congress. The first demand of the German delegation was that the International Mine Workers pronounce against the employment of children under fourteen years of age in mines, with absolute and effective legal prohibition of such employment.

There is a corollary to the German proposition which demands that children under sixteen years of age shall not be employed in any manner in any underground work in the mines.

The Austrian delegation added a further amendment to the effect that the work of women in mines be absolutely forbidden.

Graf, German member, took up the cudgel for the children. He declared that the employment of children in mines was the darkest phase of the capitalistic system. He called attention to the terrible conditions of the children, twelve years and upward, working in the Belgian mines, and to the spread of the employment of children, even in states where it was against the law in the mines of Germany, and declared that in this question of child labor the International Mine Workers' Association was confronted with one of the most momentary problems of its career.

He also referred to the horrible conditions of the 66,000 children in England of ages from thirteen to fifteen years who were employed both underground and above ground. "Of these," said Graf, "48,000 are employed underground; children from twelve to fifteen years of age underground in mines." This statement was the signal for a storm of shouts.

Miscorok of Upper Silesia followed with a speech in support of the abolition of women workers in the mines, the Austrian clause of the proposed establishment of policy. The delegate declared that the absolute wiping out of female labor in the mines was not only a thing which was desirable, but was a thing which must and would be done by the mine workers of the world. He declared that women were being imported into the mining districts of Silesia for work in the mines.

Dejardin of Belgium made the most radical speech of the day when he declared that all work of children in mines, no matter of what age, must be forbidden, as well as the working of women either above or below ground. This question of policy will be voted on in connection with the rules for hours of labor, etc., as soon as the discussion is finished.

NEARLY SEVEN MILLION UNIONISTS.

The secretary of the International Trades Union Bureau at Berlin has issued a report showing that the present total membership of all the unions, whether affiliated or not, is about 6,400,000. Denmark stands at the head of the class with 58 per cent of her workers organized; Sweden has 43 per cent; Finland, 29 per cent; Hungary, 28 per cent; England, 22 per cent, and Italy only 8 per cent. In absolute membership Germany stands at the head, with 2,446,489 in the various unions, mechanical and agricultural. English unions have a membership of 2,106,283, and those of Austria have 501,094 members. Losses were shown in two countries, Spain and Italy.

OVER THREE HUNDRED MORE UNION BAKERIES.

Speaking of the victory of the New York journeymen bakers, the Bakers' Journal says: The men fought bitter because the bosses with money to bring the organization to a standstill. But what the in their greed did not mind to use all power they possibly could buy men could not do the public helped. When they saw public sympathy, then they swore that the fight must be won and the 18-hour workday must become a matter of the past. All New York was worked up, men and women in high standing got interested and the bakers' question was brought forth by everybody. In churches and synagogues and meetings of all kinds, not alone on the East Side,

but as well on Fifth avenue, were the strike and conditions of bake-shops discussed. The bosses thought they had still to deal with the old system of organization. They were mistaken and are today better informed. Local No. 100 will become a strong and powerful organization, but the work is not all done yet; now we must start to build up the local on a good solid business basis. The organization will be over 2,000 strong.

Hot Mill Men Out at Sharon.

Sharon, Pa., July 7.—All of the 20 hot mills at the South Sharon plant of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Co. are closed as the result of the strike against the "open shop" order. Not one of the 408 hot mill men returned to work.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Have been secured by the following comrades and friends: H. J. Morrison, 1; Hy. Schwarz, St. Louis, 1; Emma Akschel, 1; C. B. McDonnell, 1; F. J. Kloth, St. Louis, 1; J. F. Aukerbrock, Indiana, 1; W. R. Gaylord, St. Louis, 3; W. F. Crouch, St. Louis, 1; Morris Moin, St. Louis, 1; Jos. Haller, Holyoke, Mass., 1; Val Spoetting; Livingston, Ill., 1; Wm. Netzela, St. Louis, 1; T. E. Delmore, St. Louis, 1; Ferd Zipper, Staunton, Ill., 1; J. Leucht, Terre Haute, Ind., 1; Brauer Union No. 111, Houston, Tex., 1; Wm. Crouch, St. Louis, 1. Outside renewals: C. C. Land, Ferguson; J. F. Aukerbrock, Indianapolis; Rand School, New York; Dr. Morris, Jefferson City; D. L. Thomas, O'Fallon, Ill.; Brewers' Union No. 111, Houston; H. Hetlage, Wellson; A. Kitzinger, Howell, Ind.; Brewers' Union, San Antonio, Tex.; Brewers' Union No. 111, Houston, Tex., 2; August Lamade, Dayton, O.; Henry Hey, Dayton, O.; E. O. Schulz, Racine, Wis.; Arbeiter Kanken-Kasse, New Bedford, Mass.; W. C. Lange, Dayton, O.; Charles Leuker, Freeport, L. I.; B. Lehwald, Dayton, O.

Comrades of St. Louis and Vicinity should Patronize the Business Houses that Advertise in St. Louis Labor.

UNFAIR LIST of the American Federation of Labor

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

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

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

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

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

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

GROCERIES—James Butler, New York City.

TOBACCO—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

WHISKY—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

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

TELEGRAPHY—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind.

Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.

C. W. Post, Manufacturer of Grape Nuts and Postum Cereal, Battle Creek, Mich.

FIBRE WARE—Indurated Fibre Ware Co., Lockport, N. Y.

FURNITURE—American Billiard Table Co., Cincinnati, O.; O. Wisner Piano Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Krell Piano Co., Cincinnati, O.; Derby Desk Co., Boston, Mass.

GOLD BEATERS—Hastings & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Keeley, New York City; F. W. Rauskolb, Boston, Mass.

LUMBER—Reinle Bros. & Solomon, Baltimore, Md.; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co., Tacoma, Wash.; Gray's Harbor Commercial Co., Cohnopolis, Wash.

LEATHER—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

The Man Under the Machine

By A. M. Simons.

III.

