

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

VOL. VI

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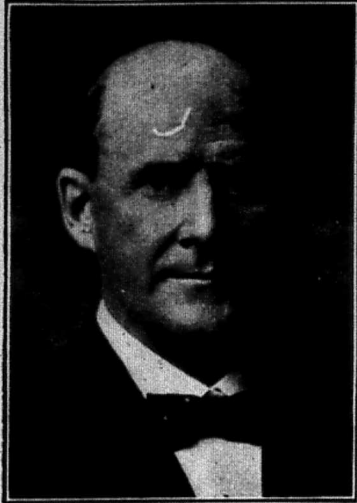
ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, JANUARY 9, 1909.

PHONE: KINLOCH, CENTRAL 1577. NO. 414

## THE GOMPERS JAIL SENTENCE

By Eugene V. Debs.

Justice Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, hitherto unknown, has suddenly achieved national distinction, enviable or otherwise, according to the point of view, by deciding Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison guilty of contempt of court in the case of the Buck Stove and Range Co. and sentencing them to jail for one year, nine months and six months, respectively.



Eugene V. Debs.

It is worthy of note that coincident with the decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia sentencing the Federation leaders to jail the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision absolving Edward Harriman, the railroad king, from answering the questions of the Interstate Commerce Commission in reference to certain stock jugglery and other shady manipulations.

The Gompers contempt case began in August, 1907, and grew out of the boycott placed upon the company by the American Federation of Labor and the publication of the company's name in

the "unfair list," and it is for the alleged violation of this injunction that Justice Wright now sentences Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison to jail.

Justice Wright's review of the case, his argument and summing up are without flaw, his decision absolutely correct and his sentence reasonable and just. FROM THE CAPITALIST POINT OF VIEW. From the labor point of view it is the precise opposite and is nothing less than an exhibition of supreme judicial despotism which outrages every workingman who has intelligence and self-respect enough to know when he is outraged.

The capitalist class character of the federal court, especially in its supreme branches, is well established among the few who see and think for themselves, and this decision of Justice Wright will do much to open the eyes of the unthinking and idolatrous many who still look upon courts in open-mouthed wonder and awe as sacred and infallible institutions.

All through the decision "handed down" by Justice Wright labor is treated as a commodity and in this the court is entirely logical, and so far as those who regard labor as a commodity are concerned and treat it accordingly, there is no valid reason for objection and no good ground for complaint.

But labor is not a commodity, but life, human life, with soul in it, and as sacred as the God who created it, and that is why Justice Wright's decision is heartless and infamous; and if Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison are in contempt of his capitalist court—and if they are not they ought to be—his court is in an infinitely larger degree in contempt of enlightened human conscience.

I have nothing to say here about Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison as labor leaders. Their official attitude, views and policies I have no sympathy with, not the slightest, but this is not the time nor the place for such discussion, nor for the exploitation of any other differences or disagreements. In this fight, forgetting all else, I am with them, not half-heartedly, but as thoroughly in earnest as if they were my Socialist comrades, and I shall gladly give them all the support in my power.

This jail sentence which has been imposed upon them is an attack not nearly so much upon them as it is upon Organized Labor and the working class and as such it ought to be resented with indignation by all the workers of the country.

When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped the Appeal to Reason and other Socialist papers took the lead in the fight to rescue them because they had been attacked for serving labor, and the same is true in this instance of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, and every Socialist and labor paper and every Socialist, trade unionist and workingman, and every sympathizer with labor, should make this fight his own and raise such a storm of protest that even capitalist courts will be given to understand that labor is not a commodity to be treated as hair, hides and tallow, and that it will no longer stand for outrageous court decisions jailing its officials for the meek and humble offenses of serving notice that it will not patronize its enemies.

In writing of this same case in April last, I said in the Appeal: "Wendell Phillips once said that real men trample upon unjust laws and defy those who enact them. This decision, or order of the federal court, enjoining the working class from publishing, writing, or speaking the names of its enemies is not even a law. It is simply the ipse dixit of a corporation lawyer who now happens to be a federal judge.

That is all. "Most of the laws which now fetter labor unionism, restrict its operations within harmless bounds, and stifle its speech, are made in that way. The Constitution of the United States never conferred any such power upon the Supreme Court and federal judges. They have simply usurped it; helped themselves, and the people have submitted.

"There are times when forbearance is a disgrace and submission a crime.

"The labor movement should call a halt. To appeal to Congress, composed of the representatives of the trusts and corporations for fresh laws to be declared unconstitutional, is the climax of folly and sycophancy. The Supreme Court is supreme and will be so long as the people tamely submit to its usurpation of power, and so long as its despotic and outrageous decisions remain unchallenged. "The working class is supreme when it so wills.

"I have been asked what I should have done in the place of Mr. Gompers. I should have expressed myself as Mr. Gompers did, only more so, and then I should have done what he did not do.

"Upon that issue I should rather have been in jail than not to have been in contempt.

"I should have ignored the injunction, continued the 'unfair list,' and compelled the court to rescind its order to enforce it. Moreover, I should have advised all labor papers not carrying the list to incorporate it in their columns. And they would have done it, and in so doing would have been backed up by three million union men.

"Then let the Supreme Court of the trusts and corporations put the American labor movement in jail for contempt!

"It is just such spineless submission which invites such judicial contempt.

"The labor decisions, or rather anti-labor decisions, of the federal court, are a travesty upon justice and an insult to the intelligence of labor, if it has any, and if once treated accordingly the

court would in that hour purge itself of contempt for the working class."

Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have not been tried by a jury of their peers, but have been sentenced to jail by the arbitrary will of a judge before whom, in the very nature of things, they were foredoomed to conviction. If in this case they are guilty of anything to their discredit it is for not openly defying the insolent and despotic order of the court in the first instance.

The same federal court refused to take cognizance of the kidnaping and deportation of labor leaders in flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States, and it also legalized the black-listing of workmen, and now it caps the climax by ordering union officials sent to jail for simply calling by name the enemies of Organized Labor.

Federal judges are extremely jealous of the sacred rights of capitalist "property," but supremely indifferent to working class life. The boycott by labor is punished with a jail sentence; but the black-list by capital, under which a workingman is driven to suicide and his wife and children to starvation, is no infraction of law or equity, as administered by corporation judges, and no capitalist has ever been as much as fined, saying nothing of being sent to prison for that infamous crime.

It is only in these latter days since corporations and trusts have become supreme that courts proceed to such extremities in subjugating labor, and if labor submits without protest it will soon be shorn of the last semblance of its dignity and the last vestige of its rights.

Whether this decision of Justice Wright is allowed to stand and Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison go to jail depends entirely upon the working class. Upon this issue they can all unite—radical and conservative, organized and unorganized—in such widespread, emphatic and determined protest as will not only rebuke the court and prevent the sentence from being carried into execution, but absolutely secure them against any such despotic decision in the future.

The Appeal, in this fight, is for the Federation officials and against the federal court. Every labor union and every Socialist local should rise in protest. The measure of labor's slavery and degradation is the measure of its supreme submission when it is wronged. It can at least protect and give evidence of its consciousness that it is wronged and of its determination to draw the line at some point and maintain some degree of its self-respect.

Let but the workers make this cause their own—for such it is—and a storm of protest will sweep over the nation and never again will such a decision be rendered in the United States.

## SPIES IN TRADE UNIONS

The Latest Circular Issued by a Detective Agency.

Encouraged, doubtless, by the success of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau and the Corporations Auxiliary in grafting on the business element of the country, the Joy Detective Service of Cleveland has been sending out "confidential" circular letters, in which a strong bid is made for patronage.

The frank, cold-blooded manner in which this Joy bunch of grafters talk about furnishing thugs, spies and scabs to smash strikes and disrupt organizations is somewhat astonishing. There is probably no country in the world—not even Russia—in which such a brazenness would be tolerated by public opinion as is revealed by the greedy vultures who operate these spying agencies and rat incubators.

When reading such appeals for dirty business as follows one is compelled to marvel and wonder how much lower human beings can sink. The world has always cursed a Judas, but it appears that the thug agencies and their patrons are preparing to sanctify the treason of Judas and place a halo of glory upon the head of every degenerate who is willing to prostitute whatever little manhood he may have had for a few crime-tainted dollars.

Let honest men read the following and ask themselves whether there are any deeper depths of degradation into which lost manhood can sink:

"This service makes a specialty of handling labor troubles, either existing or contemplated.

"We break strikes in all parts of the United States or Canada, and are prepared to submit a list of references from manufacturers and others who have employed us during the past five years.

"We have in our employ experienced guards for the protection of life and property during strikes and lockouts. These men are all over six feet in height, and selected for their ability to handle this class of work. All have seen strike service, many hold state and city commissions, and should not be confounded with guards furnished by our imitators and recruited from slums of the cities.

"We furnish secret operatives of all trades, union or non-union, for work in mill, mine, factory, store, etc., for the purpose of securing inside information.

"Is your shop being unionized?

"Is your output being restricted?

"Is the union running your shop?

"Is material being wasted or stolen?

"Have you a 'shop committee,' and who are they?

"Do your foremen show favoritism?

"Are you losing castings in your foundry?

"Do you care to know what is being done at union meetings?

"Let us place a mechanic operative with you and find out.

"In handling strikes we take entire charge of the same, furnish necessary guards to protect men while at work, or escort them to and from work if boarding outside.

"We employ, transport and deliver non-union men to fill up affected plants.

"We charge no premium on such mechanics, but employ them at price per day you wish to pay them, charging only for actual time agent may be engaged in securing them.

"Men employed by us will be taken to affected plant by our guards and safely delivered and strikers not permitted to molest them.

