

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

OFFICE: 212 South Fourth Street. PHONE: Kinloch, Central 1577

Workingmen of All Countries, UNITE!

You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains, and A WORLD TO GAIN!

VOL. VI

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1908

NO. 373

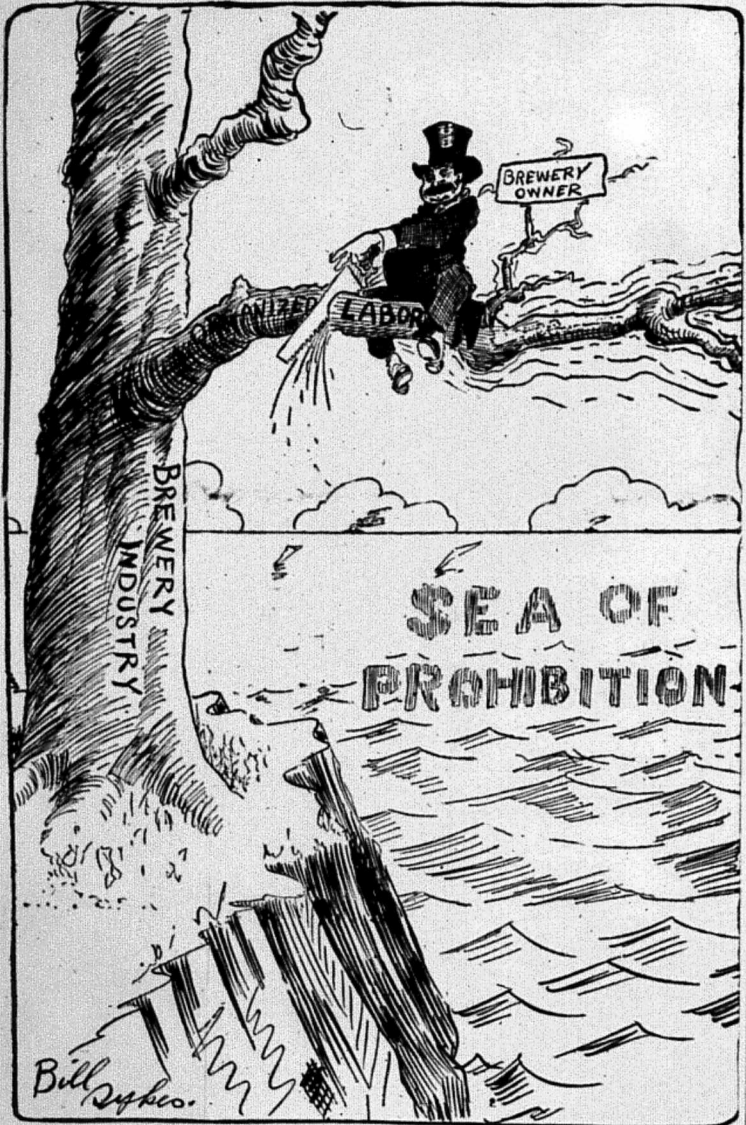
## THE BATTLE IS ON

**3,500 St. Louis Brewery Workers, Supported by the Central Trades and Labor Union, Will Defend the Right of Organization.**

**Over One Hundred Thousand Copies of "A Lockout" Published and Circulated Within the Last Five Days--All St. Louis Beer Declared Unfair.**

### BULLETIN:

All negotiations were broken off Wednesday, March 26, between the brewery owners, the committee from the Central Trades and Labor Union, acting as mediators, and the Joint Executive Board of the United Brewery Workers. The boycott against St. Louis beer goes into effect at once and has the unanimous endorsement of the St. Louis central body. The committee from the Central Trades and Labor Union exhausted every honorable means to bring about a settlement, but without avail. It is plain to every close observer that the St. Louis brewery owners are determined to avail themselves of



the industrial crisis and of the general misery resulting therefrom, to inaugurate a general warfare against Organized Labor. It was Mr. Augustus Busch who said that there were 75,000 men out of work in St. Louis who are anxious to take the places of the locked-out men! The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis appeals to Organized Labor throughout the land to support the locked-out Union brewery employees of St. Louis in their just struggle for the right of organization.

#### THE LOCKED-OUT BREWERY WORKERS OF ST. LOUIS.

Every one of the 3,500 union men who were employed in the St. Louis breweries are out today. The lockout is general.

For the last three days "peace conferences" have been held, but without bringing any change in the situation.

The United Brewery Workers' International Union has placed all St. Louis breweries on the boycott, or "We Don't Patronize" list. Last Sunday the Central Trades and Labor Union met at Aschenbroedel Hall and by unanimous vote passed the following

#### Resolution:

Whereas, The brewery owners of St. Louis and vicinity have locked out all members of the International Brewery Workers' Union and have refused persistently to enter into negotiations with a view to re-employment, be it Resolved, That as a boycott against all brewers in St. Louis, East St. Louis and Granite City has been declared by the International Union of United Brewery Workers of America, the Central Trades and Labor Union indorses this boycott and the secretary and a committee of five delegates given full power to act.

The committee appointed by President Owen Miller is composed as follows: David Kreyling, secretary of St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union; Joseph A. Jackson of the Typographical Union; Phil Hoffer of the Cigar Makers' Union; Lee A. Woodward of the Retail Clerks' Union; H. J. Straubinger of the Amalgamated Woodworkers, and A. Mayer of the Bartenders' Union.

The committee conferred with the brewery owners Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, but it was impossible to come to an agreement.

Meanwhile the locked-out men attended to their own business. Over one hundred thousand copies of a paper captioned "A Lockout" was published and distributed all over St. Louis and the Illinois coal mining district.

District No. 6 of the United Mine Workers of America met last Tuesday in East St. Louis, Ill., and the delegates, representing over 15,000 miners of St. Clair, Madison, Macoupin, Clinton and Bond counties, decided to support the locked-out Brewery Workers of St. Louis in their just struggle.

Every reader of St. Louis Labor is hereby requested to inform the members of Organized Labor everywhere that all St. Louis beer is "unfair" and will remain on the "Unfair list" until the conspirators of brewery owners will have reinstated every one of the locked-out union men and live up to the contracts which they signed with the International Brewery Workers' Union.

### SHALL FRED D. WARREN BE RAILROADED? By Eugene V. Debs.

There have been many curious turns in the federal prosecution instituted against Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal, since the indictment was first brought against him and he was placed under arrest a trifle less than a year ago. Since then he has been constantly under bail, has had two hearings and repeated consultations with his lawyers, but the case is as uncertain as ever as to its final outcome. The only thing known for certain is that the law provides that Warren may be fined five thousand dollars and sentenced to the penitentiary at hard labor for five years. It is not pleasant to have such a sentence hanging over one's head for so long a time, and in some respects is worse, in fact, than the sentence itself, but Warren, has never once complained, and although the uncertainty of his fate has somewhat hampered him in his plans for the future



Eugene V. Debs, he has gone on with his work as undaunted as if no case against him were pending.

On his own personal account he is not concerned about the outcome, but the probable effect upon the paper, and by reflex upon the movement, in case of an adverse verdict, has been seriously considered, and as a result it has been concluded to resist the indictment as far as legal ability can successfully do so, and to this end Clarence S. Darrow has been employed to reinforce General Boyle, Judge Doster and L. H. Phillips, counsel for the defense.

Mr. Darrow will make the principal address to the jury, and this feature of the trial and the forensic effort he will feel inspired to make in behalf of a free press will create widespread interest.

Whatever may be our opinion of the courts under capitalism, there is a vital principle involved in this case, and the outcome may have an important bearing upon the Socialist press and free speech in the United States. I have always believed this to be a case of critical importance although pivoted upon what seems a very trivial incident.

Of course, no one who has followed the case supposes for an instant that the prosecution was inspired by a sense of outraged justice in behalf of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, the only person who could have been wronged in the remotest by the publication which provoked the indictment.

The whole case rests upon the offer of the reward for the fugitive Taylor and sending it through the mails, a mere repetition in a small way of what the authorities of Kentucky had been doing on a large scale.

It was a trifling incident. Taylor did not complain. Why should any one else?

The reason is obvious. Here was the opening, so long looked for, to strike the Appeal a deadly blow. It was not to defend Taylor—they care nothing about him—but to destroy the Appeal that the proceeding was instituted.

It was not to preserve the purity of the mails, for every day hundreds of similar rewards offered by sheriffs are sent through the mails, and no one has ever dreamed of filing a complaint.

No, it was not to vindicate Taylor, nor to send Warren to the penitentiary, but to intimidate the Appeal's policy, bankrupt its treasury and compass its ruin. That is the object and the hope of the prosecution, and whether it succeeds or fails is a matter of far less consequence to Fred Warren, even if he is put in stripes, than it is to the Socialist and labor press, and to the working people of the United States.

There is not the slightest doubt that Inspector Chance told the truth when he said that the order had come from the department at Washington to "reopen the case" and push it to a successful termination. Assistant District Attorney West virtually confirmed this when in the course of his heated argument at Fort Scott he said he had received a letter from the department at Washington saying that the offense with which Warren was charged came within the purview of the law, and that he could, and should, be convicted. Further evidence is found in the following paragraph taken from a special dispatch from Washington to the Dallas News of March 13 in regard to the defeat of the Penrose bill:

"The Penrose bill makes eight printed lines, but, like dynamite, it was potential in small quantities.

"It proposed to vest the postmaster general with an absolute power of censorship.

Of course, it wasn't intended that this absolute power should be used in an absolute way. The introduction of the bill was occasioned by the lurid utterances of a Socialist organ in a western state, and while it was to be a general law it was intended only for particular application.

The staff correspondent of the News who sent this dispatch to his paper was on the ground and knew whereof he spoke. The Penrose bill was intended not to have general application, but to suppress the Appeal, and that is precisely what was predicted by the prosecuting attorney at the time of the Warren hearing—that in the next session of Congress a bill would be introduced that would "fix the Appeal."

The Kansas City Journal regretted that there was not already a Penrose bill on the statute books when it said editorially: "It is unfortunate that a technicality has to be invoked in order to make a case against the Appeal." In this same editorial the Journal stated that the prosecution had been directed from Washington by no less a person than President Roosevelt himself, and that the suppression of the "viperous sheet known as the Appeal to Reason" would have the hearty support of the national administration.

It is therefore seen at a glance that it is not Warren, but the Appeal, that is on trial, and in fact the Socialist press, for if the

Appeal can be loaded down with court costs, and its editor put in stripes, so can the Chicago Socialist, the New York Worker, and other revolutionary papers, and the most trifling incident will be sufficient to serve as justification for the assault.

Ever since the Haywood trial the Appeal has been under the ban. But for the Socialist press the conspiracy would have succeeded. The baffled conspirators swore vengeance. Since then they have made repeated attempts to have the Appeal excluded from the mails. The suit against Warren was one attack; the Penrose bill another. There were others made by stealth, of which no report can now be made. Enough to say that the postmaster at Girard has been superseded in office because he was reported as "friendly to the Appeal." The truth is that he treated the Appeal honestly and would not be a party to the machinations to oust it from the mails, and it is now predicted that previous attempts which failed on his account will now be renewed.

The trial which opens May 4 in Fort Scott will be the trial of the radical press of the United States. It is not the Appeal alone that is to be silenced, but the whole revolutionary press that is to be suppressed, and if the attempt is successful and a paper escapes, it will be because it is of not sufficient consequence to menace the ruling class.

Of course the charge is falsely made that the Appeal is a violent and anarchistic sheet, and ought to be suppressed in the interest of peace and order. That is mere subterfuge. Every journal that scourges capitalism and exposes its crimes and iniquities is a "nest of vipers to be exterminated," in the lurid phrase of a capitalist paper recently applied to the Appeal.

The attack on Warren was conceived in revenge. It is an attack on labor and the reason for it is plain enough. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone escaped the gallows. That was a bitter pill for the kidnapers. The Appeal helped to administer it and Warren was in editorial control of the Appeal and responsible for its policy.

In the fight for the lives of the Federation leaders, Warren led repeated charges that staggered the conspirators. From the very first he plunged into the conflict; he was ever at the front, and in the thickest; he never wavered. His courage was heroic and his example an inspiration. He staked all and asked no favors. Hundreds of his readers warned, pleaded and threatened. They were sure he was too radical and that the Appeal would be ruined; that it was simply another Haymarket and that radical and inflammatory speech would but intensify the public prejudice and seal the fate of the kidnaped comrades.