About this time men had been to the new world of America, new routes had been discovered to India and new markets in Africa. Large quantities of goods were wanted to exchange for the products of those countries. This new demand could not be supplied by the old method of manufacture. Men began to study about the tools with which they were working. One inventor changed the simple tools of the shoemaker into a whole series of machines that made a shoe almost in the time it took the old shoemakers to decide where to cut his leath. The weaver's handloom was improved and perfected until it wove miles of cloth where it had once woven yards. The blacksmith shop grew into the great steel works. The anvil took on a hundred forms and grew to monstrous size. The steam hammer rose and fell with the strength of a thousand men. So everywhere the work of days was done with single strokes.



Turn almost any way you will, for every article made a century ago for the comfort of man, a hundred are made today with no more effort. Even if this took place in an insane asylum, one would expect the inmates to at least have enough sense left to use these machines so that all would have the things needed for health and comfort.

Even the best physical existence demands a variety and abundance of good, pure food, plenty of fresh air, and frequent opportunity for rest and recreation. No one should be compelled to live in close, small rooms, do without necessary medical service, or be denied the opportunities of education, culture and travel.

I do not believe there is any one who stops to think about the matter, and who sees how much can be done with the great inventions we have been talking about and who remembers that even before the machine came people had many of these necessities, will deny that it is possible for every man, woman and child to have everything we ask for and very, very much besides.

Why then is it that at least 90 per cent of all the people must live in a condition but little if any better than that of their ancestors, who knew nothing about any of these improved ways of making things?

We shall find an answer to this question if we go back again to the time when the great invention first came into use and watch the changes that took place then. Each laborer then made the whole of an article, and there was no dispute about its ownership.

When the machines for making shoes had been introduced each man made but a small part of the whole shoe. One man attended to the engine that ran the machines, another fired the boilers, and yet others prepared the leather. Each article was made through the co-operation of a large number of laborers.

To express the changes that had taken place in the words of a technical economist—production was now carried on collectively, whereas it had formerly been conducted individually.

While each man had worked alone, he owned the tools with which he worked. But when many worked together in one shop with the new tools, it was impossible for each one to own an entire factory, and as an article could not be made without the use of the entire factory, anything less would be useless.

One would naturally think that the laborers who worked together and produced collectively would own collectively the things with which they worked. If the machines and factories had been the common property of those who used them, all the product would have belonged to the laborers collectively and they could have distributed it among themselves as they saw fit.

But during all the years that the laborer had worked with his own tools their private ownership had been very necessary and right. No one save the owner ever used the tools and hence there is no reason why he should not own them.

So it was perfectly natural that the principle of private property was applied to the new improved tools. But it took a large number of people to operate these tools, while only one or a very few, owned them. Hence it came about that the owners and users were wholly different persons.

The owner of a machine could do nothing with it unless he could get people to run it for him. He was obliged to buy the labor power of others to operate his machines. This was one of the most important facts in the whole story of labor.

It was necessary for great numbers of the laborers to live close together. Towns and cities grew very rapidly and some parts of them grew to be known as "laboring quarters." The laborers were crowded together in tenement houses in neglected, unsanitary neighborhoods. The slum was here.

It had taken many years for a man to learn a trade under the old system, but once learned he could be sure of work at it so long as he lived. But it needed little strength or skill to watch and guide the new machines, and so women and children took the place of men. The horrible sufferings of these women and children in the early days of the factory system were such as it is safe to say no race of slaves was ever forced to undergo before or since.

Little children, scarce out of babyhood, were worked until they died off like sheep. They were chained to cars in the coal mines or forced to work at great machines that maimed and slaughtered them. The women, too, toiled on, half naked, at tasks that crushed out the lives of thousands.

How was it possible for these conditions to exist? Because it had come about that everything was settled by competition. Let us explain this point a little. Whoever could do anything or sell anything the cheapest was the only one who could do anything or sell anything at all.

If we apply this to the laborer who is selling himself day by day we find that when all the labor power in the market is not wanted only the cheapest will be bought. That labor-power will be the cheapest which can be produced the cheapest, that is, whose possessor can live with the least to eat, and drink, and wear. The child and the woman can live cheaper than the man, and so they will be hired when their husbands and brothers are walking from place to place seeking to find some one who will buy a portion of their lives.

If we apply this law of competition to the owners of the machines we discover two things. First we see that only the man who buys the cheapest labor power can run his machines at all, as otherwise he would be undersold and ruined. Second, only the man who has the best machine can produce. So the man who does not own the best machines or any machines at all must find some one who will buy his labor power.

National Socialist Platform
Adopted at Chicago Convention, May, 1908.

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

General Demands.

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed

on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing rate of union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers. (a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands.

8. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9. A graduated income tax.

10. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12. The abolition of the Senate.

The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15. The enactment of further measures of general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18. The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.—(National Platform Adopted at the 1908 Convention.)

THE EASIEST WAY

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The Minority Always at Work.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

American Woman and Naturalized Citizen.

During the three years ending June 30, 1904, there arrived in the United States 2,223,166 immigrants. Of these only 664,527 were women, less than one-third. There are in the United States more than three times as many native-born women (32,467,041) as there are foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together (10,341,276). Equal suffrage would largely increase the proportion of native-born voters.

Differences Are Natural, Not Artificial.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and woman. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and our own equal suffrage states are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

Woman's Suffrage and Immigration.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The governor of one of the enfranchised states writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

Just Stop and Think for a Moment.

Very few people today will deny that we could produce all that everybody actually needs. If you doubt this fact, just stop and think that at the time when men were still savages, they had nearly as much to eat as they have now and that not so very many more of them died from cold and hunger than today in a great city like London, New York or Chicago. Even wild beasts can, for the most part, find the food and shelter they need, save when they come in conflict with each other and stronger beasts, or when their numbers grow too great for the land upon which they live.