"We have found from experience that strikes are broken quickest where men are boarded inside or adjacent to affected plant, and we are prepared to fit up and maintain temporary boarding quarters, furnishing colored cooks, waiters, etc. Our captains are thoroughly competent to handle such boarding quarters, making same practically self-sustaining. Sanitary arrangements are carefully looked after and nothing is allowed to go to waste.

"Secret men attend all meetings of strikes and report proceedings. This service possesses the necessary equipment, such as Winchester rifles, police clubs, cots, blankets, etc., to handle any sized trouble. We are represented in all of the larger cities of the United States and Canada, and a representative will call on you free of charge upon request.

"THE JOY DETECTIVE SERVICE, INC., Cleveland, O."

## Hungarian Socialist Meeting.

Under the auspices of our Hungarian comrades, there will be a public Socialist meeting held at Neumeyer's Hall, Eighth street and Lafayette Avenue, on Sunday, Jan. 10, at 2 o'clock p. m. Addresses in English and Bohemian will be delivered. Comrades Hoehn and Brandt will speak in English.

## NOW'S THE TIME FOR LABOR TO AWAKEN

By Victor L. Berger.

The sentence imposed by Judge Wright in Washington, D. C., is a glaring example of class justice.

To begin with: Did anybody ever hear of a plutocrat, a railroad magnate, or oil magnate, no matter how many laws he may have violated, going to prison? Some of these lords have been fined, but the fine has invariably been remitted.

On the other hand, Judge Wright sentenced Sam Gompers to an imprisonment of one year, John Mitchell to nine months and Frank Morrison to six months, because they published the name of the Buck Stove and Range Co. on the "unfair list" of the American Federationist—and by so doing violated an injunction issued by that judge.

It was not so much because the injunction had been violated, but because the right of boycott was in question—that this severe sentence has been imposed.

And this sentence is extraordinarily severe. It could only have been imposed in the District of Columbia. In no other state or territory, beside the District of Columbia, has the judge absolute power on the question of "contempt of court."

And there is also the following to be considered: If a judge may issue an injunction against an advertisement because "it hurts property interests," why should he not issue injunctions against editorials that "hurt property interests?"

Why should not any capitalist judge enjoin progressive papers from publishing articles that injure certain property interest, for instance a railroad or a street car company.

Some of our foremost magazines now often contain articles that attack property interests—the meat trust or the oil trust, for example.

Now why should not these magazines be enjoined from publishing them? J. D. Rockefeller and Ed Morris ought to have as much right as Van Cleave.

Thus with a sufficient adaptation of "contempt of court"—our liberty of press, our free speech may be annihilated.

Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison are not entitled to any sympathy. This sentence would never have been pronounced if Gompers, instead of leading the hosts of labor into the rotten Democratic camp, had taught them to stand up for their political rights.

Neither would it have been pronounced if the Socialist national party had polled two million votes at the last election.

"The Constitution may not always follow the flag, but the decisions of the Supreme Court always follow the election returns," said Mr. Dooley.

And who is this Judge Wright who wants to send labor leaders to prison? Investigation has shown that he was appointed in the District of Columbia upon recommendation of Senator Jos. B. Foraker, Ohio, the Senator who was on the pay roll of the Standard Oil Trust.

Judge Wright evidently thought that he was serving the trusts when he served Van Cleave & Co. and the Buck Stove Co.—a mistake which very many people who are not familiar with economic conditions often make.

The fact is, Van Cleave and the Manufacturers' Association hate the trusts just as bitterly as they do the trades unions, which they also consider trusts—labor trusts.

Van Cleave and the Manufacturers' Association represent a certain business element which we hope will be eaten up by the trusts very soon; because this element is infinitely more opposed to the demands of labor and to human progress generally than are even the trusts.

The child-labor exploiter and enemy of the working people, Albert J. Lindemann of Milwaukee, is a fair example of that class. The question now is, what is there to be done?

I for one do not believe in the hypocritical milk sop policy of Sam Gompers, John Mitchell and the rest of the Civic Federation suckers. These labor leaders claim to be "law abiding" and yet they know that they are not, only they do not dare to acknowledge it.

I suppose Gompers and Mitchell depend upon their friends, such as Carnegie, Straus, Schwab and the other trust magnates, to get them out of this trouble.

Supposing they do. Will this change the general conditions in any way? Not at all.

The only way to resist is—to resist.

Let every labor paper in the country print the boycott list, including the boycott on the Buck Stove Co., which ought to be given special prominence. Am willing that the Herald shall do so. However, in order to make it effective, all the labor papers must take concerted action.

Furthermore, let the trades unions all over the country arrange protest meetings that will really mean something.

Let it be pointed out at these meetings that the only way to remedy political conditions is by taking political action—by starting either an independent labor party or, better still, by joining the Socialist Party.

Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison will of course never serve time on Judge Wright's sentence.

However, I believe with Artemus Ward that "this bloody war must be fought to a finish if I have to sacrifice all of my mother-in-law's relatives."

And if Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison accomplish the awakening of the American proletariat by taking "a rest cure" in prison—it will be more glory than they deserve.

The U. S. Congress Voted \$800,000 for the Italian Earthquake victims. No patriotic citizen will object to this timely appropriation. On the contrary, the action finds universal sanction and applause. Now, would it not be equally important to vote some money for the relief of the suffering unemployed of America? But that would be paternalism, Socialism, and God knows what else, and for this reason our capitalist Congress can not do anything for our unemployed American citizens. The effects of the latest industrial crisis on the American working class were worse than the results of an earthquake.

## BAKERS' UNION NO. 4.

Removal of Headquarters to New Club Hall.

Bakers' Union No. 4 removed its headquarters to the New Club Hall, Thirteenth street and Chouteau avenue. Beginning with Jan. 1 all communications intended for this Union should go to the new address. PETER BEISEL, Business Agent.



# THE AMERICAN BOYCOTT ASSOCIATION

### Issues Secret Circular to Manufacturers Asking Financial Support in Fight Against Labor Unions.

The American Boycott Association, with headquarters in New York, has just issued another secret circular letter to the manufacturers, asking for financial aid. One of the manufacturers, in sympathy with union labor, sends us circular, which we hereby publish in full for the information of the Socialists and union men.

Here is the circular in full:  
New York City, Dec. 19, 1908.

Dear Sirs:—  
Presuming upon the interest in the work of this association which I know you to entertain, I desire to urge your financial assistance in whatever way you may elect. As our support is provided largely by assessments upon the pay rolls of active members it will be promptly recognized that our revenue for the last year was somewhat curtailed, as it probably will be until industrial activities resume the mark from which they so suddenly shrank. While our membership and new financial support has shown a gratifying increase during this period, yet it has not been sufficient to replace the reduction in revenues so naturally experienced. Furthermore, our expenses have been materially heavier because of the development of important actions commenced prior to the industrial depression and the continued prosecution of which could neither be abandoned nor postponed. If you have had it in your heart to give us your financial support, there could be no more opportune or welcome time selected.

#### The Gompers-Mitchell Case.

We have just published in pamphlet form two important documents. The first presents the arguments by the counsel for the plaintiff in the contempt proceedings against Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, officers of the American Federation of Labor, for the violation of the injunction in the case of the Buck's Stove and Range Co. Whatever may be the outcome, we should not forget the unwarranted and malicious conspiracy which forced the plaintiff in the first place to seek the protection of our laws and government, and the later persistent and deliberate attempt (as we view it) by the defendants to prove that the judiciary has become powerless to protect the rights of our citizens.

#### To Influence Court Decisions.

The second pamphlet is entitled, "Limitations of the Right to Strike," and so far as we know constitutes the only monograph upon this subject. Its purpose is to attempt to correct a fallacy, that has insidiously crept into a considerable acceptance, that workmen have a right under any and all circumstances to strike, and it demonstrates the need of conforming the law in certain states to the law as laid down by the courts of other states which protects business against sympathetic strikes and strikes for oppressive or malicious purposes. An analysis of the law in the prominent manufacturing states which has been made by this office indicates that the courts of the various states of this country do not yet uniformly recognize the great cardinal principles for which we are contending. If this association should cease its endeavors to establish these cardinal principles where they have not yet been established there would be a danger that principles which we believe are opposed to individual rights might soon dominate.

Either or both of these pamphlets may be had upon application so far as the printed edition will permit.  
In the opinion of many this association in its legal achievements has done more than any other single agency to create conditions, precedents and the recognition of principles influencing a better understanding of the labor problem and defining the limitations within which labor agitation must be confined.

#### The Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

The application of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to combinations of labor as well as of capital; the determination of the individual financial responsibility of members of labor unions for the acts of their officers and agents, thus encouraging conservatism and moderation; the abolishment of the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor, which for twenty-five years has held undisputed sway, resulting in great damage to many concerns and which has been utilized constantly as a weapon of intimidation and coercion; and the contempt charges against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in an effort to sustain the dignity and authority of our courts, are achievements of vast importance and significance, in the participation of which every American citizen can justly feel a thrill of pride.

#### Are Pushing Their Work Quietly.

It has been a source of no small gratification to learn from so many that the spirit, purpose and procedure of this association is regarded as commendable. It has been our policy to avoid printed controversies. We have studiously refrained from being dogmatic, radical or impulsive. We ignore publicity and newspaper notoriety. Our object has been to develop the laws of our country, obtaining decisions that are unassailable, thus restraining violation of personal and property rights. For this reason we place our accomplishments higher than our association; the principles above the instrument. We are satisfied to follow the even tenor of our way, quietly and unobtrusively with the sole desire to realize salutary results. Naturally this policy makes us appear as less important, than a more spectacular performance, but we are sure it is the wise and worthy way.

The annual report of the American Federation of Labor shows that some nineteen thousand dollars \$19,000 was expended by that organization for legal expenses in fighting the Buck's case, and that was only up to a time shortly before their convention, with more expenses to follow.  
Whatever you may do towards the support of our activities, I can pledge you the confidential observance of your action as guaranteed by our constitution. If you do not wish to join as an active member, which we prefer and urge, will you not as an encouragement of faithful, efficient and necessary operations, give us an annual contribution of any size which you feel we deserve? Sincerely yours,  
F. R. BOOCOCK, Secretary.