To all such entreaties and protests Warren was deaf. He had taken his stand and there could be no retreat. He relied wholly upon arousing the militant spirit of the working class, and upon the Socialist press as the chief means to that end, and more than any other, Fred Warren contributed by his daring, his resourceful and his unflinching tenacity to that magnificent national demonstration of working class solidarity which palsied the kidnapers and snatched their intended victims from their nerveless grasp and saved them from the bloody executioner.

Had the battle been lost Warren would have been condemned, ruined and disgraced. But the battle was won. Warren was happy and modestly resumed his usual round. But he was marked. The black hand now pointed in his direction. The prey has escaped and he was chiefly to blame.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone could not be hanged, but Warren could be put into chains, and the Appeal out of business. And so happened the discovery that Warren had circulated "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter" through the mails and that the majesty of the outraged law must be vindicated.

Had Warren been the editor of a capitalist paper, or of a labor paper without circulation, and had mailed precisely the same matter, the charge would never have been dreamed of. The democratic papers of Kentucky had spread vastly more threatening matter about Taylor and had offered all kinds of rewards for his return, but they were capitalist papers—they were not the "vile anarchistic Kansas sheet" which had so much to do with stirring up the working class and liberating the "Federation criminals."

Now, what was the specific charge against Warren? What was his crime? Why, he is charged with putting in the mails a reward of \$1,000 for the capture of a fugitive capitalist politician under indictment for murder, a thing done by sheriffs and other persons every day, and all over the country. But it was not this of itself that served as the subterfuge for the arrest and prosecution. It was the effect it had. It was a strategic move and proved a master stroke. It drew the capitalist lightning. No single incident equalled it. It lighted up the scene and stripped the conspiracy naked. Its effect was instantaneous. The associated press was opened by this charge of dynamite. It vomited abuse. The enemy was hit. The St. Louis papers had a full page sensationally illustrated.

It was the dramatic element in the episode which appealed to the public. It was bold and daring, and this excited interest, tense and thrilling.

In a crisis the mass is deaf to calm reason, dead to mere logic. Warren knew this; he exploded a bomb and created a sensation. This gave him the crowd. Pointing to Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in the shadow of the gibbet he said: "There are three honest working men kidnaped by a conspiracy of two governors, and a lot of rich mine owners; the president has pronounced them guilty and the supreme court has legalized their kidnaping." Then turning to Taylor, he said: "There is a governor, indicted for murder, a fugitive from justice; the president pronounces him innocent, and the courts will not allow him to be arrested."

The effect it had was to arouse resentment; to fan the militant fire into a conflagration. It was not intended to kidnap Taylor, nor to "defame" or "threaten" him; but simply to point an object lesson and it served the purpose.

It was the Socialist and labor press and an aroused working class which saved the Federation leaders, and the same forces should rally to the support of Warren. It is for fighting the same battles of the working class that he has been marked, and is now to be sentenced. It is a continuation of the same determination on the part of the mine owners and other capitalists to punish labor's champions, gag its press, crush its unions, silence its mutterings, and perpetuate its slavery.

It is Warren's turn today—whose will it be tomorrow, and next day?

Haywood and Pettibone were tried in the state court by a judge elected by the people. Warren will be tried in a United States court by a judge appointed for life by President Roosevelt. The jury will consist wholly of political opponents, more or less prejudiced against Socialism, and the prosecutor will doubtless make an impassioned plea to crush "the viper of anarchy and assassination."

The case has dragged within a few days of a year. The expense already foots up \$4,000, and the trial has not yet actually begun. How many more thousands will be levied can only be conjectured. The average Socialist or labor paper would already be bankrupt, but if

the Appeal only had an average circulation it would not be in the toils.

There is method in the court's delay. The longer the trial, the greater the costs, and Socialist papers are not noted for their swollen bank accounts.

At the preliminary hearing in November last Judge Pollock apparently all but dismissed the case. Everyone was surprised. His implications were too clear and direct to be misinterpreted. At the close of the session Warren's lawyers and friends gathered about him and tendered their congratulations. The case was as good as dismissed.

In chambers, a few weeks later and without a word of comment, denied the motion to quash the indictment and set May 4 as the date for trial.

In a few days more the trial will begin. How long it will last or what the outcome will be no one can tell. From all appearances the case will be hotly contested and no effort will be spared to secure a conviction.

It is the duty of the Socialist and labor press to stand by Warren

as he stood by Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and I am confident such will be its attitude. To once more arouse the working class and to have it understood what this trial means to it is now the task, and this, and this alone, will save Warren from prison as it saved our Western comrades from the gallows.

This is election year, and this fact can be turned to advantage. If the workers of the nation show their determination to stand by Warren, as is their duty, he will never be convicted, and another crushing defeat will be administered to the enemy and another splendid victory achieved for the working class.

When Warren faces trial I shall be with him, regretting only that I can not share the penalty if he is sentenced. It is not merely on his own personal account, or on account of his wife and children that I sympathize with him and shall give him all the aid in my power, but because he has fought the good fight unflinchingly and deserves the loyal and enthusiastic support of the whole working class of the nation.

*Eugene P. O'Leary*

# A LOCKOUT

## Treachery of the Brewery Magnates

### To the Public

St. Louis, Mo., March 21, 1908.

As the direct result of the treachery on the part of the millionaire brewery magnates, over 3,500 St. Louis Brewery Workmen were thrown on the street. Lengthy misleading reports and false stories have been circulated in order to deceive the public about the fight against their former employees.

Messrs. Augustus Busch, Lemp, Jones et al. are trying hard to make the people believe that the brewery proprietors are the "innocent sufferers" of an internal family quarrel on the part of the Brewery Workers' Union. The fact of the matter is that the brewery kings violated their contract with every one of the eight local unions of the International Union of the United Brewery Workers of America. Their treacherous scheme was to break the power of the International Union in order to clear the deck for the employment of the cheapest and most degraded kind of imported labor, and to establish in their breweries conditions similar to those under which the Chinese, Japanese or East Indian coolie slaves are compelled to work.

We venture to say that in view of the hard work in the breweries the wages agreed upon by contract are very modest, indeed. The organized brewery employees of St. Louis have always lived up to the contracts agreed upon between them and the brewery proprietors, while the latter, under the "legal guiding" of slick and shrewd corporation lawyers, have never been slow in availing themselves of every opportunity to twist or violate any and every vital clause of the contract.

The organized brewery workmen of St. Louis are known as peace-loving, law-abiding citizens. By means of their International Union they have done much good, not only in the way of improving the condition of their wives and children, their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, but they have also aided in the material and moral uplifting of the working people in general.

In a most hypocritical and treacherous manner the St. Louis brewery proprietors started the trouble by locking out over 500 of our brothers, all members of Beer Drivers' Union No. 43, because these brave union men refused to become traitors to their International Union.

One important clause in all the contracts of the eight St. Louis local unions of the International Brewery Workers stipulates that all the brewery workers must be union men. After locking out our 500 brothers of Beer Drivers' Union the bosses insisted that we should work together with strike-breakers.

This demand was in violation of the contract signed by the boss brewers. We insisted on our rights guaranteed by mutual agreement and contract, and refused to work together with strike-breakers.

You know the result. Today 3,500 of us, mostly men with families to support, are thrown out of work, because we refused to become traitors to our Union which has done so much good for us, our families and fellow workmen.

We repeat: The brewery magnates have conspired to destroy the usefulness of our International Union. They will spend thousands of dollars for slick lawyers and unscrupulous elements and line them up against Organized Labor. They are anxious to do away with the Unions composed of men and respectable citizens, and fill their various departments with the poor, helpless slaves of toil imported from Southern Italy, Greece and Syria.

Look at the palaces of our St. Louis brewery lords! Do those palaces not represent the sum total of our bones and sinews and muscles? Is not every stone and brick of these lordly palaces cemented with our life blood? Have we not sacrificed the best years of our lives for the brewery magnates? And what have we to show for it?

Barely enough to support our families in a most humble way and to keep the wolf of hunger from the doors of our modest homes.

On the other hand the brewery proprietors of St. Louis have established themselves on their thrones of wealth and power, which by far surpass the wealth and power of the feudal kings and princes and lords of the middle ages.

Like most of the working men, we are poor.

But we are men and citizens!

We hereby serve notice on the combined brewery magnates of St. Louis that we will fight like men, if fight there must be! We will defend our rights as men and citizens of this city and we are convinced that the great mass of the right and justice-loving citizens will be with us.

Right is on our side and justice must prevail.

Remember this, ye lords: The days have long since passed when you could treat your employes like beasts of burden!

**THE LOCKED OUT BREWERY WORKMEN OF ST. LOUIS.**

### To Organized Labor

These lines are addressed to the Union Men and Union Women everywhere.

Three million members of Organized Labor throughout the country are acquainted with the fact that the International Union of United Brewery Workers of America has always been true to the noble cause of the labor movement.

Over 3,500 of our members in St. Louis were locked out because they refused to submit to treatment by their employers to which no decent and self-respecting working man or woman could submit.

We have done all in our power to avoid the trouble, but the employers showed a desperate determination to continue their treacherous policy and forced the trouble on us.

As Union Men we could not work together with strike-breakers after the unwarranted discharge of our 500 brothers of Union beer drivers without violating not only the ethics of trade unionism, but also the clause in our Union contract, which excludes the employment of strike-breakers in breweries.

In order to get in their miserable work against our International Union, the brewery magnates secured the "valuable aid" of a traitor to our organization, who volunteered his services as a "Chief Farley" for the purpose of organizing a strike-breaker union.

However, the union people of St. Louis are on to the curves of the millionaire brewers and will not be deceived. They may pay the "thirty pieces of silver" to a Judas Iscariot, and the latter may attempt to carry out his work of treachery, but Judas will surely hang himself and Organized Labor will take care of the brewery lords who are so anxious to break the power of the labor movement and to introduce cheap female and child slavery in the breweries of this community.

**The Union Men of St. Louis and elsewhere are hereby informed that all St. Louis beer has been declared unfair by our International Union, and will remain so until our employers will live up to the contract they signed with our organization, and reinstate each and every one of the men whom they treated so outrageously, and without the least right or justification.**

### Hunger His Weapon

**MR. AUGUSTUS BUSCH WANTS TO USE THE STARVING UNEMPLOYED AS A WEAPON TO KILL THE BREWERY WORKERS' UNION.**

Mr. Augustus Busch of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Co., in an interview published in the Globe-Democrat of Tuesday, March 17, said:

**"There are 75,000 men in St. Louis who are not employed and who are eager for the chance of employment."**

Here we are: Mr. Busch and his fellow brewery kings are of the opinion that the present industrial crisis, which threw 75,000 St. Louis working people out of employment, would offer an excellent chance to destroy the unions of the Brewery Workers.

Mr. Busch, the great patriot, the leading citizen and business man of the community, wants to exploit the financial crisis and industrial depression to crush Organized Labor.

Organized Labor will stand by the organized Brewery Workers. Busch may buy up such mercenary hirelings as Priesterbach, but he can not corrupt the rank and file of the organized working men and women and their friends and sympathizers.

Like one man the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis will stand by the striking brewery employes.

Like one man the American Federation of Labor will support these brave union men.

Seventy-five thousand or more organized mine workers in Illinois and Missouri will take up the fight for the striking Union Brewery Workers of St. Louis in their just fight.

The brewery kings of St. Louis are dealing with a hair-trigger pistol. If they fail to realize it today, they may do so before this present strike trouble is over.

### Our Central Labor Union

Every one of the eight local unions of locked-out Brewery Workers is affiliated with the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, the local central body representing about 50,000 organized working men and women.

The Central Trades and Labor Union has become a powerful factor in the work for progress and public improvements in this community. Next Sunday representatives of the International Union will attend the meeting of the central body and present the case of the 3,500 locked-out brewery workers.

### Say Strikers Are Right

The State Board of Arbitration, after a hearing in the strike of the St. Louis Brewery Workers, practically decided that the strikers were in the right, and that the locking out of 500 union beer drivers by the boss brewers was unjustified and uncalled for.

The board's report concludes as follows:

"It is recommended that the brewery owners reinstate all the men without prejudice under the contracts previously signed."

Mr. C. Norman Jones, representing the brewery owners, frankly admitted that he and his fellow brewery lords do not care an iota for the action of the State Board of Arbitration.

Another proof that the brewery owners are guilty of an unpardonable act of treachery toward Organized Labor.

Let them take the consequences. They sowed the wind; storm they will harvest.

### To the Women

Working Women of St. Louis—The Brewery Workmen's only protection in the daily struggle for a living is their International Union.

Our Union has protected us, our wives and children.