When woman suffrage was granted in New Zealand in 1893, the estimated number of women in the country was 139,915. Of these, 109,461 registered to vote; and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial Parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046. (Mrs. K. A. Sheppard, President New Zealand Council of Women, in "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.")

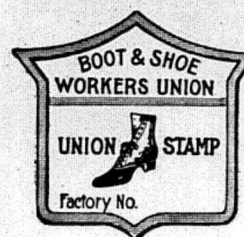
I know and declare that the rights of Labor are sovereign, and I shall assist with all my heart in any effort necessary to establish a new Society.—Quoted by Robert Hunter, "Socialists at Work," pp. 240 and 241.

We have seen the fight for Freedom waged by valiant men and few; Have our hands been stretched to aid them—they, the good, and staunch and true?

Or, 'midst Moloch-Mammon's minions—in his infamy enrolled—Have we stoned the prophet-rebels 'gainst the blighting rule of gold? Oh! the day draws ever nearer; nay, 'tis even drawing nigh. When righteous rage at robbery may rend the earth and sky. That day brings retribution or reward to you and me For our attitude to Labor in its efforts to be free.

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WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

Women and Social Service

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

I.

Women, without the ballot, can do things that will show the unconverted what the suffragists want, and of what they are capable. In trying to reach people with a sense of the value of woman's ballot, we find these obstacles—the old theory of government, and the old theory of woman's natural place.

The old theory of government regarded it as something which governed, which gave orders, which made laws, which managed, which commanded; and people objected to having women put in a position where they were to give orders and to govern. Against that, we have to put the new theory of government, the idea which belongs to Democracy, which is part of Democracy—that government is service. And certainly nobody on earth ever objected to women servants. As soon as we get the new idea of government, that of service, incorporated in our minds, it will do much to alter the objection to giving women the ballot.

Beyond that lies this consideration: Suppose you were in a country ruled by a King or Queen. They have to face the awful responsibilities of that position. You remember Dooley's magazine article on the duties of a King. He said that the King is not allowed to choose his job, and that, if he tried to get away, they would "back him in." Even if he accomplishes anything of any worth, he gets no credit for it; all the credit is given to the Prime Minister. If anything goes wrong, the King is always blamed for it.

Knowing the inexorable positions that stand before him, the King is trained to meet its responsibilities. The young Prince has to work, just as any other young man does, to get the proper education for his business. He has to study hard for this. Practically the same thing is required of the young Princess, because her position is the same.

Democracy is a new thing on the earth; that is, the real Democracy. We have never had a whole Democracy yet. Our Democracy goes farther than any other, however, for it takes in one-half of the people. The Democracies of Rome and Greece took only one-half of a very few people. But we have never had a Democracy yet that took in the whole of the people. We have never yet realized that in a Democracy every man and every woman is a responsible fraction of the government, a fraction of the King or Queen, and that we can no longer unload our responsibilities on another person's shoulders; but everyone, every citizen, is responsible for the condition of the government, the fulfillment of the law, and the making of better laws if the old ones do not suit. We have never yet realized that in a real Democracy we are all responsible, with no exception whatever, except idiots, imbeciles, criminals, lunatics and infants. If this is so, if all of us are workers in this form of government, then to be a member of a Democracy is a responsibility like being a King. Then it behooves us to study our business. And this can be done by the suffragists without a ballot.

We have had it cast up at us, especially by our friends, the "Antis," that women without the ballot can accomplish a great deal. Yes, they have accomplished a great deal. But the "Antis" use this fact as a singularly pointless argument that we do not need anything else. They seem to think that if woman, as she is, within the sphere of her own feminine influence, can accomplish things, to give her the ballot would rob her of all her capacity to accomplish things. But this is not the fact in masculine affairs. Does it rob a man of his capacity of accomplishment when he enters politics? No, he has an influence of the greatest power there. If that part of the population of our country which is most opposed to suffrage really represented the amount of intelligence and the amount of public spirit that it claims, this would be shown by concerted action on matters of common good and public questions generally.

SUFFRAGETTES CONVENE.

Report Read to Seattle Meeting Announces Growth.

Seattle, Wash., July 6.—The forty-first annual convention of the National Women Suffrage Association opened its sessions in Plymouth Church last Thursday with all of the general officers present and nearly all of the famous leaders of the movement.

Mrs. Emma Smith Devoe, president of the Washington association, welcomed the delegates, and Mrs. Mary S. Sperry, president of the California association, responded. In the absence of the international president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, National President Anna Shaw read the annual report on international suffrage work. Mrs. Shaw said the last five years had witnessed a steady spread of suffrage sentiment.

"Eighteen victories," she said, "have united the movement. Just two months ago Sweden's House of Commons passed unanimously a bill for universal suffrage for women. But, alas, there was the House of Lords, and we must wait a little longer. When we take into consideration the achievements of Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Iceland, I think we must give especial honor and the first place to the Scandinavian race.

"The papers of Australia are saying that since women have suffrage there is no power on earth that can prevent the early adoption of equal pay for equal work everywhere."

In making her report as corresponding secretary, Mrs. Kate M. Gordon of Louisiana said she could not accept re-election as secretary, but would give all her time to the presidency of the State League.

The report of the headquarters secretary, Miss Elizabeth Hauser, was read by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton. The report said:

"The year 1908 brought great opportunities. Never before did a President of the United States, through the medium of the high priest of the anti-woman suffragists issue a manifesto on the question. Never before did the newspaper interviewer put to every politician, writer or preacher, inventor and explorer, captain of industry, social worker, actor prize fighter, maid, matron or widow, the burning query, 'What about votes for women?'"

"The American Federation of Labor, at its annual convention in Denver, following its established custom, passed a woman suffrage resolution. The Federation is the strongest ally we have, representing as it does two million members. Other important organizations indorsing suffrage are the National Council of Women, the Socialist party, the International Bricklayers and Stone Masons' Union, the Woman's National Trade Union League, the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association and the International Cotton Spinners' Union."

Mrs. Rachael Foster Avery presided at the evening session, and official welcome to the city was spoken by Mayor John F. Miller.