The Undersigned Applies for Membership in the AMERICAN ANTI-BOYCOTT ASSOCIATION.  
Main Office, 27 William Street, New York City.

Name .....  
Represented by .....  
Address .....  
Business ..... Date .....  
Initial fee, \$25. Make check payable to H. A. Potter, Treasurer.  
The following is optional:  
You may inform employers who are solicited to become members of the American Anti-Boycott Association that we are members thereof.

Cost of Membership—Initial membership fee of \$25 to accompany application.

Annual Cost—Annual dues are in the form of assessments of one-tenth of one per cent upon the monthly pay roll, exclusive of executive and office staff. Such assessments can not exceed six in any one year, so that the minimum annual cost can not exceed one-twentieth of one per cent of the annual pay roll.

Illustration—An assessment made, for a specified month, upon a member whose pay roll for such month is \$10,000 necessitates a remittance by the 10th day of the following month of \$10.

Large Membership Desirable—The larger the membership the more effective and far-reaching will be the actions and achievements of the association, at a smaller individual cost to each member. The

principles at stake are so vital and fundamental that their recognition must be enforced at any cost.

Membership Confidential—For discretionary and politic reasons the members and contributors are by a provision of the constitution made confidential.

## Modern Machinery

Let me name a few of our great inventions and what they are accomplishing, and you explain why the laboring-man does not benefit by them:

One man and two boys do the work of 1,100 spinners.  
One cotton printing machine and one man do the work of 1,500 men.

One horseshoe machine does the work of 300 men.  
A nail machine does the work of 1,200 men.  
A modern sawmill takes the place of 800 men.  
One man by machinery does the work of 1,100 in making pottery.

In loading and unloading ships by machinery in Toledo, or any dock, 2,000 men are displaced.

Mr. Owens of Toledo invented a machine which it is claimed will do the work of 50 men in making bottles.

A needle machine turns out 260 needles per minute.

Sheets of tin ore fed into one end of a machine and at the other end complete tin cans are dropped out at the rate of 38,000 per day. One child can operate the machine.

A bread-making machine will mold 20,000 loaves per day.

Three men with machinery turn out 250 tons of steel billets in eight hours.

These are but a few of the many inventions, and about the same increase exists in all branches of production.

These figures are taken from the census report and can be verified.

The late Mr. Gladstone tells us that by the aid of newly invented machinery, our capacity to manufacture is doubled every seven years. Do the wages of the workers double every seven years?

Now, my dear reader, will you explain why it is that with all this marvelous machinery of production, our wonderful means of distribution, our increased knowledge in the arts and sciences, we still have in this free America millions of people in abject poverty? It is because there are not only in America, but in all countries, two classes of people. One class that owns all the machinery, does no work, and yet receives all the good things. The other class all the machinery, does all the work, and has nothing but a living. The rich who own all the tools and other means of production, upon which the worker depends for a living, own the man. The man is finding that out today. Prof. W. F. Ries.

### A Labor Paper on Keefe's Political Deal With Roosevelt.

The appointment of Daniel J. Keefe, sixth vice-president of the A. F. of L., as immigration commissioner was merely the writing of the final chapter to a story begun some time ago. It was not known definitely that Mr. Keefe would be selected for the office that fell to his lot, but it was well understood that something was to be given him as recognition for his services. In all the transactions preceding the election neither Mr. Keefe nor Mr. Roosevelt misled those in touch with affairs. What was done was too apparent to deceive any save the most guileless. President Roosevelt, who is one of the most astute politicians the country has produced, in fact, one who can lay much greater claim to fame as a practical politician than as a statesman, was interested in the election of Mr. Taft. President Roosevelt had since his ascendancy to the presidency played adroitly for the good opinion of the wage workers, and especially for the organized wage workers. And he was measurably successful. True, those who were of the observing kind were convinced that his regard for Organized Labor was more apparent than real, but despite this he was able to convince the people generally of his sincerity. The leaders of labor, however, became tired of the promises of the administration; they became tired of the platitudes and of the pronouncements looking to the forwarding of paternalistic fads, and became insistent that something tangible should be done. Congress was obdurate, and while President Roosevelt bombarded the law makers with messages, nothing was done. Keefe renounced the action he had taken in conjunction with his colleagues on the A. F. of L. Executive Board a few months previously and declared that he was not in sympathy with the policy of the American Federation of Labor. The Republicans were successful and Mr. Keefe has been paid his thirty pieces of silver. Now in this whole matter the question of the appointment of Keefe to a political job as such is of no consequence. Keefe has just as much right morally to the position as any other person. No one will dispute his qualifications. No one will dispute that he has done much good and commendable work in the past. But it must not be forgotten that in order to secure this place it became necessary for Keefe to betray those who had in former years honored him and trusted him. If he knew in October that he could not indorse and support the policy of the American Federation of Labor he knew it in June. And this being so no amount of explanation will convince the people that his change of heart was not brought about through the promised appointment. Daniel J. Keefe gave his indorsement to the proposed policy of the Executive Council before it became public. As a member of Organized Labor he had taken an obligation to abide by the decision of the majority; as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the highest recognition that labor can give to one of its members, he was expected to either acquiesce in the findings of the majority, or, finding this impossible, to resign from the board. It is because of these things that his name will be execrated. The honor that goes with the holding of public office is supposed to far outweigh any financial remuneration. It can safely be said that the honor that attaches to this official will not be great. Daniel J. Keefe can never regain the respect of those whom he has betrayed.—The Indianapolis Union.

### ILLINOIS MINERS INCREASE.

#### 70,841 Men and Boys Are Employed in Industry in State.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. —There is a larger increase in the number of persons employed in the coal mining industry of Illinois for the year ending June 30 last than during the previous year, according to the annual report of the State Bureau of Labor statistics.

The report shows that the total output of coal in the state during the year ending June 30, 1908, was 49,272,452 tons and the output for the year ending June 30, 1907, was 47,798,621 tons. The aggregate home value of the product this year is \$50,989,082, as compared with \$49,486,396 in 1907. The total number of mines this year are 922, against 933 last year.

The average number of miners employed during the year 1907-08 was 48,751, against 45,498 for the year previous, and the total number of men and boys employed at the mines in 1907-08 were 70,841, against 66,714 for the year previous.

The average price paid for mining by hand was 59 cents per ton and for mining by machinery 47 cents per ton. The number of men accidentally killed in 1907-08 was 175, against 165 for the previous year.

### DAY AND EVENING CLASSES.

#### Individual Instruction—2106 Lafayette Avenue.

If you want to learn English, thoroughly and quickly, join Mrs. S. Woodman's private classes. One course of private instruction will help you more than many months in the public night schools. Call on Mrs. Woodman, 2106 Lafayette avenue, for particulars.

## ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST MUNICIPAL TICKET

### Elections: April, 1909

**Mayor**—Frank L. Robinson, Printer.  
**Comptroller**—Phil. H. Mueller, Cigar Maker.  
**Auditor**—W. R. Bowden, Railway Clerk.  
**Treasurer**—Joseph Glader, Brewery Worker.  
**Collector**—Hubert Morrison, Electrician.  
**Register**—W. W. Baker, Printer.  
**Marshal**—Ed. H. Heilman, Cigar Maker.  
**Inspector of Weights and Measures**—F. F. Brinker, Carpenter.  
**President Board of Public Improvements**—Ed. Ottesky, foreman.  
**President Board of Assessors**—J. K. Savage, Merchant.  
**President City Council**—Chris. Rucker, Cigar Maker.  
**Members City Council**—Carl Kilwinski, cabinet maker; William H. Worman, printer; L. F. Rosenkranz, tanner; O. E. Nulson, electrician; Gus Eckhoff, carpenter; Henry Huebner, modeler.  
**Members of House of Delegates, by Wards**—First, Christ. Reuther, molder; 2d, A. C. Rapp, furniture worker; 3d, Lawrence Ryan, watchman; 4th, left to the Executive Board; 5th, William Kreckler, baker; 6th, T. E. Delmore, teamster; 7th, Frank Heuer, pattern maker; 8th, Nicholas Becker, carpenter; 9th, William M. Brandt, cigar manufacturer; Tenth, G. A. Hoehn, editor; 11th, William Klages, bottler; 12th, Jacob Dörner, carpenter; 13th, William Crouch, cigar maker; 14th, T. C. Stephens, undertaker; 15th, Carl Yahlem, dentist; 16th, Jacob Wunsch, laborer; 17th, Wm. L. Bachman, merchant; 18th, Henry Schwartz, cigar maker; 19th, C. F. Zautner, insurance agent; 20th, Fred Werner, carriage blacksmith; 21st, L. E. Hildebrand, manager; 22d, left to Executive Board; 23d, Otto Pauls, clerk; 24th, Fred Wedel, carpenter; 25th, H. Siroky, tailor; 26th, E. J. Hilliard, clerk; 27th, Otto Kaemmerer, garment cutter; 28th, T. F. McLaughlin, merchant.  
**Board of Education**—Long term: Emil Simon, physician; L. G. Pope, lawyer; Otto Vierling, physician; Joseph Barrett, journalist. Short term: Mrs. Evaline Hunstock, ladies' tailor; John Barshal, artist.

## St. Louis Socialist Municipal Platform

### CITY CHARTER REVISION

In view of the fact that our present City Charter has become antiquated and contains many serious obstacles to a healthy growth and progress of our municipality; therefore be it

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party demands the immediate revision of said charter in conformity with the city's urgent needs;

**Resolved**, that we favor the election of thirteen freeholders, in accordance with the provisions of our State Constitution, who shall at once proceed with said charter revision work.