Our Union has compelled the millionaire brewers to recognize the manhood of their employes.

Our Union has compelled the millionaire brewers to reduce the long hours of work and to pay a living wage.

Our Union has put us in a position where we can pay more attention to the welfare of our families.

Our Union has today nearly fifty thousand members in the United States and has done great good for the people who must earn their livelihood by working in and about the breweries.

Our Union signed contracts with the St. Louis brewery owners, stipulating the hours of work, wages and general conditions of labor.

Our Union has always lived up to its contracts. But have the bosses done the same?

In order to prevent the good work of our Union, the brewery owners locked out 500 of our brothers, all members of Beer Drivers' Union No. 43, and then tried to make us violate our contract and work together with strike-breakers.

Thus the brewery owners broke their contract with our Union and forced us out of work.

What these gentlemen really desire is simply this:

They are anxious to make their employes work longer hours for lower wages, which would enable them to build more palaces, have more champagne banquets, buy more \$10,000 automobiles and spend more of the millions of dollars of wealth which their thousands of employes, men, women and children, have created in the sweat of their brows, sacrificing their health and life for no other reward than to earn a bare, miserable living.

Working women, speak to your husbands, sons and brothers about our troubles.

By fighting our International Union the St. Louis brewery owners are fighting our families and are trying to take away the bread from our wives and children.

Our wives and daughters know from many years' experience how much our Union has benefited them. They will bravely assist us in this struggle which our employers have forced upon us and we sincerely hope that you will do the same.

### The Prohibitionist Agitators

Who are the most effective agitators for Prohibition in Missouri?

Carrie Nation and her fanatic friends?

No!

"Gussie" Busch, Jones, Nicolaus and the rest of our local brewery kings are now making more propaganda for absolute Prohibition in Missouri in a single day than Carrie Nation and her fanatic following could do in their life time.

Queer, isn't it?

No, it is not queer in the least.

Here you have a combination of millionaire brewery lords who are doing all in their power to arouse every thinking man and woman.

At the very time when the Prohibitionist fanatics are making a general attack we find Busch, Lemp, Griesedick, Nickolaus, Jones & Co. opening their campaign of destruction on Organized Labor. At the very time when they are employing a horde of traveling agitators at the rate of \$10 a day and expenses to fight Prohibition the same brewery magnates throw 3,500 of their Union employes on the street, hire "Farleys" and Pinkertons to organize a strike-breaking brigade, and establish a system of prohibition in their establishments whereby the brewery employes would soon be reduced to the level of the Asiatic coolie slaves. This is the kind of prohibition they believe in and the prescribe for their employes:

Prohibition of real Unionism!  
Prohibition of the Eight-Hour workday!  
Prohibition of living wages!  
Prohibition of manhood!  
Prohibition of free citizenship!  
Prohibition of supporting the general labor movement.  
Prohibition of attending bona-fide labor meetings!

The St. Louis brewery owners, by locking out their 3,500 Union employes, have done most effective work for the Prohibitionist movement.

Will they dare deny this?

Remember these facts: The last proposition made by the representatives of the International Union, to reinstate all locked-out men and leave the adjustment of the existing differences to arbitration, the bosses refused to accept.

All breweries in St. Louis are unfair. The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Co. is assuming the most hostile attitude towards our organization.

### The Miners Are With Us!

President Adolf Germer of the Belleville district of the United Mine Workers of America, called at the headquarters of the locked-out brewery workers of St. Louis last Wednesday and spoke words of encouragement to the brave fighting brothers.

Mr. Germer said: I represent the strongest mine workers' district in the Illinois coal field and our 15,000 members will be with the St. Louis brewery workers to the last man. We will see to it that not a drop of St. Louis beer will be sold in any Illinois mining town or mining camp until the haughty brewery magnates re-establish relations of harmony and peace with the International Union of the United Brewery Workers.

There are nearly 60,000 members of the United Mine Workers in Illinois. Their support is assured.

### They Refuse Arbitration

The St. Louis brewery owners absolutely refused to submit to or recognize findings of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration in the present Brewery Workers' lockout.

Everybody acquainted with the trouble will freely acknowledge that the Board's action was fair and impartial.

But what do Jones, Busch & Co. care about fairness and impartiality in a fight against the organization of their employes?

With them it's a question of making more millions out of the bones and sinews and muscles of their employes.

What do they care if hundreds of their employes sacrifice their health and life! With them the 3,500 workmen are part of their assets just like the mules and horses in their stables, but less valuable, for when one of their mules passes over the great road into the eternal pasture, it means a loss of money for the boss brewer, while with the brewery worker it's different. He may die after 25 or more years of faithful work. What does his master, the brewery lord, care about?

Why, nothing. Absolutely nothing. Others died before, what's the difference! Brewery worker's life is cheap. The masters continue enjoying life, while their slaves may suffer with rheumatism until death relieves them.

Mr. Jones, the boss brewers' spokesman, thinks: "To hell with the State Board of Arbitration! We do as we please, and the public be damned!"

Of course, he did not express himself in this language, but what he told the daily newspaper reporters practically means the same thing!

The International Union of the United Brewery Workers, knowing that the locked-out men's cause is a just one, favored arbitration from the very start and would not hesitate a moment to submit to the State Board's decision.

But the brewery owners refused. It was the proud King Louis XIV. of France who gave the world the historic phrase:

"L'etat c'est moi!" which means: "I am the State!"

The St. Louis brewery owners proudly declare: "You have nothing to say!" "We are the whole cheese!"

Perhaps they are, but before they get through with this fight against Organized Labor they will be "limburger" full of worms.

**AUGUST BUSCH** says that St. Louis has 75,000 jobless workmen, who would gladly act as strike-breakers in his brewery. "Gussie" seems to be of the opinion that the unemployed workman has no more principle and feeling of honor about him than the average brewery magnate who does not hesitate a moment to break a contract bearing his own signature.

## Worth Knowing

READ THE "UNFAIR" announcement on the last page of this paper.

**THE CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL** Alliance has its hands in the lockout of the St. Louis Brewery Workers.

**GEORGE WASHINGTON** was the strongest boycott advocate that ever lived on the American continent.

**IT TAKES THE LIVES** of thousands of brewery workmen to sustain the lives of a single dozen of millionaire brewers.

**LIKE NAPOLEON**, the St. Louis brewery bosses like treachery, but the traitors they will drop like hot potatoes the moment the work of treachery is done.

**WANTED**—Poor, helpless wretches, on the verge of starvation, to work as strike-breakers for the St. Louis brewery owners. Men of honor and self-respect need not apply.

**WITHOUT THEIR UNION** the brewery employes of St. Louis would be worse off than the Southern chattel slaves in ante-bellum days. How nice it would be, if the foremen of the various departments of the breweries could be provided with the old-time slave-driver's whip!

The United Brewery Workers have been forced into a fight with the combined brewery owners of St. Louis.

Three thousand five hundred of our members were thrown on the street. To weaken, or if possible, to break our International Union, is the main purpose of this anti-Union warfare.

The brewery owners have their "Farleys" and Pinkertons, but the locked-out men are supported by army of Organized Labor.

You will readily realize the necessity of prompt, energetic and united action on the part of Union labor.

The Van Cleaves, the "Farleys" and the Pinkertons will not be able to break the ranks of United Labor.

## VERSAILLES AND ROME

**Some Historical Facts Concerning the Paris Commune in 1871.**

**Valuable United States Government Documents Giving Official Information on Shooting of Hostages.**

By ADOLF HEPNER.

III.

The archbishop on May 10 is still astonished that the Vicar General, Lagarde, who on April 12 was sent to Versailles on his mission of deliverance, sends only "vague and uncertain reports." For four weeks the priests had made sport of the captive.

On May 12 the Nuncio Chigi notified Mr. Washburne in Versailles that the said memorial had been handed to Mr. Thiers, but that he refused to exchange on account of the inequality of the persons concerned; that Mr. Thiers further declared that he could not release Blanqui, since the latter was detained for examination; at most he could be pardoned only after trial, if Blanqui was sentenced to death, then Mr. Thiers had the legal power to pardon him, but that was all. Mr. Thiers added his previous assertion, that the archbishop's life was in no sort of danger; moreover the troops of the government would enter Paris in about two days and then all danger would be past.

This important document (in English translation, as published by the American government), reads as follows:

Versailles, Montreuil, May 12, 1871.

Sir and Dear Colleague—Mr. McKean handed to me this morning the letter you did me the honor to address to me yesterday, as well as the copy of the memorandum written by the archbishop of Paris, and I also received only a few days ago through the post-office, and much behind time, the letter which you also had the kindness to write me on the 29th of April, to which were joined two letters of Mr. Darbois to the Abbe Lagarde, to whom I handed them immediately. This morning I sent confidentially to Mr. Thiers the memorandum of the archbishop, and I have begged of him a confidential reply, that I may send it to you to be delivered, as has Darbois, through your kindness. If I should receive the reply, as has been promised me, by 3 o'clock, I shall hasten to transmit it to you, begging you to make it known to monseigneur, the archbishop. In the meantime, it is well that you should know how matters stand. Mr. Thiers having received some time ago the letter brought by Abbe Lagarde, submitted first to the council of the ministers and then to the commission of the fifteen deputies whom he has associated with himself, the question of the exchange of Blanqui on one side and the archbishop and four or five ecclesiastics on the other, and all unanimously refused their consent to such an arrangement. After this Mr. Thiers declared that, notwithstanding the desire he felt to see the archbishop at liberty, as well as the Abbe Deguerry, who was his personal friend, he could not take upon himself to carry out the exchange. He added that Mr. Blanqui was to be submitted to a new trial and if he was condemned to death, he, as president, would have the power to spare his life, but as for setting him free, above all, before he was tried, he could not do it, this would be beyond his power as chief of the executive power. This reply, addressed to Mr. Darbois more than two weeks ago, was drawn up, and Mr. Lagarde was requested to carry it to the archbishop in a sealed envelope as it was. But Mr. Lagarde refused, and still refuses, giving as the motive of his refusal that he can not carry a reply in a sealed letter, to a letter which he brought unsealed. Thus the letter of Mr. Thiers remains still at the "ministry" "des cutes" and they are unwilling to send it except by Mr. Lagarde, who, on his side, does not wish to take charge of it.

Mr. Thiers desires also to assure me that he has the conviction that neither the life of the archbishop of Paris nor those of the other ecclesiastics who are at this moment in prison, are in danger.

For my part, I do not share, I confess, the confidence of the president on this subject.

**Four o'clock**—I have just returned from the palace of the prefecture. Mr. Thiers read attentively the copy of the memoir of which I have spoken above, and he repeated, after mature reflection, the same observations, which he made in his reply to the letter of Mr. Darbois. He decided not to set Blanqui at liberty, but apparently to spare his life if he should be condemned to death. This is all his powers permit him to do. Besides, it would never be possible for him to sanction an iniquity consisting in seizing hostages among distinguished people in order to set free scamps and culprits by lending himself to such plans of exchange, more or less covered up. He repeated the assurance that the life of the archbishop was in no danger whatever, and he ended by saying that in about two days the troops would be in Paris, and all danger would disappear.

This, my dear colleague, is the answer which I can give you, and regret with you that it is not more in accordance with the desire of the archbishop and with your charitable and generous design. In terminating permit me to communicate to you, in accordance with the order his eminence, Cardinal Antonelli, has submitted to me, the sentiments of gratitude of the Holy Father, the Pope, and of the cardinal, for all that you have done and all that you may do in favor of the archbishop, so unjustly tortured.

Accept, sir, also with my sincerest and affectionate thanks, the renewed assurance, etc.

FLAVIUS CHIGI,

Archbishop of Myre, Apostolic Nuncio.

A week after receiving this letter Mr. Washburne writes on May 19 to Secretary of State Fish:

"Since I commenced writing this dispatch, I have again visited the archbishop to communicate to him that it was impossible to effect his exchange for Blanqui. I am sorry to say I found him very

feeble. He has been confined to his pallet for the last week with a kind of pleurisy, is without appetite and very much reduced in strength. He is yet cheerful and apparently resigned for any fate that may await him."