Mrs. Henry Villard, whose husband was the builder of the Northern Pacific, and who has been the recipient of many attentions on account of her connection with the history of Puget Sound, responded on behalf of the National association.

SUFFRAGISTS ELECT OFFICERS.

Woman Preacher Head of Militant National Organization.

Seattle, Wash., July 5.—The national convention of the National Woman's Suffrage Association today elected the following officers: President, Rev. Anna Shaw, Shrewsbury, Pa.; first vice-president, Mrs. Rachael Foster Avery, Swarthmore, Pa.; second vice-president,

Mrs. Florence Kelly, New York; corresponding secretary, Miss Kate M. Gordon, New Orleans; recording secretary, Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, Chicago; treasurer, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren, O.; first auditor, Miss Laura Clay, Lexington, Ky.; second auditor, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston.

Secretary Gordon accepted re-election unwillingly, with the understanding that she might resign after a few months. The national leaders hope that Prof. Frances Squire Potter may be induced to leave the University of Minnesota and give all her time to the office of corresponding secretary at the New York headquarters, to be established, succeeding Miss Gordon, who will give all her time to the Louisiana State Association.

The question of the next convention city was left to the general officers for decision. The candidates were Sioux Falls, S. D., and Washington, D. C.

Picnic of Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 11.

Monday afternoon and evening, July 12, the Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 11 will give its annual picnic at Schoenlau's Grove, 5810 Gravois avenue. There will be concert and dance, and all kinds of amusements. Everybody invited.

The Japanese and the Mexicans And the Organs of the American Capitalist Class.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 29, 1909.

The Japanese consul at Honolulu has denied an Associated Press report from Tokyo charging him with the statement that the strike among the Japanese laborers in Hawaii was the result of agitation on the part of Japanese anarchists, the worst element among the Japanese, et cerera. In Hawaii, as in the United States, an attempt of the workers to extricate themselves from miserable conditions—these Hawaiian workmen were striking for a wage of \$1 per day—is immediately suggestive to some reporters for the public (?) press as a dangerous "plot," liable to be attended with heaven knows what disturbing of the sacred peace of society—that same society that for some reason is not perturbed when men and women fall of starvation on the streets, or babies work in noisy factories. Puzzle: What is connected with the Associated Press that induces it to turn out this sort of stuff about imaginary plots, with equal impartiality for the Chicago Tribune or the newspapers of Tokyo?

Now that Magon, Vilareal and Rivera have been duly given their "speedy trial" and certainly expeditious sentence, one feels moved to ask for information about the peculiar crime that necessitated their incarceration incommunicado for so many months? The reasons for this unusual proceeding were all to come out at the aforesaid trial, I believe we were assured, but the press dispatches do not indicate that floods of light were thrown upon the question even when Justice threw off the bandage from her eyes and lit up the Tombstone court room so that the friends and employes of the Copper Queen Co. could see that Socialist agitators ought to be in jail. Now won't Oscar Lawler please enlighten us?

The assembled Presbyterian ministers at Denver were annoyed at the American tendency to patronize sports on Sunday, but so far as I have heard, did not make mention of the Pittsburg steel workers who take no interest in baseball on Sunday, for the reason that they work twelve hours then, as on every other day. When the Supreme Court succeeds in treating all unions after the fashion of the Danbury hatter, we may be quite sure that this tendency rebuked by the Denver conference of clergymen will be corrected so far as the workers are concerned. The men employed by the U. S. Steel Corporation have been mercifully preserved from the fault of running around the diamond on the Sabbath day, in order that they might build up many libraries which, for the most part, are not open upon the day when even six-day workers might have access to the same.

Do you think that the "civilized" society that knowingly permits the starving of a single child, or that inflicts deformities or death upon it in a factory, is worth preserving for one hour? I will prefer to shake the hand of a striped suit, in jail because he shot down a grown man upon the highway and took away his pocketbook, than that of the man who works eight and ten-year-old children to death in his cotton mill. The highway robber takes some risks, at least.

Speaking of baseball reminds one of the fact that although an umpire is a convenience, it by no means follows that he is above criticism. There is no danger of arrest for "contempt of umpire" if you should say in the very presence of this gentleman that you consider him incompetent or corrupt. If enough players and spectators agree with your unfavorable estimate of him, his chances of acting as arbiter of the diamond in the next game are slim. What would you think of the plan of choosing an umpire for life, and respectfully abiding by what he said, after you had detected him giving grossly unfair decisions in favor of the team that held the heaviest purse?

I saw a corps of the Salvation Army working among the sinners in the poorest part of the town. They did not beat their drums or utter their exhortations before the doors of the big merchants who underpay working girls and drive them to the slums.

There are 125 different ways in which eggs may be served to wealthy men; Mr. Free American Workingman, minus a job, in how many ways do you get eggs these days? LOUISA HARDING.

Are Women Too Visionary?

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs, read a paper in which she said:

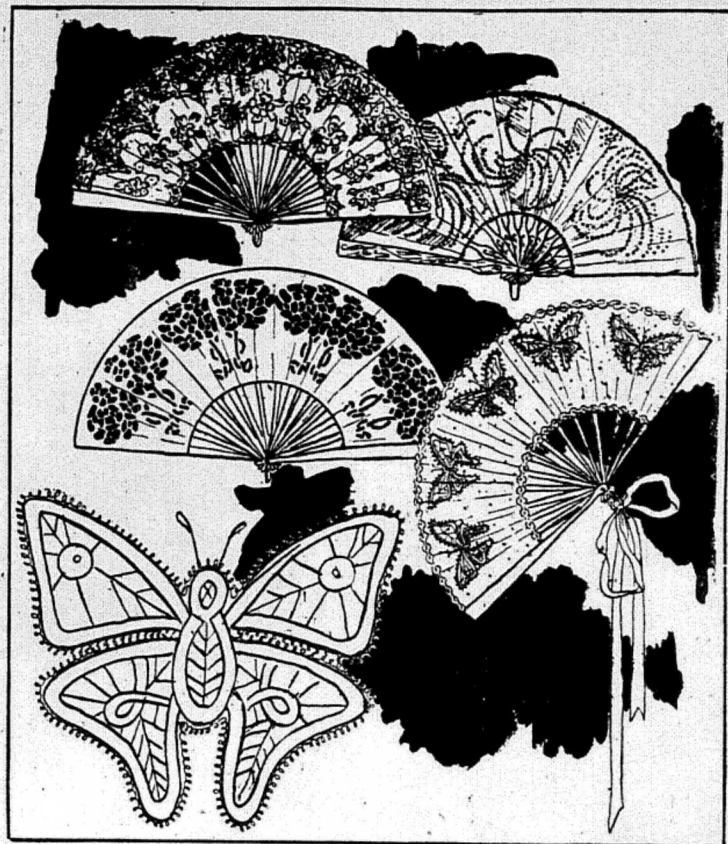
"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment."