### MUNICIPAL FREE BRIDGE

Whereas, the citizens of St. Louis, in June, 1906, by a referendum vote, decided in favor of a municipal free bridge;

Whereas, for the last two years every possible effort has been made by powerful corporation interests to prevent the people of this community from carrying out the plan of building said free bridge; therefore be it

**Resolved**, by the Socialist Party in Convention assembled, to call upon the citizens of St. Louis to insist that said municipal free bridge must be finished and opened for public use not later than January 1, 1911.

### MUNICIPAL LIGHTING PLANT

The Socialist Party insists on the immediate establishment of a system of municipal stations for producing light, heat and power for public and private use, to be managed and operated on the same basis as our municipal water works system. The Municipal Assembly shall not grant any more new franchises to private corporations for light, heat or power purposes; neither shall the present franchises held by private corporations or individuals be extended.

### INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL EXTENSION

Whereas, the St. Louis Industrial School is badly in need of new building, school and other facilities for the safety and welfare of the children whose misfortune it is to become inmates of said institution;

Whereas, not only are the buildings of said Industrial School inadequate, but the present location of the institution is such that the much needed improvements cannot be satisfactorily carried out;

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party proposes the removal of said Industrial School to some favorably located, healthful grounds in St. Louis County, upon which the so-called cottage or group system of buildings can be successfully established.

### MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL REFORM

For years it has been recognized that the system of management and control of our City Hospital and Dispensary service is exceedingly faulty and objectionable. The safety of the health and lives of the city's sick depends on the chance of political fortune, which is inhumane. We must guarantee to the sick poor the best possible care under every and all conditions; therefore, be it

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party insists on the following reforms: (1) Separation of the Health Department from the Hospital Department; (2) Vesting of control over the hospitals in a Board of Trustees, similar to the School Board and elected by the people; (3) Provision for an executive superintendent; (4) Provision for a medical staff of experienced physicians, appointed by the Board of Trustees for a term of years; (5) Provision for an interne body of physicians, to be chosen on the basis of competitive examination conducted by the staff. Such internes shall be responsible to and under the guidance of the medical staff.

#### MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME.

- Municipal ownership of street railway service.
- Municipal home rule.
- Public toilet stations.
- More public bath houses.
- Rigid pure food inspection.
- Abolition of grade crossings.
- More small public parks and play grounds.
- A warm meal to be served at public schools during noon recess.
- Establishment of municipal lodging stations for the unemployed.
- Municipal ice plant in connection with City Water Department.
- Municipal employment bureaus; private employment agencies to be prohibited.
- Free medical inspection of all children attending all public and private schools.
- Free legal advice and service to wage workers in suits for wages and against mortgage sharks.
- City Forestry Department to have charge of planting of and caring for shade trees along residence streets.
- Residence building permits to be granted only on condition that dwellings be provided with bath and toilet facilities.
- Abolition of contract system in public works; eight hours workday under all conditions, and civil service for all municipal employes.
- While the street cars are still operated by private corporations we insist on the enforcement of these rules: No seats, no fare; cars must be kept in good sanitary condition, well heated and ventilated; eight hours to constitute a day's work for all street railway employes.
- In order to relieve the serious condition of the thousands of unemployed in this community, we urge the inauguration and pushing of such public works as have already been decided upon or as may be undertaken, thus enabling these unfortunate wage workers to properly sustain themselves and those dependent on them.

#### RESOLUTION.

We reiterate our allegiance to the Socialist Party of the United States and endorse its platform. We appeal to the working class, and to all who are in sympathy with the principles above enunciated, to join in this great movement for economic and social freedom.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.



# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## THE MISSION of the WORKING CLASS

By REV. CHAS. H. VAIL.

We see, then, that the interests of the laborer and capitalist are not identical. It is to the interest of each to get as large a share of the product as possible. The value created by a day's labor is a constant quantity, and is equal to the sum of the value of the labor-power (wages) and the surplus value (profits). If a constant quantity consists of two parts, is it not self-evident that you can not increase the one without diminishing the other? If the surplus value rises, the value of the labor power falls, and vice versa. Many superficial persons have been led to consider the interests of laborers and capitalists identical through a failure to distinguish between capital and capitalists. Thus, while capital, which is produced by labor and has been exploited from it, is of service to laborers, the capitalists are not. The capitalist today is merely a man who, by his monopoly of the instrument of production, is enabled to levy a tax or tribute upon productive toil, and thus secure an income without personal exertion. The apology often offered that the capitalist should receive interest because he renders a service to labor is not valid, because the service is reciprocal. Capital is only preserved by constant reproduction at the hands of labor. It would soon decay unless in productive use. Laborers, by taking capital and keeping it intact, render a greater service to capitalists than capitalists do to laborers. There is no more reason why laborers should pay the capitalists than that capitalists should pay the laborers, nor as much. But in reality it is to the direct employer or "captain of industry" to whom the money lender renders the service, by enabling him to extend his field of operations; that is, fleece labor on a large scale. The man who borrows money and uses it to exploit labor is simply compelled by the lender to divide the spoils. Interest is merely a part of the booty. The harmony of interests between laborers and capitalists is like the harmony between the horse-leech and its victim. Capitalists, like all parasites, live off of others. This they are enabled to do through their monopoly of land and capital.

Capitalism, then, like feudalism, has developed the class which is to work its overthrow. We have seen how the landed nobility and capitalists have performed their work in social evolution. We now come to the mission of the modern proletariat or working class. This class have a mission to perform, and that mission is the abolition of wage slavery.

The economic struggle is necessarily a class struggle, a struggle between the proprietor and non-proprietor class. The subjection of the working class is due to the fact that the instruments of production are owned by another class. The interest of these two classes being diametrically opposed necessitates a class struggle. While there are members of the others classes who perceive the truths of Socialism, lend themselves to the cause, still, as a class, we need not expect them to take the initiative or aid in carrying forward the movement for the abolition of the wage system. They think their interests lie on the other side, but like the slaveholders of old they are blinded by their prejudice. The majority of this class will have to wait until they are thrown headlong into bankruptcy before their eyes will be opened. But this will not be long. The whole middle class are hopelessly doomed, and it is only a question of little time before they will join the ever-growing majority—the proletariat. But there are many who realize the hopeless struggle and have joined the cause of progress in advance. The work of reorganization, however, must rest chiefly with the proletariat, and the members of this class are being fitted and prepared for the fulfillment of their mission. The laborers have been gathered together in large factories, where they have been organized and made to feel their class-consciousness and solidarity.

But, as we have seen, the transition from one stage to another, can not take place until conditions are ripe for it. Although the proletariat has been in existence many years, the time was not ripe for it to work out its destiny until the economic evolution had expressed itself in the trust and syndicate. This condition is now realized and the time has come for the proletariat to work out its destiny.

In all previous revolutions class has superseded class. The class below has overthrown the class above, thus emancipating itself by subjecting others. But the triumph of the working class is necessarily the abolition of all economic dependence, for the working class can only emancipate itself by socializing the instruments of production and distribution. The new servitude which arose as the result of other revolutions was caused by a continuance of private property in the instruments of production. By abolishing this private ownership the cause of economic dependence and servitude will disappear.

The rapid concentration of wealth evidences that the end of capitalism is near. This end is also evidenced by the rapid organization of the working class. But how will the final step be taken? What are the means by which the working class will emancipate itself? Class interests and class politics are inseparable. It was perfectly natural, then, that as these class lines become more and more tightly drawn they should find political expression, and that the working class should organize politically to secure its rights. The class-conscious laborers are today organized under the banner of Socialism. This party claims your confidence and support as laborers because it expresses your interests and rights as a class. Its purpose is to awaken in you a conception of your class interests and lay the foundation of a class-conscious political organization. The first step toward emancipation is the mastery of the public powers. In the political field you are supreme. Here you meet the capitalist as an equal, while as a class you overwhelmingly outnumber the capitalists and your advantage is constantly increasing with the destruction of the middle class and the narrowing of the capitalist class.

The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty. Strike at the ballot box for freedom. Vote into effect your demand for the abolition of wage slavery. Wrench by united political action the power of government from the hands of your exploiters, that you may put your economic program into effect. In your effort to attain this end accept no political palliative. Any measure which does not tend to the abolition of wage slavery is unworthy of your support. The laboring class must learn that it need not expect nothing from any political party which does not stand squarely upon the demand to wrench from the exploiting class the economic and political weapon of exploitation. No such unpromising demand as this will ever be made by any political division of the capitalist class. If the laborers are to achieve their emancipation they must stand upon a platform of their own, demanding the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. The Socialist party is the party that presents this demand and proposes to carry its principles into effect. Laborers, why longer waste your efforts in the old political parties, which are but handmaids of the capitalist class? Their chief object is to divide us into various factions, fighting against each other, and thus prevent our uniting to secure our freedom. The petty political issues which the Republican and Democratic parties raise are only for the purpose of fleecing us on the one hand and throwing dust into our eyes on the other, lest we see the only real question at issue—Socialism vs. Capitalism. Friends, be not deceived. You have no interest in the success or

failure of parties composed of classes whose interests are antagonistic to your own. You surely have been befooled and used as a tool to do your master's bidding long enough. I am rejoiced to see that the laborers are at last getting their eyes open to the thorough capitalistic nature of both old parties and the fraudulent issues which they put forth. To be sure, the interests of various capitalists are conflicting, some being able to exploit labor better by one method and some by another, but all are united upon the policy that labor must be exploited. The laborer's interest, however, is one and alike everywhere; it is forever against this abominable competitive system which robs them of the larger part of the product of their toil.