In regard to this last visit to Mazas on Sunday, May 21, Mr. Washburne reports, ten days later, and one week after the execution of Darbois, to Secretary of State Fish as follows:

"I telegraphed you of the sad fate of the archbishop, so cruelly shot as a hostage on Wednesday evening, the 24th inst., at the prison of La Boquette. I had become intensely interested in that venerable and excellent man. I presume mine was the last friendly face he ever beheld except those of the companions, who were shot with him. I saw him at half past four or five o'clock last Sunday afternoon. I had been to see him on Friday and found him so feeble that I thought I would go again on Sunday to see how he was. The Versailles troops had already entered the gate of St. Cloud on the other extreme of the city, but of course no one knew where we were. The national guard delegate to the prison was drunk and everything was very disagreeable inside. They would not let me enter the cell of the archbishop, as I had been in the habit of doing, but insisted that he come out to see me in the corridor. I regretted that, for I knew how weak and feeble he was. He soon came out looking very badly, but with the same pleasant countenance and the same warm thanks. I told him I was sorry I could bring him no news, but that I had felt so anxious about his health that I had come to see how he was. He replied that he was a little better. He talked of the situation and of the probabilities of the speedy delivery of Paris. I told him I thought the end was near and that I hoped I would soon have the pleasure of seeing him at liberty. He replied that I was always so amiable and so kind, and that if it were the wish of God that he should be spared it would be his greatest pleasure to tell the world of all that I had done for him. But I observed that he was sadder and more depressed than I had ever seen him, and I think he had a prescience of his coming fate."

In his "Reminiscence" Washburne completes his tale:

"The entrance of the Versailles troops on May 22 and their advance into the center of the city on the same forenoon cut entirely the communication between the embassy of the United States and the Mazas prison, and thus it became impossible for me henceforth to keep up communication with the archbishop.

"The reasons which moved the Commune to change the imprisonment of the hostages from Mazas to La Boquette are unknown to me. I know only that it took place on Monday evening (May 22). The prison carts were taken into the Mazas courtyard, the prisoners fetched from their cells and made to enter the carts. The news spread rapidly in the neighborhood and great masses collected who insulted the prisoners. The carts passed step by step through the sections of the city densely populated by the insurgents, so that it was 8 p. m. before they arrived at La Boquette."

This same evening Mr. Washburne went and saw MacMahon, the marshal, commander-in-chief of the French armies, who in the afternoon had entered Paris and made his headquarters in Passy; at that time he was ignorant of the change in the prison quarters. I told him what I knew," Washburne says, "and expressed the hope that the troops might save the archbishop. This conversation, however, was far from encouraging to me; I left the headquarters of the marshal in the conviction that the fate of the archbishop was sealed."

In other words, the marshal refused to take any steps whatever to save the hostages. Versailles wanted their execution and two days later, May 24, it was accomplished.

Lissagaray tells us the following about the shooting of the hostages (Chap. 29):

"On Wednesday, May 24, 7:30 p. m., a great noise was heard in front of the prison La Roquette, whither the day before the 300 hostages had been conducted from Mazas. Among a number of national guards, enraged to the utmost by the butcheries of the Versailles troops, a delegate from the commission of safety appeared, crying: 'Let six hostages be executed, since they massacre our men. Who will form the platoon?'

"It was heard from all sides; one stepped forth, saying: 'I want to revenge my father,' another 'I want to revenge my brother.' A national guard exclaimed: 'They have shot my wife'—every one claims his right to revenge. Thirty men are chosen who enter the prison. The delegate above mentioned glances over the list of the prisoners and marks the name of the archbishop, Bonjean, president of the supreme court, Jecker, and the Jesuits Allard, Clerc and Decoudrey. A little later Jecker's name is displaced for that of Dequerry, the priest.

"The six hostages are made to descend. Darbois murmurs: 'I have not been an enemy of the Commune; I have done what I could; I have written twice to Versailles.' He, however, manifested dignity when death appeared inevitable; Bonjean could not keep himself upright. 'Who sentenced us,' he asked. The answer came back, 'The people.' 'Oh, that is not the proper Tribunal,' he objected. One of the priests then threw himself down and bared his breast. The prisoners are led along, and, turning the corner, came face to face with the platoon. Some speak to them; the delegate imposes silence. The hostages are placed against the wall, and the officer of the platoon makes a short speech to them, saying: 'Don't reproach us with your death, reproach the government troops, who shoot our prisoners!' He gives a sign and the platoon fires, the hostages fall backwards, in equal distance from each other. Darbois alone remains standing, his head wounded, his hand raised. A second volley brings him down.

"At 8:30 o'clock Delegate Genton makes the above report at the office of the mayor of the Eleventh ward. The author of this book listened to it and wrote it down word for word.

"The blind justice of the revolution punishes the first one it meets with for the crimes committed by their class." (p. 321-322.)

At 11 o'clock two officers of the late minister of war of the commune entered the room of Delseluz and reported the execution. He listened, without stopping to write, to the shaky voice of the reporter, then asked: "How did they die?" After the officer had responded and departed, Delseluz turned to a friend who worked with him and said, covering his face with his hands: "Ah, what a war, what a war!" But he knew revolution too well to lose himself in idle reflection, and therefore he concluded: "We shall know how to die." (p. 322.)

### A Critical Review.

The assertion of the Revolutionists that Versailles and Rome wanted the execution of the clerical hostages, especially of Darbois, the archbishop, is proven beyond all doubt by the documents produced in the second part. Versailles and Rome worked into each others hands. Thiers needed a Terror that would fill the French nation with horror for the Commune—and nothing would serve better than the shooting of the chief of the Catholic Church in France—an archbishop, moreover, who for certain reasons had won the sympathy of a considerable portion of the Paris population.

Archbishop Darbois (justly called an "archbonapartist" by Lissagaray) had for years been Napoleon's Grand Almoner. Such an office enables one at others expenses and at great ease to become the benefactor of thousands, especially to the very poorest, whose distress is salved with pennies. Now, Darbois, had also during the siege remained at his post and after it, when on the Commune being proclaimed, the whole aristocracy fled. Darbois still stuck to his post. Did he think of using his position in favor of Bonapartism and against the Republic? Possibly, but there is no evidence of it. In any case, he did at this critical time show himself a man of character, whom his opponents must respect. The mild way in which he judged of the Commune to Mr. Washburne shows that no indignity was offered him.

In European countries Darbois was considered a "Liberal," because (as a decided champion of the rights of the Gallican Church, partly traditional, partly chartered) he had shortly before in the Vatican Council opposed the dogma of infallibility, and right after his return from Rome on May 20, 1870, forcefully defended against the Holy See his independence in his own diocese.

Thus to Versailles and Rome his execution by the Commune was a very desirable thing. Thiers would then most pathetically declaim about the "father of the poor," taken from the people just when they needed bread, and Rome was well rid of the enemy of infallibility, as Versailles was of an eminent Bonapartist. Both wanted to have "a martyr cheaply"—as Lissagaray strikingly observes.

But the Commune that did not do them that favor, even not when through Washburne's and Chigi's letter of May 12 they heard of Thiers' refusal of the exchange. The archbishop was not shot by the Commune, but was lynched by people in despair. The Versailles army entered Paris May 21—the Council of the Commune dissolved itself on May 23, and on the 24th at 8 p. m.—when no central authority existed and an irregular, savage struggle raged in the streets—an unknown member of the committee of safety, pushed by despairing national guards, ordered the execution. The lynchers themselves at the plan of execution called their action "popular justice."

It is doubtful if the government troops, entering on the 21st, could possibly within the next three days have saved the hostages, if they had been strictly ordered to do so. But no one can doubt that Rome—that never was at a loss for a means to accomplish its boldest usurpations—could easily have secured the consent of Thiers to exchange for Blanqui, if she had had the will.

Think of the victories of Rome in Prussia and elsewhere—how often she has compelled France to give way. It would be simply absurd to think that this ultramontane world power could not have swayed Versailles, standing at the brink of a precipice as it did, especially in a matter where the whole civilized world, friend and foe was on its side. But Rome did not want it. She delighted in revenge on this "Gallican," she punished him for his opposition against infallibility and at the same time longed for the vacant chair of the archbishop of Paris, where she might seat an "infallibilist."

Recollect how often notes issue from the Vatican to this and that European government in the smallest matter. But in this so extremely important cause it is unknown that one single exchange of dispatches took place between Versailles and Rome. The "Holy See" did not stir, and even Chigi, the nuncio, had to be pushed by others.

The fate of Darbois was thus less that of a martyr than that of a man of hard luck. To exert a pressure on the government and on the Catholic world, the Commune thus actually selected as a hostage that one whom the government and Rome wished to be sacrificed.

Now it is easy to explain why the archbishop in his situation judged the communards so mildly. He was aware that his official friends, Versailles and Rome, hated him deeply and wished him the fate which the Commune, their common enemy, threatened him with. He saw that the Commune, from political short-sightedness, in ignorance of the true situation, had brought him to this pass, while those who could save him would not do it from selfishness and meanness; hence he said to Washburne: "The world makes them (the Communards) worse than they are." Thus in his position speaks only a man, who his alleged "friends" are worse than his enemies; that his enemies are simply narrow-minded spirits, but that his "friends" are arch-scoundrels. Hence, also the resignation, with which, according to Washburne, he awaited his fate. Nothing is known that would move him to play the role of a martyr. As a Bonapartist and an opponent of Rome there was no reason why he should sacrifice himself either for the plutocratic republic, with which the Commune was at war, or for the "infallible" church, whose refractory son he was.

It is clear that after the exchange of prisoners was definitely declined, Lagarde and Thiers played a part with the "sealed" letter, so that the former might have a pretense to refuse to receive the letter and remain in Versailles. And just so clear it is that the government and the Nuncio hoped to derive some gain from the faithfulness of Lagarde. They expected that the Commune at least would execute the archbishop as a punishment of the non-appearance of Lagarde, the usual procedure in the case of hostages. If the nuncio had really cared to save Darbois, he would have compelled Lagarde to return to Mazas. Rome, as is well known, tolerates no disobedience.

In considering the behavior of Mr. Thiers, we are struck by the following facts: On May 2 Mr. Washburne writes that the archbishop was near being "lynched," without the knowledge or consent of the Commune, and that only by the chance of the appearance of a member of the Commune he was saved, and that this danger might occur again at any time. And yet the "Statesman" Thiers ten days later, on May 12, declares that there is "not the remotest danger for the life of the archbishop."

Mr. Washburne was constantly in communication with the Nuncio; told him of the attempt at "lynching," which undoubtedly was no secret in Paris or Versailles since the imprisonment of the archbishop was in those days one of the important events that attracted the attention of all.

Thiers does not object to the taking of hostages—something unusual in war—but to the "inequality" of the persons. But to take hostages has no meaning, if "inequality" be not practiced, either in regard to the number (as the Germans practiced it in the Franco-German war) or in social position (as the Commune did). To take hostage is to exert a strong pressure, and consequently any other procedure is impossible; the "Statesman" Thiers finds it "illogical."

True, Thiers, as president, had no right to release Blanqui before tried. But there was a mode in which the minister of justice, the chief of the prosecuting authority, could have stopped the case; at the very least, the minister of justice had the legal right to suspend Blanqui's imprisonment before trial. To escape a sentence of death, Blanqui might have left the country, and thus Thiers could have easily got rid of him. The proposition of the archbishop to allow Blanqui to escape, Thiers did not consider at all.

On May 12 the Statesman Thiers thinks that the troops will in about two days enter Paris. As a fact, the first division did not enter until May 21, 3 p. m., nine days later.

Again Mr. Thiers asserts as soon as the troops are in Paris, the archbishop will be free. But as is well known, the hostages were not executed until May 24; that is, after the troops had been three days in Paris.

Thus the troops either had not been ordered to proceed directly to the Mazas prison or to La Boquette, or they could not so easily take the barricades. A statesman grown gray in Paris should have known what Parisian barricades mean. In any case Thiers' assurance that the entrance of the troops in Paris meant the rescue of the hostages was a transparent falsehood, for he, a veteran politician and historian, who had witnessed several revolutions in Paris, knew very well that a revolution at bay used all measures of despair, and that then the entrance of the troops could prove the greatest danger to the lives of the prisoners, because with the collapse of authority all presence of mind ceases and many excited people then give way to feelings of revenge, as did occur here.

(The End.)

DARROW'S SPEECH in the Haywood case for sale at the Labor Book Department, 212 S. Fourth St.; 25c a copy.

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Published Every Saturday by the  
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Subscription: \$1.00 per year in advance.

OFFICE: 212 South Fourth Street.

TELEPHONE: Kinloch, Central 1577. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Entered at the Post Office at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter.



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

The Press Committee meets every first Friday in month. Complaints concerning business or editorial management must be made in writing and addressed to Labor Press Committee, 212 S. Fourth Street.

THE EDITOR OF LABOR welcomes and appreciates any recommendation or co-operation from any comrade or sympathizer tending to improve our paper, both as to its contents and its appearance.