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? It is shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-saleable commodity."

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

When the beacon-light of Liberty is flaming o'er the earth;
When the Resurrection Morning of the toiler has its birth;
When broken are the idols in the brute-god Mammon's shrine;
And Freedom stamps Humanity with marks of the Divine;
Will we pride ourselves, my brothers, on the deeds we will have done
'Gainst the meanest rule that ever wrought oppression 'neath the sun?
Or stained shall we be, fouler than the old-time Pharisee,
For our attitude to Labor in its efforts to be free.

PRETTY FANS



Painted, Spangled, Stenciled and Lace Applique Fans to Be Made at Home.

THE fan is a dainty trifle and should be in harmony with the gown. A fan is carried more for its picturesque beauty than for actual use, therefore the materials should be of the most fairylike delicacy. A fan is always held so near that exquisiteness of detail in the decoration is essential. In the inexpensive boughten fans there is, naturally, an utter lack of this fine attention to the detail of both design and workmanship that distinguish the expensive fans. The design should delicately follow, or be in entire keeping with, the rounded outline of the fan.

It is possible to have a very choice fan for small cost if one does the decoration at home. When buying the fan, give the whole attention to the quality of the frame, while the spread of the fan is of plain white chiffon. If a cheap lace edges it, this may be removed.

Four designs for fans are shown in the sketch, the modes of decoration being quite within the power of the most inexperienced of craftsmen. The fan in the upper left-hand corner is of plain white chiffon, edged with a fine French lace. The center of the spread is hand-painted with dainty little pink wild roses and delicate green leaves. There is a quaint old-time charm about a painted fan that is altogether lovely. In this model the roses and leaves are lightly sprinkled with wee silver spangles sewn on with a fine needle and fine thread. The stitches on the back of the fan are hardly perceptible.

The next fan is a dainty affair of white chiffon, spangled in gold. A row of the spangles gives a pretty finish on each edge.

The lower left-hand fan has a stencil decoration. This is something de-

cidedly novel and artistic, and is the daintiest affair imaginable. The fan is of white chiffon, and the flowers pale yellow, with dark green centers, and stems a delicate green. The frame of the fan is plain white ivory.

To stencil the fan, make the stencil first, then mix the color and try on a side piece of chiffon. Be sure to put the white of an egg in the dye so that the color will not run. Have a separate bristle brush for each color. Half the design is given, so the finished stencil will have two groups of flowers with the stems in toward each other.

Lay the fan on a board, with a piece of white blotting paper under the fan. Measure up where each motif will come. Lay the stencil on the fan and fasten all edges down with pins. The color should be lightly dabbed on, not washed on with long strokes. Very delicate handling is necessary. Do not have too much color on the brush. Wipe it on a bit of old white cotton cloth before applying to the chiffon.

The remaining sketch shows a fan of white chiffon, which was spangled in silver. Over the spangled fabric are applied five hand-made point lace butterflies. The edges of the fan are finished with a point lace braid.

One half of the pattern for the butterfly is given. Trace the whole butterfly on a piece of pink cambric. Make the lace over the cambric. The braids that are most effective for the butterflies are: No. 155, for the outline of the wings; No. 145, for the outline of the wings; No. 145, for the outline of the wings, and size 00, crocheted ring for the upper wings. The body of the butterfly is made of the braid with plain stitches. The stitches should be of the finest texture, using plain cross stitches in the upper wings and a loop of braid in the lower. The fan is edged with No. 296 braid.

PARASOL AND SCARF MATCH.

New Feature Which Fashion Insists Must Be Made Part of the Costume.

A touch of bright color will be added to the costume this coming season in parasol and long, filmy scarf, which is worn about the shoulders.

It is quite essential that the parasol should match some part of the costume, either frock, hat or pumps, and stockings.

The many-ribbed Japanese parasols will be popular this summer. They are of silk with quaint little Japanese characters embroidered or hand painted on. Those made of Persian silk handkerchiefs are most attractive and match up well with the Paisley scarfs.

A Cio Cio San sunshade of white silk was lined with pale lavender and embroidered with Japanese iris in lavender and tall spike leaves in vivid green. With it was worn a scarf of lavender and white striped chiffon, with embroidered violets scattered over the entire surface. The scarf was finished at the ends with long white silk knotted fringe.

To Clean Tan Leather Shoes.

A raw white potato cut in halves and peeled is excellent for this purpose. Rub the potato, which must be freshly cut, well into the leather, leaving no part untouched. Let this dry on, then polish with a rag with a light, quick motion. A little turpentine on a flannel rag is also a good cleanser for tan leather, while several drops of lemon or orange juice give a brilliant polish to any leather. Olive oil, with a brisk after-polish, is used on patent leather.

To Lower Ceilings.

You can make your room appear lower ceiled by letting the paper of the ceiling run down the side of the wall in a deep frieze finished by a picture mold. Use plain paper on the ceiling and figured or striped on the walls.