Laborers of America, do not longer throw away your vote by casting your ballot for something you do not want. You had better vote for what you want and not get it than vote for what you don't want and get it. But friends, we shall get what we want. Socialism is the outcome of economic evolution. That Socialism will follow capitalism is as certain that light will follow darkness. The rapid growth of the Socialist vote evidences that salvation is near. Fellow laborers, hesitate no longer in joining the ranks of Socialism. A vote for the Republican or Democratic ticket is but putting another rivet into your chains of economic servitude.

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

## Porfirio Diaz' Rowdies Destroy Arizona Printery

Douglas, Arizona, Dec. 18.—On Thursday night, Dec. 17, the printing plant at 140 Convent street was completely wrecked in an attempt to destroy the Mexican Liberal paper, "El Defensor del Pueblo." Inside the composing room type lay in great heaps upon the floor, the press was broken and the head of the paper stolen, along with almost the entire issue of the paper.

To gain an entrance the hired destroyers broke a heavy brass lock and completed their work of devastation in the early hours of Friday morning—according to the owner of the premises, about two o'clock in the morning.

On hearing of the matter Marshal Hoply immediately made a personal investigation of the wrecked office, remarking as he viewed the scene, "Diaz has a long arm."

Why this savage attack was made upon "El Defensor del Pueblo" is as plain to the people of Tucson as it was to the marshal. "Diaz has a long arm," and "El Defensor del Pueblo" has opposed the tyrannies of the Mexican government.

In Mexico, to destroy a newspaper, arrest the editors and suppress free speech is common practice, but to commence these tactics in the United States is dangerous even to such as rule in Mexico.

It is not a mere coincidence that Manuel Sarabia is assisting in the printing of this Liberal paper, "El Defensor del Pueblo"—the same Manuel Sarabia who was kidnaped in Douglas, Arizona, by the orders of the Mexican consul, Maza.

Few American citizens are today aware of the reign of terror that holds sway in Mexico, but such dastardly attacks as that of last Thursday night will soon open their eyes to what happens south of the border if on the American side a free press can be destroyed and the hired thugs escape scathless.

This affair is an attack upon the fair name of Tucson, and if it is not set right will work great harm to us all.

It need hardly be necessary to state that "El Defensor del Pueblo" will continue to print the truth about the Diaz government and put to the test its ability to destroy any newspaper, however small, in United States territory.

### Belleville Holds Gompers Protest Meeting.

The Belleville (Ill.) Trades & Labor Assembly held a successful mass meeting last Sunday afternoon at Sulzer's Hall to protest against the sentencing of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison to prison. Mayor Kern, Mother Jones and others spoke.

### Election of Officers.

The Tri-City Central Trades Council held the annual election of officers at Granite City. The following were elected: President, M. E. Kirkpatrick; vice-president, W. E. Corey; secretary, T. M. Cavanaugh; treasurer, J. W. Krauth; sergeant-at-arms, Frank Burnett; trustees, J. W. Grant, J. W. Grant and T. M. Cavanaugh were candidates for secretary, Cavanaugh winning by three votes.

### FIFTY BODIES RECOVERED.

#### Officials Think One More Victim Is Still in Mine.

Bluefield, W. Va., Dec. 31.—Forty-nine bodies have been recovered up to tonight from the Lick Branch mine, the scene of Tuesday's explosion. The rescuing parties have been called from the mine by the state inspectors. There probably is one more body in the mine, officials say. Workmen's lives are cheap! When will this slaughter of human beings cease?

### ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED.

#### Resolution Adopted at the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L.

To provide relief for the army of unemployed; the following was adopted: "We urge that municipal, state and federal governments at once take steps to furnish work by constructing schools and other government buildings, by protecting forests and reforesting cut-over and waste lands, by building canals and extending deep waterways, by building dykes and docks, by dredging harbors, by building roads and improving roadways and streets, by extending geological and agricultural surveys, by any or all means intended to employ the involuntary idle and suffering of our citizenship in whom we desire to forever maintain the spirit of independence and freedom, tempered with sentiments of justice and love of order that must prevail to preserve a republic of freemen."

"God Was in the Earthquake," Said Rev. Father Phelan; and "Whatever God does not do directly he permits." Rabbi Leon Harrison seems to differ on this subject, for in his last Sunday's earthquake sermon he expressed himself like this: "I should rather go to hell than worship a God who would slaughter the innocent for the sins of a few." He concluded that "by no strain of credulity or faith could he imagine a God worthy of worship yet capable of such atrocities."

### LABOR UNION CALLED TRUSTS.

**Master Holds Organizations Operate in Restraint of Trade.**  
Helena, Mont., Jan. 5.—That both the Anaconda Typographical Union and the Montana Federation of Labor were guilty of violating the anti-trust law in that they were guilty of combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade was the report given today by Oliver T. Crane, master in chancery in the circuit court.

The suit was that of the Butterick Publishing Company and a number of Montana labor unions, against whom the former had asked injunction.

The case has been in court since last spring, and has been bitterly contested by both sides, the publishing company bringing witnesses from New York.

The master in chancery recommended that the case against the other unions be dismissed, and the injunctions against those named in this action be made permanent.

The publications of the Butterick Publishing Co. are on the "Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor.

### FINED FOR VIOLATION OF CHILD LABOR LAW.

Thomas Morfoot, superintendent of the Illinois glass works of Alton, was fined \$20 last Tuesday at Edwardsville by Justice Edmonds on a charge of employing children under 16 years for a longer period than eight hours a day. The company was found not guilty in a third case, and twelve additional cases were dismissed by State's Attorney J. F. Gillham. The suits were brought at the instigation of the state factory inspectors. The company set up the plea that the boys were in the habit of laying out their tools before 7 o'clock in the morning, but that their actual labor did not commence until the whistle blew.

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOBBYIST FIRST AT LEGISLATURE.

Jefferson City, Mo., Jan. 5.—Austin W. Biggs, formerly a member of the legislature from St. Louis, was the first and only lobbyist to register with the secretary of state today. Mr. Biggs is a member of the Typographical Union, and said his purpose here is to promote the enactment of measures favorable to the interests of labor and to oppose such measures as may be deemed detrimental to labor. He registered as being in the employ of the American Federation of Labor.

### MISSOURI RAILROAD EMPLOYEES DEMAND LEGISLATION.

Jefferson City, Mo., Jan. 5.—Representatives of twenty-three lodges of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen met here this afternoon, elected officers and took the initiatory steps toward urging legislation advantageous to their organization. All but six lodges in the state were represented. The officers elected were: Chairman, George Fleightholder, of Kansas City; vice-chairman, Michael Daly, of St. Louis; secretary, Frank Longbreak, of Springfield. There will be another meeting tomorrow.

### MEXICAN REFUGEES TO STAND TRIAL.

#### Lack of Funds Prevents Longer Fight by Villareal and Others.

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 4.—The petition to the United States Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus in the case of the three alleged Mexican revolutionists, Magon, Villareal and Riveria, was dismissed today on motion of counsel for the defense. Lack of funds and prospect of further delay in determining the issue in the cases led to to-day's action. The men have been in the Los Angeles County jail for more than a year, and their cases have excited widespread interest and have resulted in diplomatic representations. The accused men will now be taken to Arizona to stand trial for violating the neutrality laws of the United States.

### SACRIFICE OF YOUNG GIRLS.

#### How Their Health and Lives Are Coined Into Glittering Gold.

In a Pittsburg foundry girls are employed to make simple cores for castings. A quick girl can make 10,000 a day, for which she receives \$1. According to the investigator who reported to Charities on "Pittsburg Women in the Metal Trades," this work is carried on in clouds of drifting dust. As the cores are finished they are set on trays, which the women carry across the room to the ovens. A loaded tray weighs from 10 to 25 pounds. In an electrical factory in East Pittsburg 650 women are employed on piecework in winding coils for armatures. The fastest make \$1.47 a day. The work is so taxing that the employes give out readily. Only 25 have been in the factory four years. Three screw and bolt works in the same city employ 543 women. A bolt trimmer—to use one class of labor as an illustration—stands for ten hours before a machine. She feeds bolts to the mechanism at two second intervals—10,000 times a day—for a wage of 96 cents.

Bad conditions for these women to work under and likely to have an indirect effect in weakened and stunted children.

Doubtless the employers feel that they are not to blame, that they are forced by competition for cheap goods to hire cheap labor. If anyone of them should hold out and refuse to use the methods of his competitors he would be forced to the wall. So it is up to organized society to take a hand and fix the rules of the game. Conditions for the employment of women and children must be determined and enforced by the state. Otherwise society is at the mercy of a demand for cheapness that sacrifices the future of the race—Kansas City Star.

### MINERS REDUCE INITIATION FEE

#### To Lighten Work of Organization in Three Districts.

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 10, 1908.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions, Districts 1, 7 and 9, United Mine Workers of America:

Brothers—I have received communications from several sections of the anthracite coal region stating that it would be impossible to get any of the mine workers to pay an initiation fee of ten dollars, and the reason assigned was the very poor work they have had at many of the collieries during the past summer.

Several of the official representatives have requested that a dispensation be granted to initiate members for less than the regular fee of ten dollars.

On account of the very poor work that the men have had, and in order to give every one an opportunity to join the United Mine Workers of America, a dispensation is granted to all the local unions in Districts 1, 7 and 9 to initiate men for the sum of four dollars, same to remain in force until March 1, 1909.

The initiation fee may be collected in one, two or three installments, in order to give the men an opportunity to join our union, and this dispensation takes effect from the first of this month.

With the hope that every member of the United Mine Workers will do his best to build up and strengthen the organization, I remain, fraternally yours,

T. L. LEWIS,  
President U. M. W. of A.

### DEBS' LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Our book department has a good stock of the Debs' book on hand. It contains a biography, his writings, speeches, and some appreciations by well-known individuals. The book is well illustrated and finely bound and printed. Every Socialist will need it for reference. Every friend of liberty and progress will prize and cherish it. Get a copy for your library. Price \$2.

Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth Street.

Among Other Things, do not forget about the meeting arranged for Miss Hollowell by the Woman's Club, January 13, at 8 p. m., at 212 South Fourth street. Bring the ladies and make the meeting a good one.



# LABOR.

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

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

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## CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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.

## ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL.

46



The Allied Printing Trades Council calls your attention to the above label. It is made in different sizes, and is furnished to the printing establishments employing union men. We request the co-operation of all union men, as well as the business men of the city, and ask that they insist upon it being in the office patronized by them, and that it appears on the printing.

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1888	2,000
1896	36,000
1900	122,000
1904	408,000
1908	448,471

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867	30,000
1877	494,000
1887	931,000
1893	2,585,000
1898	4,515,000
1903	6,825,000
1906	over 7,000,000

## EATING CROW

The St. Louis Republic is a great organ, and its editor-in-chief is certainly a man with a cotton string as backbone. This poor, pitiable editor-in-chief of the leading organ of the Mississippi Valley Democracy would do better to retire to some remote corner in the Ozarks and raise apples or guinea pigs.

On the "Wrightful" Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison decision the St. Louis Republic had modestly commented thus:

"At this time the whole matter is in such the position of a friendly test of a disputed question, despite the implacable hostilities between the parties to it. The suit was brought really at the instance of the Citizens' Industrial Association, which, in respect of employing forces, represents even a greater degree of extremism and intolerance than does the leadership of organized labor."

The following day Buck Stove Van Cleave of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance sent a strong reply to the editorial criticism, which the St. L. Republic published in full.

Next came President Owen Miller of the Central Trades and Labor Union with a carefully prepared reply to Van Cleave's letter. Mr. Miller had insisted that his letter be either published in full or not at all, since he did not like to see it cut up by the editor. To this the St. Louis Republic editor had agreed.

Much to Miller's surprise his reply to Van Cleave's epistle of hypocrisy appeared in the St. Louis Republic the following morning with the following passage cut out:

"Van Cleave, as president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, presided over a banquet of that association, held at the Astoria Hotel in New York, in which he advocated that his auditors, the employers, should meet the demands of Organized Labor in the future with Riot guns, and Mr. Post, his colleague, in a paid advertisement, denounced the officers and members of Organized Labor as criminals and insisted that their proper place was in the penal institutions of the country. Now, I will leave it to the public which is the correct position—that advocated by Van Cleave and his colleague, Post, to meet the demands of Organized Labor with shotguns and imprisonment, or by fair arbitration, as advocated by Organized Labor. It is a very easy thing to write honeyed words in a constitution and by-laws, but it is quite a different thing when you judge of the acts of men."

Meanwhile the Buck Stove Van Cleave got busy, and as the Walking Delegates of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, issued a circular letter to the leading business men connected with his C. I. A., insisting that they inaugurate a "mass protest" against the St. Louis Republic and make that paper eat crow, with beak, claws, tail-feathers and all. Every C. I. A. business man was called upon to write a strong letter of protest to the general business management of the St. Louis Republic and make life miserable for the lamentably pitiable editor-in-chief.

On Saturday, January 2 (several days after the earthquake catastrophe in the Straits of Messina!), the St. Louis Republic made its appearance with 24 columns of Citizens' Alliance letters, spread over four pages. Every one of the 95 or more letters contained a most vigorous kick against the Republic's editorial, and the great Democratic-Bryan-Gompers organ took them all in without a murmur!

Even more! Here is what the St. Louis Republic added editorially:

"The Republic is indebted to members of the Citizens' Industrial Association of St. Louis for a most interesting symposium which is given place in its news columns today. Its readers will doubtless recognize a similar obligation for the full explanation they are given of the aims and purposes of this organization have in mind."

"These letters, sent to The Republic at the request of Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, president of the association, quite positively correct the erroneous assumption of The Republic that the suit against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison was brought at the instance of the Citizens' Industrial Association. The Republic cheerfully gives publicity to this correction and welcomes the opportunity to present the

complete exposition of the principles and objects of the organization which these letters embody."

Thus the Republic cheerfully expresses its sincere thanks for the sound and healthful thrashing so promptly and publicly administered by Honorable Van Cleave!

This is our great educational institution known as the public press! No opinion of its own! The editor-in-chief has no more to say as to the contents of the editorial page than the proverbial lamb inside the wolf as to its own fate.

Any human being with the least common sense knows that Mr. Van Cleave's Buck Stove fight is a fight of the combined Citizens' Industrial Association, Manufacturers' Association, etc., and that the Republic's first editorial remarks were correct and in order. Will anyone make us believe that Van Cleave is not receiving any of the "benefits" derived from that \$1,500,000 "educational fund" of his unholy alliance? And we do not doubt one moment that his Buck Stove boycott damages are also paid out of that fund.

Mr. Van Cleave is too slick a business man to make himself and his firm the center of attack for the benefit of the entire Citizens' Industrial Association and kindred alliances. Mr. Van Cleave is not a fool, and we take it for granted that he has learned one sound "business principle," namely: To make others pay the waiter while he attends to ordering the meal.

## WE OBJECT

The Socialist National Executive Committee at its meeting last week in Chicago decided to arrange American tours for Victor Grayson, Social-Democratic member of the British Parliament, and Comrade Dora Montefiore of London—Social-Dem. Herald.

When men accept the responsible position of National Executive Board members we have a right to expect that they have some knowledge of the International Socialist and Labor movement. We take it for granted that they will keep themselves posted as to what is going on in the movement on both sides of the Atlantic.

It seems, however, that our present National Executive Committee is out of touch with the movement in other countries. If such is not the case, how can the N. E. C., at this time, decide to arrange "American tours" for Victor Grayson?

Are the members of the National Executive Committee not aware of the dissensions and fights in the Socialist and Labor movement in England? If not, why not?

Are they not aware of the fact that Victor Grayson is to a great extent responsible for the present troubles which threaten to disrupt the British Socialist movement and to injure the labor unions?

Don't misunderstand us! We are not discussing Victor Grayson. But we are much concerned in the unwise action of our National Executive Committee. We have closely followed the developments in the movement in England and the part Victor Grayson is playing therein since his election to Parliament. No doubt the young man means well, but there is one thing which he don't seem to have learned, namely that he has to learn a great deal more in the school of experience, in the school of the Socialist and general labor movement.

To route an inexperienced young man like him in America, at this time, is a serious blunder, because the man lacks the knowledge of the labor movement. What we need at this time in this country is not the Victor Grayson type of Socialists, but the old experienced and tried Socialist-Trade Union war horses, William Thorne, O'Grady, Pete Curran, etc.

We do not wish to have the Socialist sectism of England imported here, for the simple reason that of that sectism this country has considerable overproduction. Enough for export, too! For the good of the American Socialist and general labor movement we hope the National Executive Board will reconsider their action on the "American tours" of Victor Grayson.

In this connection we wish to call our readers' attention to the excellent article by Comrade Robert Hunter, entitled "An English Tempest," on this week's editorial page of St. Louis Labor. Read this editorial, together with Hunter's article, and then ask yourselves the question: "Has the National Executive Committee acted wisely?"

We object to the N. E. C.'s action!

## AN ENGLISH TEMPEST

At the present moment in England there is a tempest, a violent tempest, a most extraordinary tempest—a tempest in a teapot.

Mr. Victor Grayson has been thrown out of the House of Commons and the Labor Party made no protest.

Mr. Victor Grayson and Mr. Hyndman refused to speak from the same platform with Mr. Keir Hardie.

Mr. Blatchford, the friend of Mr. Grayson, attacks the Labor Party.

Mr. Shaw, the friend of Mr. Grayson, attacks everybody.

Now, I know Mr. Grayson, and he is the most precocious infant that I have come across. He is 26 or 27 years old, has read books on Socialism and has developed a fiery oratory. Only a short time out of college, rash, untamed and inexperienced, Mr. Grayson likes tempests.

I was with him the second night after he had been returned to the House of Commons. He wanted to adjourn the House then and there and get thrown out.

He is hot, revolutionary, sentimental, full of high purpose, delicious humor and irresponsibility.

When he first came to Parliament he would not associate with the Labor Party. It was too tame for him, and he announced that he was the beginning of a Socialist Party.

He sat down alongside of Hardie, Barnes, Curran, Grady, Thorn, Jewett and several other old battle-scarred Socialist veterans, and said: "Here am I, 26 years old, a revolutionist and the only Socialist in the House of Commons!"

Grayson has good stuff in him, and, if his friends, the intellectuals, do not make an ass of him, he may yet do something. Otherwise, he may become another John Burns.

You remember John was once fiery and revolutionary. On this very unemployed question he, too, waved the red flag. He went to jail. He tore things to pieces, did John. He was the one original Socialist, "the only Socialist ever returned to Parliament."

He also had the backing of Blatchford, of Shaw, and of some others. They were wild over John, and when he went to Parliament, England at last had a Socialist movement.

But they forgot with John, and they forgot with young Victor,

that one brilliant orator doesn't make a Socialist movement.

Briand, the Frenchman, was another fiery revolutionist. He wasn't going to bother about Parliament. He was going to lead the workers into the streets. He was going to have open revolution and take the government of France by force. He was brilliant beyond the brilliancy of John Burns or Victor Grayson. They are not his equal as an orator or as an intellect.

And when Briand came upon the horizon France at last had its Socialist movement—at least so some said.

Now, Victor is a very attractive lad, altogether as fascinating a youth as I have seen in the Socialist movement, but somehow the history of Socialism teaches one not to rely over much on every fiery irresponsible revolutionary orator who comes along, especially when he suffers from big head.