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1888	2,000
1896	36,000
1900	122,000
1904	408,000

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867	30,000
1877	494,000
1887	931,000
1893	2,585,000
1898	4,515,000
1903	6,285,000
1906	over 7,000,000

## EXIT LITTLEFIELD

Last Tuesday a week ago Congressman Littlefield of Maine came to St. Louis to address one of Van Cleave's Odeon meetings. Littlefield addressed about 3,000 people. His capitalist corporation enthusiasm carried him off on the wings of Van Cleaveism. He was the lion of the evening. Sam Gompers and the other "walking delegates" were buried beneath piles of sarcasm and damnation. He, the great Congressman, declared Gompers' proposed amendment to the Sherman act iniquitous and un-American and class legislation of the worst type, invalidating as it would the decision of the Supreme Court declaring the interstate boycott illegal and criminal under the Sherman act. In closing Mr. Littlefield, like a Leonidas of ancient Greece, exclaimed:

"So long as I am in Congress such legislation as that shall never become a law if I can help it."

Thus spoke Congressman Littlefield on March 17. Less than a week later the daily papers published the following dispatch:

Rockland, Me., March 23.—Charles E. Littlefield of the Second Congressional District has tendered his resignation as Representative in Congress to Gov. Cobb, effective Sept. 30. Mr. Littlefield explains his action by saying he desires to resume the practice of law. He has represented his district since 1899, when he succeeded the late Nelson Dingley. It is said that Harold M. Small of Bath will seek the nomination as Littlefield's successor.

This means that Congressman Littlefield has been put out of business. His resignation as Congressman attests to his political bankruptcy.

Another dispatch, dated Washington, March 23, says that Organized Labor was now claiming the political scalp of Representative Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, whose resignation from Congress has just been announced. At the last election President Gompers and the American Federation of Labor tried with all their might to defeat Littlefield. He pulled through with a bare 1,000 majority. It is asserted today that Littlefield was fearful that he might not win again and when he learned that labor was going to enter the coming campaign more vigorously than before he thought it best to get out from under.

It is possible, and very probable, that Mr. Littlefield will be put on the Citizens' Industrial Alliance pension list. Mr. Van Cleave's "Educational Fund" of \$1,500,000 must be used for some purpose. Perhaps Mr. Littlefield, being acquainted with the work of killing labor bills in Congress, will now become a partner of the great Citizens' Industrial Alliance lawyer, Daniel Davenport.

The Republican party National Committee may have suggested the resignation. This is a presidential campaign year and the Republican machine can not afford to risk a single district. Such a risk would exist in the Maine district so long as Littlefield was in the field. With this anti-Union hero retired, a less conspicuous individual can be put forth as a candidate, and the chances are that he will be able to retain the mandate.

Thus we see that even in the ranks of the old capitalist parties the conflicting interests of Labor and Capitalism will force upon their political troubles the stamp of the modern class struggle. It is not class-consciousness which dictates the opposition to Littlefield, but the working class interest. Sooner or later this unconscious movement of the Proletarian forces in the old capitalist parties will develop into political consciousness, into class-consciousness. Then it will no longer be Republican Littlefield vs. Democratic Littlefield, but the political party of Labor vs. the political party of Capitalism; Socialist Party vs. the Democratic-Republican twin party.

That a great Congressman like Littlefield is compelled to sign his political death warrant in the midst of an important presidential campaign, is a victory for Organized Labor.

Of course, one Littlefield will go; another one will take his place. But some day all the little and big Littlefields will be put out of business by the Socialist Party.

Mayor Wells Says He Will Fight the John I. Beggs Light monopoly. This means that Wells is fighting Rolla, and Rolla is fighting Wells, for our Honorable Mayor is a heavy stockholder in John I. Beggs' street car monopoly. You little hypocrite of a mayor, heed this line of advice: "Go way back and sit down!"

## NEEDLESS ALARM

"Labor Unions' Needless Alarm." Under this headline the Globe-Democrat of last Tuesday published a leading editorial which is remarkable in many ways. In the first place it is an attempt to chloroform Organized Labor and get the union men asleep politically. Secondly, it shows what nonsense a capitalist newspaper editor is compelled to write whenever the interests of his bread-master demand it.

The conference of labor union representatives recently held in Washington, D. C., sent out an address concerning the labor measures now pending before Congress. Said address contained the following sentence:

"While the Supreme Court or other institutions may be able temporarily to retard and seriously embarrass the growth and action of our movement, we boldly assert that no power on earth can destroy, successfully outlaw or disrupt the trade union movement."

To these lines the Globe-Democrat takes exception. Here is what the G.-D. has to say:

"As the court pointed out, and as jurists and statesmen have been pointing out for many years, the labor unions comprised in the American Federation of Labor constitute a trust in the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust act. Their boycott was a conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce, and its perpetrators were subject to the same punishment as capitalistic or other conspirators who hamper interstate trade. The court decided that the boycott was a violation of the common law as well as of the statutes, and the decision was unanimous. In demanding exemption from the restrictions of the Sherman act the labor trust asks favors which are denied to the industrial, the commercial and all other kinds of trusts. It wants the privilege of breaking laws which all the rest of the people are compelled to obey.

"Neither the American courts nor the American people have the faintest desire to 'outlaw or disrupt the trade union movement.' It is safe to say that not one employer in the United States is opposed to labor unionism when it confines itself to its legitimate functions. The people oppose boycotts, picketing and other practices by which the business of an employer who incurs the labor unions' displeasure is ruined, by which the purchasers of his goods are threatened, and by which workers who work without the unions' permission are maltreated, and sometimes killed. Whenever they reach these practices the courts declare them illegal, and impose punishment on the perpetrators. Because these practices are immoral and anti-American the American people condemn them, and demand that those who commit them shall get all the punishment that the law prescribes. For legitimate labor unionism—the unionism which aims to advance the intelligence, the capability, the wages and the rest of the material and moral interests of its members, and to make them law-abiding citizens—the American people have a profound sympathy. This is the sort of unionism which the country had at the start. This is labor unionism which deserves the name American. Boycotting, picketing and the kindred vices of intimidation and oppression were imported from Europe. They are monarchial and tyrannical. They have no place in a republican and democratic scheme of government."

Paste this in your hat, Mr. Union Man! And read it over every time you put your hat on your wise head!

This editorial verdict coming from a leading Republican organ is significant. Roosevelt, Taft or Hughes is the G.-D.'s presidential choice. This G.-D. editorial will be part of the Republican platform, written or unwritten.

It takes a wise Republican editor to tell us that the boycott was imported from Europe. Why, the idea of printing on paper was imported from Europe, and if it hadn't been for the "old foolish Dutchman," Guttenberg, who would today read the Globe-Democrat's tommyrot on "Labor Unions' Needless Alarm"?

Everything the people ever undertook for the benefit of the people was denounced as "foreign" and "imported." In 1776 some wiseacres like the G.-D. editor howled about the "foreign" and "imported" ideas of Franklin, Paine, Jefferson, Washington and others. And King George threatened to hang each and every colonist who would take these "foreign ideas" seriously.

But these "foreign, imported ideas" were put black on white and published as that famous document known to us as the "Declaration of American Independence."

And so general became these "foreign ideas" and "European importations" that King George and his Hessian hordes were whipped to a standstill and driven from the Colonists' shores.

As to the boycott? Did the G.-D. editor never read of the boycotted tea which was fed to the fish in Boston Harbor? Or of the boycott placed upon all commodities of King George and his clique of British manufacturers?

Who declared that boycott? Why, no less prominent men than Patrick Henry, George Washington and Ben Franklin.

Ye old mummies of capitalist editors, will you never permit one sound idea into your bedusted minds?

The American Revolution started with a campaign of boycotting. How those British rulers hated the American boycott!

Organized Labor of America can not be fooled on this proposition. The boycott is ours. It is American. It is hated by the enemies of the labor movement, hence it must be a good thing for the working people.

Ere long the boycott will be extended to the political field. The union men and women will boycott the capitalist politicians out of business and elect their own men into Congress and Legislatures, men and women who know what the labor movement stands for, and who know the aims of the Socialist Party in this great movement for labor's emancipation.

## LABOR PARTY?

Friday, March 20, we noticed the following little item in the Globe-Democrat:

A plan for the organization of a labor party may be presented at the next meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union, to be held at 3535 Pine street next Sunday. The Legislative Committee of the central body discussed the matter at a meeting last night, but it was reported nothing definite was done with reference to the proposed organization. Opposition to Cowherd is said to have inspired the talk of a new party.

The Legislative Committee, being composed of "staunch Democrats" and one old-time Single Tax man, is a very busy organization. Doubly busy, of course, in a year like anno 1908 A. D., when practically everybody gets busy.

One thing about this committee we must say: Each and every member of it is free of that poisonous substance of mind called So-

cialist ideas, and anybody accusing these men of any such thing would deserve severe condemnation.

The Globe-Democrat, a Republican organ, was better informed that St. Louis Labor, the Socialist and labor organ. At last Sunday's meeting of the central body two reports, instead of one, were submitted by the Legislative Committee. Both reports were discussed and referred back to the committee, with instruction to agree on one report. For the information of our readers we publish the majority and minority reports in full:

### Majority Report.

"We recommend that the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council advocate the nomination by petition of a member of Organized Labor for the position of member of the State Legislature in every district within the city and vicinity of St. Louis; and, further,

"We recommend that Organized Labor enter the political field by the organization of a separate and distinct party under any caption the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council may see fit to select, for the election of such persons as have in the past shown by practical demonstration their good will toward the working people, preference in every case to be shown to members of Organized Labor in the selection of candidates for office.

"It is recommended by Charles Lammert of the Building Trades Council that the name United Labor party be selected for the political party proposed by the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council of St. Louis and vicinity.—William J. Keily, T. S. Lynch, J. P. McDonough, W. M. Michaels."

### Minority Report.

The minority report, signed by Percy Pepon, was as follows: "It is recommended that a political section of the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council be elected, to be composed of one delegate from each ward of the city.

"That it shall be the duty of the political section to have general supervision and control of the political movements of Organized Labor, subject to the approval of the Central Trades and Labor Union and the Building Trades Council.

"That it shall be the duty of the political section to organize the union voters of each ward for the purpose of placing the names of union men and their friends upon the primary ballots of the existing political parties and securing their nomination and selection."

We have full confidence in the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union and are convinced that the central body will not permit itself to be drawn into any political adventure which might result in strife and disaster.

If the capitalist parties are in need of any auxiliary "labor party" movement, it is their business. In every campaign the "labor party" proposition is put forth. Two years ago Nat Eaton et al tried the scheme, but were caught in the act and put out of business.

Let us be plain on this question. There are three political parties in the field: Democratic, Republican and Socialist. You are acquainted with their personnel, with their history, with their platforms. Any union man with the least common sense should know by this time with which of these three parties he should line up. If he doesn't, he deserves pity, and more kicks.

"Yes, but the old parties are too rotten, and the Socialist Party is too radical!" we hear some good man say.

Well, that's for you to decide. The Socialist Party does not ask for any indorsement from the central body, nor from any union. Resolutions of indorsement don't count. Action is wanted now. Action in the campaign, action on election day.

Too radical? Great heavens! Are not the capitalist parties radical in their kicks against Organized Labor? And don't you think the time has come when the workingmen must take radical political action against the political party machines of Capitalism?

A "Union Labor Party" in St. Louis!

Think of it for a moment. Here is a Socialist Party with nearly six thousand votes! Will any sensible union man expect the Socialist union men to give up their splendid political organization, built up after many years of hard work, cemented by great sacrifice and everyday experience? And for the rest: will the good Democratic and Republican union men leave their "good old parties" for the sake of a "union labor party" built on a foundation of quicksand?

We repeat: We feel confident that the Central Trades and Labor Union will attend to its own business and take such action as will protect the best interests of Organized Labor and for the unity and integrity of the entire local labor movement.

## Editorial Observations

"Ten Dollars for Our Socialist Press. From an Old Friend." This is one of the regular monthly contributions for which we hereby express our thanks.

Protest at the Ballot Box. Very Correctly the Miners' Magazine says: Organized Labor in a number of the large cities of the country have held mass meetings to protest against the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States against labor. Mass meetings and eloquent speeches are effective in arousing the working people, but unless the laboring people deposit a class-conscious protest at the ballot box mass meetings and oratory are worthless.