The illusion may be furthered if you wish by adding a plate rail at eye level and standing numbers of small framed pictures and bits of bric-a-brac along it in a row.

NEGLIGES OF WHITE SWISS.

Wash Fabric Deservedly Popular for Its Many Uses and Good Appearance.

Even the most fashionable dress-makers lend their talents to the making of most attractive negligees of white swiss, lace and ribbon. This wash fabric has come into more favor for the kind of garment one wears in one's own room or for breakfast and luncheon with the family alone. The swiss is fine and has a small dot, and the negligee is usually made in two pieces, put together on one belt, which is covered by a broad sash of colored satin.

This is often high-waisted at back and is finished at the left with a large rosette and two long ends.

The neck is open, in V-shape, and finished with deep lace ruffles and a bow of satin at the back.

The tight elbow sleeves are finished with deep lace ruffles and a bow of satin at the back.

Such negligees are cooler and fresher than those of silk or other materials that do not wash.

SUGGESTION FOR HAT.



High-crowned hat of old rose chip, lined with black chip, immense choux of fine cream lace.

FROM OUR READERS

Contributions must not exceed 500 words. Write on one side of the paper only. Names and addresses of writers must be signed to communications (not necessarily for publication, if so requested) as a guarantee of good faith.

A Fourth of July Compliment.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

Patriotism and love do not seem to live under the same roof. At least, not the kind of patriotism I witnessed on July 4 and 5. Next door to our residence live two families in the same house. Both families seem to be on the best of terms, and I can hear them speak well of each other. Last week the poor woman living downstairs, mother of four little children, had to undergo a dangerous operation. As a result of the sufferings she is today in a lamentable nervous condition that can hardly be described. For several days she would say to her husband: "I wish the Fourth of July noise was all over!" Much to my surprise, the family living upstairs had no pity with the suffering woman. On Sunday and Monday evenings the man living upstairs appeared with his cannon crackers on the sidewalk in front of the sick woman's bedroom and amused himself and his family with a cannonade for several hours. Indeed, I do not know what to think of this kind of patriotism. MRS. GERTRUDE L... R. St. Louis, July 6, 1909.

Asks a Polite Question.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

In reading about the success of the co-operative enterprises in European countries, especially in little Belgium, I have often asked myself: Why is it that the co-operative movement has never made much headway in America? I was myself connected with a number of co-operative schemes in the past twenty years, but I have thus far failed to answer my own question satisfactorily. Would some experienced co-operator attempt to answer it? Yours truly, JOHN H. F... Y. St. Louis, July 5, 1909.

Grand Summer Festival

GIVEN BY THE

Workingmen's Singing Society Vorwaerts

Sunday, July 18, 1909 (all day)

Risch's Grove, Lemay Ferry Rd. and Bayles Av.

Family tickets \$1.00. Refreshments Free. Singing, Dancing, Bowling and Races. Take Bellefontaine Car to the southern end of line; 15-minute walk to the Grove, or a wagon at 5c a person.

Socialist News Review

Picnic at Longwood Grove.

Tomorrow, Sunday, July 11, Local Longwood, St. Louis County, will give its annual picnic at Longwood Grove, 9401 South Broadway.

The Socialist Singing "Vorwaerts"

Will give its annual picnic on Sunday, July 18, at Risch's Grove, Lemay Ferry road and Horn avenue, Carondelet. Take Bellefontaine or Broadway cars. Ten minutes' walk from end of the car lines. Family tickets \$1.00. Refreshments free.

National Socialist Finances.

The comparative figures for receipts of dues at the National Office for the first quarter are for 1908, \$6,235.10; 1909, \$6,504.93, an increase of \$269.83. The comparative figures for the second quarter are for 1908, \$5,242.65; 1909, \$5,887.48, an increase for the quarter of \$644.83.

For Free Speech.

The Comrades of Local Winnipeg, Manitoba, have recently claimed the undivided attention of the local authorities by insisting upon the right of free speech and public assemblage, using the streets of that city. Ten Comrades were arrested in a bunch on the evening of June 24th.

The Strike in Hawaii.

As a result of the strike of the Japanese plantation laborers of Hawaii several of the strikers have been arrested, the usual charges of conspiracy and inciting to riot and murder. The plantation owners have announced confidence in the success of their immigration plans, and that their agent, A. J. Campbell, is visiting the Azores and will also go to Madeira for the purpose of securing laborers.

The International Socialist Review for July.

As usual, this publication is full of good reading matter. We mention the following principal articles: The Unrendered Decision, by Francis Patrick; Socialism for Students, by Joseph E. Cohen; Stories of the Cave People, by Mary E. Marcy; The Belgian Labor Party, by Robert Hunter, etc. Price 10 cents a copy; \$1.00 per year.

Daily Socialist Editor Before Grand Jury.

Nearly the entire editorial staff of the Chicago Daily Socialist was summoned before the grand jury of Cook county on July 1, being called upon to give testimony concerning the graft expose as contained in the columns of the Daily Socialist and relating to the Chicago city officials. On another line the state officials have attacked the Daily in that they have tried to have withdrawn the second class mailing privileges.

New York Socialists Nominate Municipal Ticket.

New York, July 4.—At the Socialist Party convention of the Socialists of New York City, held today in Brooklyn to make a platform and nominate candidates for Mayor, Comptroller and President of the Board of Aldermen, Edward F. Cassidy, a printer and vice-president of Typographical Union No. 6, received the mayoralty nomination. The platform adopted represented the Socialist standpoint and denounced the police of New York for interfering with Sunday amusements.

Ninth Ward Socialist Club

At the regular meeting held June 29 re-elected the following officers: Organizer, W. F. Hunstock; Recording Secretary, B. Brockmeyer; Financial Secretary-Treasurer, John A. Weber; Auditing Committee, Wm. M. Brandt, Willard Phelps and J. R. Teel; Delegate to Executive Board, W. F. Hunstock, B. Brockmeyer and Wm. M. Brandt. On motion it was decided that beginning with July the club meet only twice a month, on every first and third Tuesday. B. Brockmeyer, Secretary.