The men who gets the idea that Socialism is entirely dependent upon him is going to suffer a great disappointment, and if his egotism has gotten beyond him, and he finds some time that he is not the whole show, he is likely to become very unhappy with mediocre surroundings and overly critical followers and do just exactly what John Burns and Aristides Briand did.

I don't want to be hard on Grayson. I count him a friend, and I admire his very exceptional talent, but the man who intends to be a leader or nothing, and who walks into the House and tells Hardie and Pete Curran and George Barnes to take a back seat, is very likely to find, especially if he is 26 years old, that the working class movement got along before he arrived and will still exist after he goes.

In any case the whole row has been most unfortunate. It has opened up a volume of bitterness which alarms the friends of Socialism in England and has certainly done much to weaken the hold of Socialism on the labor men. Fortunately, however, it is now pretty well through with and Robert Blatchford, sick of quarreling, writes very justly of the main participants as "Three Baby Buntings."

No one who knows the English labor party is wildly enthusiastic about it. It is a powerful independent political organization of a united working class. British workmen are not excitable, nor revolutionary, and the men in the Labor Party are just ordinary English workmen.

But the leadership is Socialist leadership, and the movement will one day be a powerful Socialist movement.

But just now the slow, dragging progress of British Socialism and the petty personal squabbling of its leaders is most disheartening, and probably will continue so until the Britishers attain complete unity between all Socialist and Labor bodies.—Robert Hunter.

## LESSON IN FIGURES

The suicide records show the same steady increase as it has done for several years past. The number for 1908 was 10,852, as reported in the public press. The following table shows the steady increase of self-murder:

1899	5,340	1904	9,240
1900	6,735	1905	9,982
1901	7,245	1906	10,125
1902	8,291	1907	10,782
1903	8,507	1908	10,852

The proportion of suicides as between men and women remains about the same as last year, the record this year being 7,864 males and 2,988 females. Physicians, as usual, head the list among professional men, the number in 1908, being 42, as compared with 37 in 1907, 39 in 1906, 34 in 1905, 33 in 1904, 35 in 1903 and 52 in 1902. Fourteen clergymen, 2 artists, 3 actors, 1 architect, 4 musicians and 16 prominent attorneys also committed suicide during the year. The suicides arising from business losses have greatly increased during the year, being 634, as compared with 123 last year, and in this number were 31 bankers and brokers.

The most surprising increase is in the number of cases of self-destruction arising from business losses—123 in 1908 and 634 in 1907 and 634 in 1908! An increase of almost 600 per cent!

From 1899 to 1909 the number of suicides in the United States increased over 200 per cent. This is a lesson in figures. It is an indictment against Capitalism. More police stations, jails, penitentiaries, workhouses, poorhouses, insane asylums, more crimes and suicides, these are some of the signs of progress in capitalist civilization. The struggle for life under Capitalism is worse than the struggle of the beasts for supremacy in the jungle. Socialism desires to eliminate this jungle feature from human society by changing the economic foundation.

## Editorial Observations

This Happens to Free Young American Citizens and Others when they get hungry and can't find a job. Last Sunday night Frank Nelson Hormell, a bright-appearing young man, 20 years old, spent the night at the Carr Street Police Station, charged with stealing three loaves of warm bread.

The United States Supreme Court Decided That Poor, Pious old John D. Rockefeller may keep the \$29,000,000, which amount the Standard Oil Co. had been sentenced by a lower court to pay. God helps those who help themselves, and the U. S. Supreme Court will always protect the best interests of the poor millionaires.

Which Time Did Van Cleave Tell the Truth? In Bringing its action against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, the Buck's Stove and Range Co. alleged that it was suffering grave and irreparable damage as a result of the boycott placed on its scab products. In a statement given out to the Associated Press this week the same company alleges that the boycott has not seriously impaired its business. Which Time did Mr. Van Cleave tell the truth?—N. Y. Evening Call.

Organized Labor Throughout the State of California Is Making ready to send committees to the State Legislature making known the bills which labor desires enacted into law. The labor unions are asking that such measures as the initiative and referendum, recall, woman suffrage, employers' liability law and amendments to the child labor law shall receive favorable consideration. The local unions of the Western Federation of Miners of California will make an earnest effort for an eight-hour law for mines, mills and smelters, and a united effort upon the part of the labor movement of California, backed and supported by Organized Labor throughout the West, must result in bringing about the shorter workday in the Golden State.—Miners' Magazine.



# Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

## IN BEHALF OF THE SHOE WORKERS

**Douglas, the Shoe Man, Exposed by Boot and Shoe Workers' Union--Protest of Union Against Vice President Duncan's Interference with the Douglas Shoe Co. Trouble--Statement by President John F. Tobin--Matter will Also Come Up in Sunday's Meeting of St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union.**

Boston, Jan. 4.—The letter of James Duncan, first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, in which he favors the side of the W. L. Douglas Company of Brockton, Mass. in its controversy with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is the chief topic of discussion in labor circles here, in the state of Massachusetts, and, in fact, in all New England. Never in the history of labor disputes in the shoe industry has it occurred that a non-union shoe company should receive practically an indorsement from so high a labor official as the first vice-president of the A. F. of L.

Men who are acquainted with the entire matter make serious charges against Duncan. It is said that Duncan did not consult the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. about writing the letter. Neither did he consult the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union for all the facts in the case. It is said on good authority that an hour after the union received the Duncan letter it was in type in the office of a Brockton newspaper office, said to be subsidized by the Douglas Company.

### Tobin Gives the Facts.

In a statement just issued John F. Tobin, general president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, reviews the entire history of the case and his opinion of the Duncan letter. He said:

"We exercised our acknowledged right to terminate contract relations with the Douglas Company for the use of our union stamp upon the legal termination of its contract with us on November 1 of this year.

"We have refused and will continue to refuse to renew our contract with it for the reason that during the first of this year, during the business depression, when the times seemed opportune to impose new conditions and a new scale of wages without serious fear of a labor war, the Douglas Company, by transferring a small portion of its \$3.50 shoes from their No. 1 to their No. 2 factory and expressing its intention to accept inferior work, put its No. 2 or lower scale of wages into effect on the small quantity of shoes transferred.

"After three or four months, when it supposed the workers had become accustomed to the change of wages, this small quantity of shoes was transferred back to the original location and these shoes, together with ten times the number, in addition, were all put on the reduced scale of wages in conflict with what we contend to be the principle of collective bargaining and in violation of the principle of arbitration, which provides for a mutual agreement before a new wage scale can be put into operation.

### Arbitrate Against Union.

"The dispute was submitted to the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration under our contract and a decision rendered against us, which decision we complied with to the very letter until the end of our contract period, but as we firmly believed this transfer as a means of intruding a low scale of wages established the equivalent of our members demanding an increase during a period of prosperity and scarcity of labor, and even if sustained by an arbitration decision the injustice of such a procedure would be apparent, and we have terminated contract relations and do not desire to renew with this company.

"First Vice-President Duncan of the American Federation of Labor saw fit to write us a letter criticising the wisdom of our course, stating that he was authorized to write such a letter, but we believe he Executive Council was not aware of what has appeared to be the bias of Brother Duncan in this matter, and the letter, being couched in such language as appears to be in the interest of the company and against our union, has been used by the Douglas Company as a means of advertising and as a substitute for our union stamp.

"Brother Duncan confesses his want of knowledge upon the subject, and we desire to say that our case has never yet been presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by our union, and the Douglas Company has never, so far as we know, in any communication to the American Federation of Labor requested its friendly co-operation to bring about the making of a new contract, notwithstanding a statement in the letter of Vice-President Duncan, that the company had asked for such friendly intervention.

### Use Misleading Headlines.

"The company, not satisfied with using the Duncan letter, embellished the letter with display headlines, placing false conclusions upon the Duncan letter and misquoting the same. Vice-President Duncan makes a comparison between the Douglas Company and the Hamilton-Brown Company of St. Louis which is not correct. On December 8, 1908, the date of the Duncan letter, the company did not employ union labor exclusively, as stated in the Duncan letter, but on that date operated two strictly non-union factories under a low scale of wages, one in Springvale, Me., the other in Nashua, N. H., since which time it has arranged to occupy another large factory in Marlboro, Mass., also a low wage center, and within a day or two has announced the leasing of a factory in Haverhill, Mass.

We can conservatively state that at the present time and at the time of the writing of Brother Duncan's letter in his office, under date of December 8, and his supplying a copy of the same to the Douglas Company, that company was then employing about 70 per cent of non-union help in the production of their goods.

"We believe that the use of the stationery of the American

Federation of Labor by the Douglas Company in connection with circulars it is sending out, is not authorized by the American Federation of Labor or by its Executive Council, and we do not believe that an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has any right to photograph documents emanating from the American Federation of Labor, to say nothing of an employer of labor being accorded this privilege.

"It is a significant incident that the Douglas Company at this time approaches the labor press with a tempting bait in the shape of six months' advertising on a generous scale, quite out of proportion to the patronage accorded to the labor press in the past by this concern."

That the W. L. Douglas Co. made good use of the Duncan letter in an effort to regain union patronage which it lost with the loss of the union stamp is showing by the following headlines in capitalist newspapers:

Boston Traveler, December 9:

LABOR MAN IN PRAISE OF DOUGLAS FIRM.  
Vice-President of A. F. of L. Chides Shoemakers' Union.

Boston Transcript, December 9:

DOUGLAS UPHELD.

Vice-President of American Federation of Labor Writes to President of Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of the Controversy.

Boston American, December 9:

DUNCAN URGES SHOE WORKERS TO END FIGHT.  
A. F. of L. Leader Writes Tobin Settlement Should Be Made With Douglas Co.—Discusses Controversy.

The Enterprise, Brockton, Mass., December 9:

W. L. DOUGLAS CO UPHELD  
By A. F. of L. in Contract Issue—Duncan So Asserts and Candidly Rebukes B. and S. W. U.

Boston Journal, December 10:

FEDERATION SAYS UNIONS DID WRONG.  
Executive Council Deplores Act of Brockton Shoe Workers' Association.