Orchard, the Monumental Liar of the Century, Was Sentenced to death, but Judge Wood asked that his life be spared, and the death sentence be changed to life imprisonment by the Idaho State Board of Pardons. We don't care whether Orchard lives or dies, so long as he is kept in confinement. But for the good of humanity, arrangements should have been made to have Orchard securely caged and have him exhibited in a free museum at the expense of the Rocky Mountain Mine Owners' Association.

Judging From the Contents of the Following Springfield (Mass.) news item prosperity must have struck New England, because people are getting scared of it. The item, dated March 21, reads: A wholesale exodus of Polanders to Europe will follow the 10 per cent reduction in the Chicopee and Holyoke cotton mills. Seventy-five per cent of the 4,500 operatives affected are Polish. Steamship agents stated that they have sold all the steerage and second-cabin accommodations at their disposal on outgoing liners for six weeks to come. Four days' work a week at reduced wages, the workmen assert, will not pay the cost of living.

When 800 People Walk Ten Miles for a Loaf of Bread There must be something radically wrong with our old Republican full dinner pail. Last Tuesday's daily papers published the following dispatch: Toledo, O., March 23.—Formed in three long lines over 800 unemployed Hungarians marched five miles through the rain

this morning to the infirmary offices in the courthouse to receive a two-pound loaf of bread each. Then they traveled five miles back to Ironville, a suburb. The men were almost driven to desperation after searching in vain for any kind of labor. A leader went to the infirmary offices and asked for aid. The infirmary consented to give each man a loaf of bread. No doubt the poor wretches are still afraid that under Socialism there would be a general "dividing up," and that their "property" might be taken away from them.

**Read Comrade Debs' Article in This Week's St. Louis Labor:** "Shall Warren Be Railroaded?" The recent suppression of an Italian publication in New Jersey by Postmaster General Meyer would indicate that Russian censorship and Bismarckian newspaper confiscation methods would suit our American plutocracy and could be used as a good club against the Socialist and Trade Union press of the country. Meanwhile the Shippy anarchy in the Chicago police department is keeping up the fire under the "boiler of anarchy," and a corrupt daily press is attending to the rest. The insignificant anarchist sheets have almost no circulation. What the powers that be really want is the suppression of the Socialist press. Bismarck tried it, and failed. Herr von Meyer, our honorable postmaster general, may try it. He will fail, we assure him of that.

**Three Thousand Men Fighting for One Hundred Jobs.** This is what newspapers report from Lawrence, Mass.: Three thousand men have stormed the City Hall seeking employment, breaking windows and pushing down doors in the efforts to get to the front and be sure of securing work. Recently the city government appropriated \$20,000 for the extension of the sewer system through Ward 1 section of the city, the appropriation being made at this time so that poor and needy who are out of employment might be given work. It was announced that applications for work on the sewer would be received at the City Hall in the morning, and that employment would be distributed among the first to apply. Less than 100 places were available and more than 3,000 appeared. The city officials were somewhat taken back by the swarm of applicants, and a squad of a dozen police officers had to be called to keep the applicants in line. Then the work of taking the names was started. At noon 844 names and addresses had been taken, but there was no apparent diminution in the number who gathered about, fighting for places in line, and so it was decided to postpone further efforts along that line until the next morning.

**The Chicago Police Department Seems to Be Run by a Gang** of lunatics or capitalist anarchists. What are the police trying to do? asks the Chicago Daily Socialist. Are they trying to provoke some would-be terrorist into attempting an outrage? Or are they trying to bring about a situation where some agent of the police can hurl a bomb and have it ascribed to the anarchists? It is hard to find any other explanation of the tactics of the police department during the last week. When forty or fifty armed men are sent into peaceable gatherings to stop one small woman from talking, and where the audience is pushed and clubbed and cursed and insulted in various ways under the pretext of stopping incendiary speeches, where, if the real object were to stop speeches, one man would be fully as effective as the fifty, the natural conclusion is that what is wanted is some sort of violence. This conclusion is greatly strengthened by a consideration of the circumstances existing at the present time. The police of Chicago are in desperate need of an anarchy scare. It is the only thing that will enable them to "make good" on their actions during the past months. Other powerful forces are involved in the same situation and would welcome any outbreak of violence that could be charged up to anarchist sources. Under these conditions it is well to keep watch of the actions of the police.

**Louis Post, Editor of The Public, the Chicago Single Tax Paper,** says about the recent police outrages in Chicago: "We have yet to see the first incendiary quotation from Emma Goldman's speeches. But if her speeches are incendiary, the remedy is not police censorship. It is by orderly prosecution and with full opportunity for defense. The arbitrary suppression of meetings has a natural tendency to create and foster incendiary impulses; and that such is the cold-blooded purpose of some one in this persecution of Emma Goldman we are reluctantly inclined to suspect. It seems incredible that police authorities of reasonable intelligence should not know that while public speeches bring no harm to honest men and honest interests, the harm they bring to rascals comes through lawful channels, and that the only harm that ever comes from public speech comes from its suppression. Said Judge Gaynor of the New York Supreme Court recently: "Some years ago I saw a big Socialist gathering under a red flag in a public park in Edinburgh with not a policeman in sight; were such a gathering attempted in Central Park the assemblers would have their heads knocked off by the police in less than half an hour." Is it any wonder that the "red anarchy" of which we hear so much in this country creates no excitement in Great Britain? Let Emma Goldman speak in public without interference, and what she says will stand or fall in public opinion upon its merits. She could not if she would, incite to violence; and from all we learn of her from better sources than the police and sensational newspapers, she would not if she could."

**John H. Murphy, the Attorney of the Western Federation of Miners** is no more, writes the Miners' Magazine. The grim messenger of Death served its pitiless summons upon this "prince among men," and the great, generous heart that beat for justice and humanity has been stilled forever. For the past several weeks his most intimate friends could see the ashen hue of death stealing slowly over the wan and emaciated face, and they knew that the man who was the soul of truth and spotless honor would soon pass into the Great Beyond. The eight-hour laws which grace the statute books of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada, Montana and Missouri are due to the ceaseless efforts of this brilliant man, who is now laid away in Mother Earth. His loyalty and devotion to the Western Federation of Miners can never be forgotten by the membership of that organization. Who is there can forget the great conspiracy trial at Boise, Idaho, during the months of May, June and July of 1907? When this trial was about to be heard, Attorney Murphy—though confined to a bed of pain and torture—spurned the advice of physicians, and though he was told that his participation in the great trial would mean premature death, yet this fearless and dauntless man swept aside his personal safety and started upon his mission to give the best that was in him for the vindication of the men whom he believed to be the victims of the most villainous plot that was ever hatched in this country to take human life under forms of law. It will be remembered how, day after day, he sat in the court room giving his counsel, and though suffering the agony of a thousand deaths, yet he remained until the jury brought in a verdict that brought joy to the laboring millions of this country. The membership of the Western Federation of Miners will remember that pathetic scene at the bedside of Attorney Murphy, when Haywood, after his acquittal, rushed to the chamber of the invalid and lifted the wasted form in his strong arms. No one will forget the words that broke from Murphy's lips as, looking into the face of the acquitted man, he exclaimed: "Bill! in this hour of your triumph, be humble."

#### Permanent Injunction Against A. F. of L.

Washington, March 23.—The Buck Stove and Range Co. of St. Louis won its first fight against the boycott of the American Federation of Labor, which posted the name of the company in the "we don't patronize" list published regularly in the columns of the American Federationist, the official organ of the national labor organization. Chief Justice Clabaugh of the District of Columbia Supreme Court today made permanent the temporary injunction against the American Federation of Labor enjoining it from "conspiring, agreeing or combining to restrain, obstruct or destroy" the company's business. The Federation attorneys submitted to the final decree and gave notice of an appeal, filing a bond for the same. Costs were taxed against the Federation.

## The World of Labor

"In Union There Is Strength! United We Stand; Divided We Fall!"

#### Alaskan Miners On Strike.

Juneau, Alaska, March 22.—At a special meeting of Douglas Island Local 109, Western Federation of Miners, yesterday, a general strike was called, and notices were sent out ordering union men and union sympathizers to stay away.

#### One Thousand Men Made Idle.

Meadville, Pa., March 23.—Beginning at noon today the shops here of the Erie Railroad will close in all departments except the roundhouses until April 1, when work will be resumed. About 1,000 men are affected by the shutdown.

#### The Child Labor Law of New Jersey.

The New Jersey State Department of Labor inspected 4,484 factories and 2,203 bakeries during the year, according to the annual report of Labor Commissioner Bryant, filed with Gov. Stokes. Three hundred and ninety-nine children under the legal age of 14 years were discharged from factories and 948 orders were issued for the betterment of conditions in bakeries. Fines to the amount of \$1,419 were collected, of which \$382 was paid by the Standard Oil Co. for the employment of children under the age limit.

#### St. Louis Plumbers Win Their Strike.

The plumbers' strike is over. All men resumed work Monday at the old scale of wages, thereby winning their fight against the reduction in wages threatened by the master plumbers. The strike has lasted six weeks. It was brought about by the master plumbers declaring a reduction of wages and stating if the reduction did not meet the wishes of the Plumbers' Union they would close their shops. The plumbers promptly struck. The men are said to have returned to work for the same wages in effect before the trouble. They had been getting \$5.30 a day and were offered \$5. A lockout followed their refusal to accept the cut of 30 cents on Feb. 1.

#### Public Printer Quits Office.

Washington, March 26.—Public Printer Charles S. Stillings tendered his resignation to the President and it has been accepted. Mr. Stillings' successor has not yet been named. He declined tonight to discuss the matter for publication. His resignation is the result of an investigation into the conduct of the Government Printing Office under his administration. This investigation was conducted by W. S. Rossiter, chief clerk of the Census Office, and his report of the operations of the office is now in the hands of the President. Mr. Rossiter reports that he found no evidence of fraud or serious irregularities. He says, however, that there have been some minor irregularities, chargeable in most cases to bad administration, and that the methods of keeping the books are open to criticism.

#### John B. Lennon On Injunction.

John B. Lennon, general secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, has the following to say in regard to the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the hatters' case: "It appears to me that this decision of the Supreme Court overthrows absolutely the right of the individual citizen to purchase commodities of whom he chooses, or to refuse to purchase commodities of those that he does not desire to patronize, and having gone this far, it would not be a surprise if the same court would decide before long that the wage workers must work for those that desire to hire them, whether they desire to sell their services or not. The same principle is involved in both cases. I maintain that I have the right to buy any hats I please, and that I have an equal right to refuse to buy any hats I please."

#### The Crisis in the African Diamond Field.

A London paper reports: The recent financial crisis in America has had many and far-reaching effects, and amongst them must be included a tremendous blow to the diamond trade. The American plutocracy have been enormous purchasers of diamonds, but the recent crisis appears to have given them something else to think about, for whilst about this time last year precious stones were being imported into New York at the rate of some £15,000,000 per annum, this year the rate has fallen down to about one twenty-fifth part of that sum. The probable result of this will be that the present diamond trust will be broken up, and that a diamond war will ensue between the Premier Diamond Co., which found the Cullinan diamond, and the diamond syndicate, representing the De Beers Company. For some time past the diamond syndicate has taken the whole of the output of these two mining companies; but now that the demand has largely decreased, there is every probability, so it is stated, that the arrangement with the Premier Company, which expires next month, will not be renewed, and if so, monopoly will give place to competition.

#### The Bread Strike in Naples.

In Naples recently occurred a great rent strike. Following close on this, a great bread strike has taken place. As a result of the rise in the prices of grain, the bakers raised the prices of bread rates, ranging from 5d to 10d a kilogram (about 2½ lbs. avoirdupois). When bread reached this exorbitant figure, the City Council thought it time to come forward and see if this price was justified; so a Municipal Commission was appointed to investigate. After due consideration it came to the conclusion that bread should be supplied to the citizens at the rate of 3½d per kilogram, and said as much to the bakers. The bakers, however, turned a deaf ear to the proposal, closed down their bakeries, and commenced selling off their stocks to the highest bidders, the bread panic enabling them to obtain prices more exorbitant than ever. Private enterprise having refused to serve the public, and left it face to face with a bread famine, the City Council stepped into the breach, telegraphed to Palermo, Messina and Rome for supplies, and also set the soldiers of the garrison to work at baking bread, and appointed the city police to act as distributors. Private enterprise is not allowed to have all its own way at Naples.