Missouri Socialist Party

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

MISSOURI FINANCIAL REPORT FOR JUNE.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Dues—		M. M. Kern	1.00
Arnett	1.50	M. Shaddid	2.00
Aurora	2.00	D. S. McCorkle	1.75
Bell City	.90	L. H. Kreigh	.50
Bevier	1.80	Total dues	\$92.25
Clinton	2.00	Supplies	.35
Cardwell	2.00	Richwoods, assessment	.25
Cedar Hill	2.00	Bevier, assessment	.65
Dexter	2.40	Total receipts	\$93.50
Fordland	3.00	EXPENDITURES.	
Independence	2.00	Due stamps	\$50.00
Jasper County	5.00	L. G. Pope, on account	10.00
Kirksville	2.00	Rent, June	7.00
Liberal	2.10	Bulletin, June	9.00
Laclede	.70	Printing, tickets and bills	3.50
Luebbering	1.60	Telegrams	.90
Licking	1.00	O. Pauls, June	35.00
Mountainview	.90	Postage, June	4.05
Neosho	2.40	Total expense	\$119.45
Puxico, reorganized	.90	Less receipts	93.50
Poplar Bluff	3.50	Cash deficit	\$25.95
Reed's Spring	4.00	Less balance of May	4.28
Richwoods	1.30	Leaves deficit, June 30	\$21.67
St. Francois County	6.00	Due stamps on hand	\$25.55
St. Louis	30.00		
Shook (new)	.50		
Springfield	3.00		
Warrensburg	1.00		
W. H. Hertel	1.50		

Winfield R. Gaylord's Remaining Dates.

July 10, Bell City; 11, Mine La Motte; 12, Knob Lick, 8 p. m.; 13, Knob Lick, 10:45 a. m.; 14, Greenfield; 15-16-17, Mindenmines; 18, Carthage, 2:30 p. m.; 19, Carthage, 8 p. m.

Prosperity in the Lumber Camps.

Cardwell.—Everything is duller here now than ever before. The farmers have no money and the mills here are on the bum. I have not worked for 10 days and expect to have to leave, so much for the existing order of things. Last week the authorities "pinched" almost 100 men for gambling. They all paid \$13.85 each, fine and costs, so you can see where all the money is now—divided between the prosecuting attorney, justice of the peace and the constable.—W. H. Warren.

Notes by a "Live One" on the Road.

The industrial and farming conditions in this state furnish splendid matter for propaganda. For instance, in Scott and New Madrid counties the Johnson Land Company owns 200,000 acres of cleared land, B. F. Marshall owns 10,000, C. E. Mathews owns 100,000, Bill Hunter owns 100,000, all under tenant conditions, stock and crops mortgaged, company stores, etc. Terms, one-half of wheat and peas and one-third of all other products, delivered to the landlord. At Flat River lead mines the new electric power furnished by gas producer engines makes it possible to turn out 32 tons of lead ore per man where former steam power produced only 15 tons. From one acre of land there was taken \$1,000,000 worth of lead ore.

In 1906-07 one company netted \$17.50 per day on an average from every man employed, with lead at 6 cents per pound. The price of lead is now lower but the machinery has been improved and wages reduced.

Highest wage paid, \$1.90 per day. During the panic wages were cut from \$2.25 to \$1.70.—W. R. Gaylord.

New Local in Butler County.

Comrade Carl Knecht of Poplar Bluff wandered into the regions of the Black River and found 17 Socialists ready to join. He did not have the regular application for charter blank but sent in the names and dues for the first month. A regular blank has been sent, and as soon as it is signed up a charter will be issued.

The Genuine Article.

The dues receipts last month show that many of the comrades must be at the summer resorts or gone to Europe for the heated term. Now, let everybody get real busy during July and make up for June. The real thing in the way of Socialist goods has a red dues card stamped up to date. The "Socialist" who has no card, or has let his card lapse, gets no consideration in the councils of the worker's party. Usually the man who talks loudest and longest about what a good Socialist he is, is apt to have a poor record as a party member. Organization will decide the battle and the organization rests on the dues-paying membership. Are you up to date?

FOR OUR SOCIALIST PRESS

CONTRIBUTION FOR ST. LOUIS LABOR AND ARBEITER-ZEITUNG.

Adam Feik	50
Fred Steller	50
Jos. Bauer, Los Angeles	50
Emma Akschel List—	
Emma Akschel	50
Carl Podkahn	25
Jacob Keller	25
R. Numan	25
C. Jacobson	25
J. Wagar	10
Wm. Buscheck	50
K. H., St. Charles, Mo	50
G. Jacobs	1.00
Total for week	\$ 5.35
Previously reported	295.40
Total to July 6	\$300.75

Holland Socialists Elect Seven Deputies.

Amsterdam, July 5.—As a result of the second ballot for members of the Chamber of Deputies the Socialists are in the same position as they were before, having seven delegates in that body. The Socialists elected are: Troelstra and Vliegen from Amsterdam; Laan from The Hague; Schaper from Appingedam; Haldingen from Franeker; Hugenholtz from Weststellingewart, and Duys from Zaandam. The Socialist popular vote, however, was increased by about one-third over that cast at the last elections.

MASTER CARPENTERS FOR OPEN SHOP.

The Master Carpenters' Association of New York City have carried out their threat and have ordered the "open shop" plan of employment against the 18,000 union carpenters of the big city. The carpenters have decided to fight this dictum by declaring strikes and will ask the allied trades to assist them.

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324 Chestnut Street
BUY ONE OF THESE RESIDENCES AND BECOME YOUR OWN LANDLORD. WE WILL MAKE IT EASY FOR YOU AND VERY INTERESTING. EXAMINE EVERY ONE OF THE HOUSES IN THE LIST AND IF ANY ONE OF THEM SUITS YOU SEE US ABOUT IT.

- AUSTRIA ST.—4865. Frame cottage, two rooms and attic; large garden and chicken yard; city water; lot 50x117. Will make easy terms. Price \$900.
- SCHILLER PL.—3962. Frame dwelling; four rooms and basement, with lot 30x113; city water. Price \$1,000.
- LOUISIANA AVE.—6123. Frame dwelling; two rooms; frame stable in rear; lot 50x125; city water. Price \$1,250.
- ALLEMANIA ST.—4851. Frame residence; two rooms; lot 50x125; city water. Price \$1,300.
- MICHIGAN AVE.—8409. Three-room frame cottage; gas and water made; lot 25x140. Price \$1,400.
- NEBRASKA AVE.—4523-25. Four-room frame dwelling; water, gas and sewer made; lot 50x125 1/2. A great bargain. Price \$1,450.
- IDAHO AVE.—6305. Three-room frame dwelling; water, gas and sewer made; lot 24x127 1/2. Price \$1,500.
- NEBRASKA AVE.—4514. Two rooms and attic frame dwelling house; sewer, water and gas; lot 50x113. Price \$1,550.
- GASCONADE ST.—2226. Brick dwelling; three rooms and frame kitchen; large cellar; lot 36x125. Price \$2,000.
- CONNECTICUT ST.—4222. Brick dwelling; three rooms and basement; lot 25x125; water, gas, sewer and sidewalks made. Price \$2,000.
- KEOKUK ST.—2224. Three-room brick dwelling, with lot 25x127 1/2; sidewalks, water, gas and sewer made. Price \$2,000.
- DEKALB ST.—3541. Three-room brick dwelling; lot 30x122. Price \$2,000.
- OREGON AVE.—4645. Frame dwelling; three large rooms, stone foundation and large cellar; two-story frame stable; lot 50x125; city water and sidewalks made. Price \$2,050.
- SCHILLER PLACE—4210. Brick dwelling; three rooms and basement room; lot 30x114; city water. Price \$2,200.
- PENNSYLVANIA AVE.—4636. Brick cottage; three rooms; lot 25 feet front; brick street; easy terms. Price \$2,200.
- GRAVOIS AVE.—6232. Frame cottage; two rooms; city water, and gas; lot 60x125. Price \$2,200.
- MICHIGAN AVE.—4720. Four-room brick residence; street, sidewalk, sewer, water and gas made; lot 25x128. Price \$2,300.
- PENNSYLVANIA AVE.—6116. Brick store building, with store and two rooms; large cellar; water and gas; first-class location for retail business; lot 49x117. Price \$2,300.
- MICHIGAN AVE.—4743. Brick dwelling; three rooms and basement; water, sewer and sidewalk made; lot 25x147. Price \$2,300.
- TYROLEAN AVE.—4642. New one-story and attic frame cottage; four rooms and bath; large closets and pantry; excellent under entire building; exceptionally well built and nicely arranged; city water, gas, sewers and granite sidewalks made. Will make easy terms. Lot 20x120. Price \$2,300.
- IDAHO AVE.—6939. A new four-room and bath frame cottage, with large attic and cellar; lot 40x110. Price \$2,400.
- HIL ST.—2231. A new one-story hollow concrete block; four rooms; cemented cellar; cistern on premises; sewer made; house is fitted up with plumbing for gas and city water; lot 50x125. Will accept \$300 cash and the balance to suit. Price \$2,450.
- RAY AVE.—4567. Frame dwelling; three rooms, alcove, pantry and bath room on first floor; one room and attic on second floor; cemented basement; lot 28x115. Price \$2,500.
- LOUISIANA AVE.—3431. Brick dwelling; four rooms, bath and toilet; lot 25x125; water, gas and sewer made. Will make easy terms. Price \$2,500.
- MARINE AVE.—3701-3. A one-story and attic double brick building; six rooms; large cellar; lot 50x89, and being the southeast corner of Winnebago street. \$500 cash down and balance to suit. Price \$2,500.
- HABSBURGER AVE.—4620. A brick dwelling; four rooms and bath; front entrance; large cellar; lot 30x120; water, sewer and sidewalk made. Will make easy terms. Price \$2,600.
- JUNIATA ST.—4324. Brick store building, 16x30, in front, and five-room frame cottage in rear; stable; water, gas and sewer made; lot 44x125. A big bargain. Price \$2,700.
- LOUISIANA AVE.—3427. Brick dwelling; four rooms and two basement rooms; water, gas and sewer made; lot 25x125. Price \$2,700.
- GASCONADE ST.—3426. Brick cottage; five rooms and laundry; water, gas and granite sidewalks made; lot 25 feet front. Price \$2,800.
- ALASKA AVE.—5524. A three-room brick cottage; large porch; lot 50x150. Price \$2,800.
- MICHIGAN AVE.—4732. A brick residence; seven rooms and bath, with lot 25x125. Price \$2,800.
- CHIPPEWA ST.—4206A. Brick residence; five rooms and reception hall; nice stairway; large cellar; gas and city water; lot 33x140. Price \$2,900.
- GASCONADE ST.—3005. Two-story and attic brick flat; arranged for two families; lot 25x125. Will make easy terms. Price \$3,000.
- WINNEBAGO ST.—3208. Brick residence; three rooms and large cellar; large stable in rear; lot 50x125; water, gas, sewer and sidewalk made; brick street made. Price \$3,000.
- TENNESSEE AVE.—4405. A four-room brick residence; front hall entrance; large basement and cellar; large stable in rear; lot 30x140. Price \$3,000.
- SIXTEENTH ST.—4437 S. Four-room and attic frame dwelling; large cellar; lot 92x140. Price \$3,000.
- ALASKA AVE.—5006. Brick residence; five rooms and bath; fruit trees and grape arbor; water, gas and sewer made; lot 50x140. Price \$3,100.
- MINESOTA AVE.—3455. Brick cottage; five rooms and bath; water, gas and sewer made; lot 30x125. Price \$3,300.

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