#### St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union.

A protest against the plan of the Board of Education to make chauffeurs out of the pupils of the Sumner negro high school was received by the Central Trades and Labor Union at its meeting last Sunday at Aschenbroedel Hall. The protest came in a letter from East St. Louis Lodge No. 121, International Association of Machinists, through G. P. Withrow, its recording secretary. The protesting union declared that the plan was detrimental to the interests of the union, "as we have an organization of chauffeurs in our branch of trade, and consider it our legitimate territory. Competent machinists should be in charge of automobiles, both in operation and repair. We consider this a false move by the board." The communication was turned over to Secretary David Kreyling, with instructions to visit the Board of Education and investigate the complaint. A plan to secure subscriptions from outside sources to the Labor temple, proposed by Organized Labor of St. Louis, was laid before the meeting. The plan is to have a memorial hall in the building, the walls to be lined with marble and the names of the contributors to be inscribed thereon. The intention is to secure subscriptions by correspondence as well as by personal solicitation. A letter to the meeting from Attorney General C. J. Bonaparte, from H. C. Gauss, was read, reassuring the organization that the suit against the Terminal Railroad Association of St. Louis, in favor of which the organization recently adopted resolutions, would be pushed.

#### New Labor Bill Reaches House.

Washington, March 23.—The bill prepared by the National Civic Federation, after conferences with the President and representatives of capital and of labor to relieve the stringency of the Sherman anti-trust law, was introduced in the House today by Representative Hepburn of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It was referred by Speaker Cannon to that committee for consideration and report, and it is understood that the President, in a message to Congress, will make a recommendation concerning it. There is no information on which to frame a prediction of the failure or success of the bill in the House, nor will there be until hearings have been given in committee. Party leaders today professed to be wholly ignorant of the details of the bill and to have only a general understanding of its purposes. One of the most interesting sections of the Federation bill is that which seeks to relieve Organized Labor from the suppressive effect of the recent Supreme Court decision declaring labor unions to be conspiracies in restraint of trade, and therefore unlawful. The bill, broadly speaking, aims to restore the unions to their rights of peaceable methods, including the right to strike, but leaving them still amenable to the Sherman act in the matter of boycotts, picketing and similar coercive practices.

#### Boss Tailors Abandon Open Shop.

The "open shop"—that is, the non-union shop—in Los Angeles, Cal., means a shop tightly closed against union men. Late in September the members of the Tailors' Union in that city were rocked out by their bosses under pressure from the Citizens' Alliance. The men received only a few days' notice and were informed that they must either give up the union or their jobs. They were not asked whether they would work with non-union tailors, but arbitrarily told that they must give up their cards. Of course they refused to do this, and the lockout followed. The bosses then imported a number of tailors from the East to take the places of the locked-out men. The imports were taken to the city under misrepresentations, and as soon as they learned the condition of affairs the majority of them refused to go to work. They have since been cared for by the unionists of the city, not one of whom has deserted from the ranks. The scheme of the bosses did not work, and their straits have been pitiable, or would have been if they had not been so well deserved. Now they are coming to their milk. On March 7 two firms agreed to the terms of the union and received back their former faithful workmen. There are indications that others are getting ready also for a graceful tumble. Let the good work go on. Arrogant capital may cripple, it may crush, but it can never annihilate the union labor movement.

#### Shops Closed as Result of Labor Law.

Louisville, Ky., March 23.—Four hundred and sixty factories in Kentucky, which flourished upon the labor of children before the labor law passed at the last session of the legislature went into effect, have gone out of business in the state, according to the report of Thomas J. Scally of Louisville, State Inspector of Labor. The report also shows that an increase of 7,182 persons employed in factories has taken place since the passage of the law. The total number of laborers employed in the factories is 63,233. The inspector calls attention to the fact that a marked change for the better in general sanitary conditions has also taken place. He says, too, that elevators and other dangerous machinery are better guarded and that fire escapes are more numerous, in spite of the fact that the law gives him no means of enforcing the recommendations as to fire escapes. The last report of the State Inspector of Labor showed that there were 686 illiterate children working in factories in that state. Inspector Scally's report shows that there are now but 129 children of that kind in the factories. Scally says that 98 children under 14 years of age and working without permits were removed from factories, and that sworn statements by proprietors for children between 14 and 16 years old numbered 2,310. The average wage, according to the report, paid a male factory worker in Kentucky is \$1.66½, women 93 cents, boys 72 cents, girls 59½ cents.

#### Official Figures On Unemployed in St. Louis.

Missouri State Labor Commissioner Hiller estimates that 40 per cent of the persons who were employed in St. Louis prior to the financial stringency are now out of work. His figures show that early last fall there was 100,000 persons employed in St. Louis in manufacturing industries alone. He estimates that 40,000 of them are now idle. He makes no estimate of the total number of the unemployed. Hiller says in his opinion about 33 per cent of the persons employed last September lost their positions before Jan. 1, and that the percentage has advanced 40 since then. Estimating the exact number of unemployed with accuracy is doubly difficult because many persons formerly classed as "employed" are now only partly employed. Some concerns force employes to take one day off without pay each week. In others expenses are reduced by compelling employes to lay off a certain number of days each month. The number of unemployed persons in East St. Louis is estimated by officials there at 10,000. Factory Inspector Sikes' figures are slightly different. Sikes selected 100 of the largest business concerns in St. Louis and contrasted the reports of his inspectors from them last summer and early fall, when business conditions were excellent, with an inspection made this year following the financial depression. These figures show that where 32,381 men and women were employed in 100 places before the depression, only 23,860 were employed in the same places a month or two ago. That means a falling off of about 26 per cent. Sikes says his records show about 7,000 concerns in St. Louis employing help. The number of their employes range up to 4,500. He estimates the average at 25. This would mean that there are about 175,000 employes of all the business concerns of St. Louis that come within the purview of the factory inspection law, and Sikes says that includes pretty nearly everybody who works for anybody else. He thinks the percentage of unemployed as shown in the 100 instances he offered as representing a reasonable average. Figuring on the basis of 26 per cent, therefore, the number of unemployed men and women in St. Louis now would be in the neighborhood of 45,000.

#### Breckon in Dallas, Tex.

Comrade Charles L. Breckon, formerly business manager of the Chicago Daily Socialist, is now editor of the Dallas (Tex.) Laborer.

#### The Daily Call.

It has been definitely announced that the New York Daily Call will begin publication on the 1st of May. To celebrate the event a "May Day Fair and Congress of Nations" will be held May 1 to 10, inclusive, at the Labor Temple, 243-247 East 48th street, New York.

#### New Socialist Magazine.

The Independent Labor Party of England is publishing a new monthly magazine under the name of "Socialist Review." The first number contains some very interesting articles by J. Ramsey MacDonald on Socialism and Labor Party, Some Unexplained Letters of Marx and Engels, Organization of Society in Italy by G. R. S. Taylor, The Belgian Peasantry by K. Kautsky, The Unemployed Question by Philip Snowden, etc. The London Labor Leader says: "The sale of the first number of the Socialist Review has exceeded all expectations. It is now in the press for the fourth time, and the demand still continues. No more striking testimony to the interest which the Socialist cause is arousing in the minds of the general public could be given than the way in which the Review has been received. Important as it is for the general public to obtain reasoned, systematic and constructive expositions of the Socialist theory and practice, it is still more important that I. L. P. members should possess these. To those I. L. P.-ers who have not yet secured copies of the first issue, a strong recommendation is given to secure a copy at once."

## WHY DON'T THEY VOTE TOGETHER?

By Thomas H. West.

(This is the Union Labor Song which was sung by Comrade Louis Volkert last Saturday evening at Concordia Turner Hall):

I stood upon the sidewalk and viewed the passing throng  
Of Union men, in uniform, who proudly marched along  
With flags and banners flying—how sweet the bands did play,  
It was a scene that once a year occurs on Labor Day.  
The thousands who were looking on kept up a constant cheer  
As Union after Union passed—how fine they did appear,  
I thought, while gazing on the scene, I'm thinking yet, today—  
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor Day?

The Allied Printing Trades passed by—a splendid set of men;  
Their metal had been tested, and they stood together when  
The outlook seemed extremely dark, and yet they never flinched,  
But pulled together with a will till victory was clinched.  
The people had a welcome for "the men who build the town;"  
The Unions in the Building Trades had often won renown.  
I thought as they were marching by, I'm thinking yet today—  
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor Day?

The boys from mill and factory, comprising every trade  
Which goes to make a city great, were in the grand parade.  
No one could help but be inspired at such a splendid sight,  
For all admire the men who stand for justice and right.  
Fraternalism reigned supreme—'twould do a person good  
To see the workers marching on in one grand brotherhood.  
I thought while gazing on the scene, I'm thinking yet today—  
Why don't they vote together as they march on Labor Day?

## LABOR MUST CONTROL OWN POLITICAL PARTY

By Robert Hunter.

Every one of our American cities is controlled by a little oligarchy.

The public service corporations, like feudal lords, are organized for the purpose of robbing the entire community.

The two old political parties are puppets in their hands.

Sometimes the gas companies and traction interests instruct one of the parties to fight the gas companies and traction interests. There is then a great war on; the people, wild with excitement and moral passion, turn one of the puppets out and put the other in.

For thirty years we have watched these sham battles. Once in New York City, when the great traction lord, William C. Whitney, was, under fire, he organized an independent party, and all three went forth to battle. Every day the leaders of all three parties took their instructions over the phone from William C. Whitney. As a result the traction lords are still our masters and municipal ownership is not in sight.

In England and Germany, and nearly everywhere else in Western Europe, all the chief public utilities are owned by the people and conducted in their interests. Water, gas and electrical supplies, street railways, telephones, the telegraph, baths, wash houses, etc., etc., are nearly everywhere owned by the people.

The municipal ownership of England has been due to a fighting middle class. They have fought and beaten the municipal oligarchs.

Until recently the working class of England has not been organized politically. As a result, despite municipal ownership, slums, frightful living conditions, widespread poverty, hopeless pauperism, remain.

In Germany the working class has been organized. It has fought with the middle class to drive out the oligarchs. But it has also fought against the middle class in order to abolish the slums.

Certain collectivist ideals appeal to all but a few privileged persons. The municipalization of nearly all public services appeal to all.

But the German Socialists, organized in their powerful political party, have said that municipalization is not enough. If the city, when it becomes the owner of the public service corporations, exploits the workers just as the oligarchs did, what then have the workers gained? The Socialists, therefore, fight for higher wages, the eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven, and better conditions of work.

Socialist parties are organized by workmen to fight their own battles. In Europe they are abolishing slums, improving the condition of the workers, and creating a new world for the toilers. In all municipal councils they fight with the advanced middle class against the oligarchs. But when they fight for trade union conditions, for trade union rights, and for the abolition of the slums, they have to fight both the middle class and the oligarchs.

The battle is being won. The Socialists are growing in power—teaching American labor that only by independent political action, by a party controlled and financed by itself, can it obtain changes now, or in the future those revolutionary changes which will assure it full and complete human rights.

## WHY THE SOCIALIST WOMAN

### DEMANDS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Josephine C. Kaneko in Socialist Woman.

When the Socialist woman of this country agitates for votes for women, she is working for universal adult suffrage. She can not, in the nature of things, demand, or accept a limited suffrage, and if there is a body of women in the United States that is now working, or promises in the future to work, for a limited suffrage, the Socialist woman can not, and she will not, join forces with such a body.

She knows better than to put her foot into a trap of that sort. What she desires above all things is the emancipation of her own class from the industrial bondage under which it is at present laboring. This emancipation will not come by giving the women of the dominant class a vote to add to that of their brothers, that they may keep themselves dominant and the propertyless class subordinate. Even a woman can understand that.

But the Socialist woman is becoming intensely concerned about the right of working women to vote. She is concerned about this because she has learned through study and observation—and perhaps through humiliating personal experiences—that women never have been fairly represented in councils composed wholly of men. She has learned that our jurisprudence, the greatest gift of the Roman Empire to posterity, which though worked out with consummate skill at its beginning, and revised from time to time to meet the exigencies of social changes, has been always grossly unjust towards women. So much so in its earlier inception that a great writer has remarked that in it women were not regarded as persons, but as things. The marked advances that have been made in our laws in comparatively recent years have been gained slowly and tediously through the demands and efforts of women themselves. And many of these laws are merely nominal, the great masses of women suffering numerous wrongs and indignities through their non-enforcement, or the expense and difficulty—or disgrace, shame that that it should be so—involved in having them enforced.

The Socialist woman has mastered this situation, and she is convinced that women should have the right to help make and execute the laws that govern them.

She has studied history and science from the utilitarian point of view. She has not taken them on merely as an ornament of culture. She hasn't much time for ornamental culture. Besides, she is too

serious. And she has found it to be a scientific and an historic fact that any race or class in bondage must gain its freedom through its own efforts, and not through the generosity of the race, or class, above it. Freedom "bestowed" is but the beginning of a new bondage of some sort. The chains have not really been severed.

Political rights is not an exception to this rule. The Socialist woman has been told by a very dear advocate of woman's emancipation, August Bebel, that "Women have as little to hope for from men as the workmen from the middle classes." This may sound like a contradiction to the general Socialist principle, since our platform says that under Socialism women shall have equal political power with men. But it is not a contradiction, since we will never have Socialism without the consent and aid of women. Men can never give Socialism to women.

It is sad almost to the point of being tragic, but it is a truth that the organized workmen do not always represent the interests of their working wives and sisters and daughters in their councils. The working women are not encouraged to organize to join the unions. They are not always given assistance in the matter of wages and hours. Their work is a thing apart. It is without dignity. It is, to sum it up, "women's work," "female" labor. And female labor isn't much, even to the workman, because it hasn't a vote. For how can a woman, even though she be a trade unionist, be sure of her job if she hasn't a vote to cast for her boss on election day? So the working woman drags along, as many hours as she is required, for as little pay as she is given. The Socialist woman feels that she ought to have the ballot.

Another point, the Socialist woman has discovered, and this she holds in common, perhaps, with all thoughtful women. That is, the existence of a sex war. She has studied the relation of the sexes from the beginning of things. She has found the point at which woman's oppression began, and has followed its development to the present day, where, with evolving industrial methods she is being made into a new creature, is developing a sense of personal rights, and a resistance to the impulse of ownership which is still strong in man toward her. The Socialist woman has been shown by scientists and historians—Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, Mills, Buckle and Karl Pearson and Lester Ward of the present day, not to speak of Bebel and Engels—that there are certain antagonistic forces between men and women, which, if not functioned properly, will remain antagonistic forever. And she has decided, probably with the aid of Engels and Bebel, that the proper functioning of these forces is in full and perfect co-operation in all the affairs of life, and the unhampered exercise of the instinct of self-preservation in men and women alike. To set one above the other, to render one weaker and another stronger; to give one mastery over the other, whether sexually, industrially or politically, is to create an unevenness and instability in the social organism that means friction and inharmoniousness, and sometimes the breaking down of the organism altogether.

So the Socialist woman wants the franchise. Not for a few women with property qualifications. Not at all. But for all women of the proper age, irrespective of color or creed or previous condition of servitude.

Socialist women demand universal adult suffrage.

## Missouri Socialist Party

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

Luella R. Krehbeil.

Comrade Krehbeil writes that she will speak in Liberal on April 1; Lamar, April 2; Greenfield, 3; Springfield, 5. She will go east and join her daughter there.

Brower Dates.

Jasper County comrades will use Brower for a number of dates, and he will probably speak in Barton County and at Warrensburg. His first date will be April 13.

Attention, Locals!

The returns of the convention assessment stamps should be made by March 30. All stamps must be accounted for by April 10. Every local is urged to bear this in mind and get the very best results possible.

Where L. S. Edwards Will Speak.

March 27-28, Monett; 29-30, Carthage; March 31 and April 1, Stotts City; 2, Aurora; 3, Raley Creek; 4, Reeds Spring; 5-6, Springfield; 7, Lebanon; and after a week in Laclede County he will touch at Newberg, Rolla, St. James and make about a week's canvass of St. Francois County. From there he goes north towards Chicago.

W. L. Garver in North Missouri.

On April 3 Garver will speak at Milan. On April 4, 5 and 6 he will help the Novinger comrades in their city election. The prospects are good that some Socialists will be elected in Novinger, and Garver will do his best to help matters along. He then speaks at Kirksville on the 7th. This point is about ready for organization. The last date is Gifford, April 8.

St. Louis County.

St. Louis County locals will hold their convention on April 5 at Greenwood. Every Socialist in the county should be there and put his shoulder to the wheel. Valley Park local had W. M. Brandt of St. Louis address them on March 22. Comrades Hughes and Boswell will speak in Manchester on Sunday, March 29. A number of others will be there, and efforts will be made to organize.

Fine Convention in Scott County.

The convention at Morley on March 14 was a decided success. Delegates were present from all the locals and business was harmoniously transacted. T. N. Pate was elected county chairman and J. H. Branam is secretary and organizer. Charles Chaney is county treasurer. A full county ticket will be put up and a strong campaign will be made. The matters acted on by the convention will be submitted to a referendum vote of the members. A move is on foot to have all locals pay dues through the county organization at the rate of 15 cents per member, and that will provide a fund to pay the organizer, etc.

Still They Organize.

Just to show that they are with us in the fight, comrades in the northern part of the state send in three applications for charter this week. The new locals are as follows: Connellsville, organized by C. Batley of Novinger, with 11 members; Trenton, organized by H. H. Perrin, with 8 members; Minaville, in Clay County, organized with 8 members, through the assistance of Kansas City comrades. This is a good start and north Missouri comrades ought to get busy and keep the ball rolling. County Organizer Branam failed to tally last week, but he sends in two this week. Chaffee with 15 members and Rockview with 18 members are the latest additions to Branam's credit. Capitalism has a clear case against Comrade Lipscomb of Liberal. He wilfully and knowingly went to Verdella and organized a local of nine members. It is further alleged that he intends to do the same thing at other points in the county. A local of six members was organized at Eminence by C. A. Powell. The name of the local will be Fry School House.

PREPARED FOR GOOD WORK.

The Socialist Campaign in Springfield, Missouri.

The Socialist Party of Springfield, Mo., met in convention and nominated the following ticket: Mayor, L. Logan; Marshal, R. T.

Wood; Police Judge, A. T. Lane; Collector, Earl Schofield; Assessor, Henry Nesmith; City Attorney, F. P. Morgan; Treasurer, W. H. Bush; Member School Board, R. J. Hotham; Member School Board, W. H. Day. Councilmen—Second Ward, E. A. Gage; Fourth, T. M. Chevore; Sixth, F. Brand; Seventh, W. W. McAllister; Eighth, Dan Wilby.

The Socialist city convention in the city hall was well attended, all the wards being represented except the First. All the nominations were made by acclamation and everybody seemed cheerful, except the committee on resolutions, which came in with a preamble which made a noise like an echo from the cave of gloom.

L. Logan, city chairman, called the convention to order. S. J. Tiffany was made temporary chairman and W. H. Bush temporary secretary. Later they were chosen the permanent officers.

While the committees on order of business, credentials and resolutions were out, Rev. W. J. Henry and two or three others spoke.

None of the nominations was contested and after each had been declared the choice of the convention he was called upon for a speech. Livingston Logan, the nominee for mayor, is 37 years of age and an employe of the Frisco shops. He said he would do all he could to be elected.

Rube Wood, in accepting the nomination for marshal, explained that he has always been opposed to police and soldiers because of the way they have been used as a club over the heads of laboring men. If elected, he said, he will try and do the fair thing by the workingmen, though he will probably have a hard time of it if the rest of his ticket should fail to land.

A. T. Lane, city chairman, called for the police judge, warned the delegates that if the city ticket is elected it can not give a complete application of Socialistic principles, being hampered by state and municipal laws now existing. He promised that it would help a great deal though.

The report of the resolutions committee, which was adopted without dissent, is as follows:

Paint a Dark Picture.

The present conditions are appalling. A panic has swept over the country. Business and industry stopped, mills and factories idle, workmen out of employment, with no means of support for themselves and their families, want and starvation in the midst of the greatest plenty ever known. This is the ripe fruit of capitalism and necessary for its continued existence and for the permanent subjugation of labor. It is a crime against progress and civilization. And

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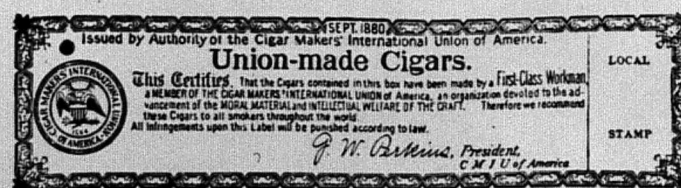
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# A SUCCESSFUL AFFAIR

Was the Annual Commune Celebration of the St. Louis Socialists.

Comrade Thompson Tells His Audience How Socialists Are Doing Things--No Longer a Question of "How Are You Going to Do It?"

The Socialists of St. Louis gave their annual Commune Celebration at Concordia Turner Hall last Saturday evening, and everybody attending the affair agreed on this one point: It was a splendid success!

When the program was opened a few minutes past 8 o'clock the hall was fairly filled, but the main portion of the crowd came thronging in during the next half hour. At 9 o'clock, when Comrade Carl D. Thompson began speaking, the hall was packed with an attentive audience and the galleries were equally crowded with people who had come to listen to the address of the Socialist legislator from Wisconsin. Comrade Thompson had been announced for a "one hour's speech," but speaker and audience seemed to get so intensely interested in the "subject before the house" that fully one hour and a half was taken up by the speaking, and the audience would have listened another hour if the time for the program had permitted it.

With many new students in the audience, Comrade Thompson solved a very vital point, namely, the question: "Socialism is all right, but how are you going to do it?" or "Where do you get the money from to do it with?"

These questions were answered by the speaker in a masterly way, and his humorous remarks interjected into his answers caused storms of applause and laughter. "With us in Wisconsin it is no longer a question as to how the Socialists are going to do it, or where to get the money from to do it with. Up in Wisconsin we have been doing it for some time, and we know where to get the money to carry out the reform measures proposed by the Socialists.

The good effect of Comrade Thompson's address could best be seen by the fact that several hundred copies of his latest pamphlet, "The Constructive Program of Socialism," were sold in the hall—in fact, every copy on hand was disposed of.

As to the rest of the program the following may be said: La Marsellaise was ably played by the orchestra. Mr. Wm. May, a member of Cigar Makers' Union No. 44, aroused the audience to enthusiasm and hearty applause by his song, "Battle Cry of Labor." Master Rudolf Klimt, a talented youth, gave a nice song. Next came Miss Annie Sadlo; a violin artiste with rare abilities, with a fine solo, with piano accompaniment by Master Edmond Siroky. Comrade L. E. Hildebrand gave a ten minutes' talk in behalf of our press, calling attention to the present Brewery Workers' lockout and the anti-labor attitude of the capitalist daily press. After the playing of "John Brown" by the orchestra, Comrade Louis Volkert took the audience by storm with his Union Labor song. In this week's St. Louis Labor we publish this song in full and we propose that at our big campaign demonstration at Lemp's Park in July this song should be sung by at least one hundred children. Possibly the Socialist Sunday School and Comrade Volkert could co-operate and organize the chorus for that occasion.

The United Workingmen's Singing Societies were at their post, as usual, and contributed two well and ably rendered Socialist songs, much to the success of this year's Commune celebration.

Our comrades of the Socialist Women's Club had their hands full at the lunch stand, at the flower and fruit stands and at the literature stand.

The 3,500 locked-out brothers of the Brewery Workers were not forgotten during the celebration. Before Comrade Thompson appeared on the stage to deliver the address of the evening, the following resolution was read and unanimously indorsed by the audience:

**Resolution in Behalf of the Locked-Out Brewery Employees.**

"Whereas, The Brewery Owners of St. Louis forced upon their employes a fight for the right of organization whereby 3,500 people were thrown out of work:

"Whereas, The lockout so treacherously declared against the membership of the local Brewery Workers' Unions is a deliberate attempt to destroy the usefulness of the International Union; therefore be it

Resolved, That the workingmen and women assembled at the annual March Festival of the Socialist Party at Concordia Turner Hall hereby pledge themselves to give their full support to the United Brewery Workers' International Union in their just struggle against the conspiracy of the combined brewery magnates of St. Louis."

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The subscription price is fifty cents a year to any address in the United States, Canada, Mexico, or any other country in the Postal Union. Clubs of four, \$1.50.  
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BY THE

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TO BREAK THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWERY WORKERS AND TO INTRODUCE CHEAP LABOR AND ASIATIC COOLIE CONDITIONS IN THE ST. LOUIS BREWERIES

**Is the Real Object of the Present Fight Started by the Local Brewery Kings**

### Against the International Union of the United Brewery Workers of St. Louis

UNTIL THE BREWERY MAGNATES LIVE UP TO THEIR CONTRACTS SIGNED BY THEM WITH THE INTERNATIONAL BREWERY WORKERS UNION

## ALL ST. LOUIS BEER

WILL BE CONSIDERED

## Unfair by Organized Labor

Remember that the 3,500 Locked-out Brewery Workers are Affiliated with the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor.