Boston Post, December 10:

A. F. OF L. UPHOLDS DOUGLAS SHOE CO.  
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union Declared to Be in the Wrong in Stamp Controversy.

The Joint Shoe Council of Brockton, Mass., on December 16, adopted resolutions indorsing the stand of the General Executive Board of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and condemning the Duncan letter.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union request that unionists and sympathizers bear in mind that no shoe is union made unless it bears a plain and distinct impression of the union stamp.

## UNFAIR LIST

### of the American Federation of Labor

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

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

It is for this reason mainly that we hereby present the

"Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor:

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

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

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

GROCERIES—James Butler, New York City.

TOBACCO—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

WHISKY—Finn Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LEATHER—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

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

WATCHES—Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; Jos.

Fahy, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Watch Case Co., Sag Harbor; T.

Zurbrugg Watch Case Co., Riverside, N. J.

WIRE CLOTH—Thos. E. Gleeson, East Newark, N. J.; Lindsay

Wire Weaving Co., Collingwood, Ohio.

BILL POSTERS—Bryan & Co., Cleveland, O.; A. Van Buren Co.

and New York Bill Posting Co., New York City.

HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

RAILWAYS—Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Missouri,

Kansas & Texas Railway Co.

TELEGRAPHY—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger

Service.

D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind.

Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.

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

Creek, Mich.

## "YOU SHALL NOT STRIKE"

**This is the Latest Injunction Issued by Court Against Illinois Mine Workers Organization.**

St. Louis, January 1, 1909. Happy New Year!

All state officers of the United Mine Workers of Illinois are made defendants in an injunction brought in the Madison County Court at Edwardsville. The application was made by Attorneys W. M. Warnock, William E. Wheeler and W. E. Hadley, on the part of the Lumaghi Coal Co. of St. Louis. Judge R. D. W. Holder of Belleville heard the application and issue the restraining order.

These proceedings will be watched with keen interest by all operators having mines in the Illinois field, as it involves a point of contention which has arisen several times before. In consequence, the suit will serve in the light of a test case.

Two months ago several drivers in the Lumaghi mine No. 2 at Collinsville went to work, but found the machine runners were not working and there was nothing to do. The drivers demanded pay for their appearance and the question came up between the company and the local union. In the meantime the drivers quit, which the operators claim was contrary to an agreement that men with a grievance continue at work until their representatives had failed to settle it.

The penalty for this action is a fine of \$10 a man, and the Lumaghi Company enforced this. When the men declined to pay it No. 2 mine was closed. December 21, John H. Walker, state president of the miners, notified Herman Justi of Chicago that unless an adjustment was reached the other mines of the Lumaghi Company would be closed by calling out the men.

To ward off this sympathetic strike the injunction proceedings were taken. The men in the other Lumaghi mines objected to being ordered out by the state officers, as they had no grievances and wanted to work. There is no dispute between men and employers, only on the validity of the agreement between the state bodies of the operators and miners.

As similar occurrences have transpired in Williamson, Grundy, Macoupin and other counties, the interest in this case is general throughout the state.

The injunction issued by Judge Holder is directed against John H. Walker of Springfield, president of the State Mine Workers; Frank Farrington of Streator, vice-president; Frank J. Hayes of Springfield, secretary-treasurer, and Robert Osborne of Coal City; Patrick Carr, Cherry; Samuel Edwards, Peoria; Bernard Murphy, Pana; James Burns, Jr., Springfield; Peter McCall, Glen Carbon, and George Lawrence, Herrin, members of the Executive Committee; also Thomas Reynolds of Collinsville, sub-district president, and John Halbers, president of the Collinsville local.

It directs them in no way to direct, counsel or induce any member or members of the United Mine Workers, now in the employ of the Lumaghi Coal Co., from working in the Lumaghi mines at Collinsville.

The mines may demand a hearing on the writ within five days; otherwise it will come up in regular course at the January term of court. The validity of the present contract between the miners and the operators in Illinois is virtually at stake in the matter.

**Van Cleave May Blame No One But Himself for His Troubles,** and the "Wrightful" court decision won't relieve the gentleman of his trials and tribulations, either. Here is what Editor Heath of the Social-Dem. Herald thinks of the matter: "After all, hasn't capitalism made a mess of it again? Gompers is charged with having tried to make it known to the working class that the Buck's Stoves and ranges, made by Van Cleave, the head of the union-fighting Manufacturers' Association, was under the ban of labor and that no class-conscious workingman would buy anything manufactured by such a labor-hating concern. To the best of his limited ability he tried to get this message to the toiling millions, and what does a class-serving judge do but render such a spiteful decision against the labor leaders that the whole matter is now discussed in every blessed newspaper in the land, thus giving the attitude of Organized Labor the complete promulgation that Gompers himself was not able to give it. It must be a pretty dull workingman indeed who does not now know that the Buck's stoves and ranges have been branded as an unfair product by the labor unions! And capitalism did it!"

Great Efforts Are Being Made by Western Labor Organizations to free the victims of the Nevada strike troubles, Preston and Smith will leave in a few days for Carson, Nevada, to appear before the pardoning board in behalf of Preston and Smith. The pardoning board consists of the governor, the chief justice, the junior justice, the associate justice and the attorney general. The Miners' Magazine has made arrangements to make a complete report of the arguments of Judge Hilton before the pardoning board of Nevada.

Full Line of...

UNION MADE

SUITS and HATS

AT REASONABLE PRICES

Rothgiesser Bros.

MEN'S OUTFITTERS

BROADWAY & CRESTNUT

Our Branch Store--2100-02 South Broadway

## THE FACT IS

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

## The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

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

## Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

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

### GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON

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

### BOYCOTT THE BUCK STOVE & RANGE CO.

or any other firm that may be unfair to Organized Labor.



# Woman's Study Corner

## The Toiling Children

By Bayard Holmes, M. D., Chicago, in The Medical Fortnightly.

It is difficult with a subject of this sort to be at once forceful and dramatic in the statement of facts, and escape the charge of sentimentality and sensationalism. Let me be rather prosaic than explosive, and charge me with being dull rather than pyrotechnic.

Allowing that it is impossible for us to change the inheritance of the child, we must admit that environment plays the largest part in the development of the little man or woman. Every child is entitled to a mother, a father and a home. In this statement comes the assumption that the father has steady employment and a living wage. Every child is entitled to a childhood free from toil. This statement contains the subject of this paper.

When a child is born, if a little boy, he is 52 centimeters, 19 inches, long, and if a little girl, 2 centimetres, or almost an inch, shorter. During the first ten days of life these children lose in weight, and then, under proper circumstances, gain again all that they have lost. Then begins the most interesting period of their growth, which continues for six months. At this time there is generally a slight arrest of growth. It is referred to as teething. It may be abrupt and short, or slow and longer. Then begins a spurt which rarely stops before the end of the second year, and often not until the sixth year. At these periods there is generally a more or less distinct loss in vigor and strength, and sometimes even in weight, which is followed in due time by another period of growth. Between six and sixteen boys and girls show distinct variations in the method and rapidity of their development, so that while the boys have been taller and heavier than the girls until the age of ten or twelve, at this time the girls outstrip the boys in height, weight, strength and mental vigor, to be by overtaken by the boys only after the permanent rest which girls generally take on at about the age of eighteen or nineteen. The girl's growth is then complete before she is twenty, while the boy, under proper surroundings, grows until he is twenty-three or twenty-four.

These periods of diminished weight and arrest of growth are accompanied by corresponding plateaux in mental and spiritual development. The boy in the resting stage, at ten or eleven, is unattractive, disagreeable, mischievous and obstreperous. He begins to have trouble with his teacher just when his twin sister shows an unusual degree of application and attractiveness. He is a torment and grows worse and worse, until some morning, when he comes to school with clean hands, a clean face and parted hair, and before you know it, he is an inch taller than when you last looked at him. The wise parent and the successful teacher is able to guide the unhappy youth through these critical periods either by love or intuition.

The growth of the child is progressive and follows a certain sequence, like the building of a house, or the maturing of a plant. In the first month nutrition is established and the trunk muscles grow and all of their connections are made through the cord to the brain. The five senses look out and take cognizance of pain and pleasure, but it is many years before the eye is trained to color, form and size, and the ear to the sweetness of melody and harmony, and only by the most varied and successive and rational exercises are the muscles of the extremities brought to perfection with all the complicated nervous connections with which they must be strung through the cord to the brain and the organs of perception. Unless the foundations are well laid, unless the framework is symmetrically raised, the house can not be enclosed and roofed and decorated. Much more complicate are the buildings of the body, much more rigid are the sequences which must be followed in his exercise in order that the man may eventuate.

The embryo life of the boy or girl is the key to the history of animal creation. The physical, mental and moral development of the child follows in the same manner the development of the race through savagery and barbarism to civilization.

It is not part of my plan to point out the fact that the graded schools do not consider the irregular development of the child, nor to his particular fallibility at the critical periods which so constantly pursue him. It is enough to consider how the child reacts to the drudgery and toil of the factory the work shop, the office and the department store.

In the primitive American home the child began to work almost as soon as he could walk. He did certain chores; he brought in the wood, shoveled away the snow, pumped the water, fed the pigs and chickens, and a little later milked the cows, watered the horses and cleaned the stables. Each of these acts and obligations was timed to his strength and growth. Each was first admired in another, then shared, and at last undertaken and carried out. Every occupation was a new study in physics, chemistry or biology. The trees were tapped, the sap collected and boiled down into syrup in the spring. Then came the plowing, seeding and planting and the care of the crops. At last the harvesting, threshing, and even further preparations for food or raiment. The flax was threshed, rotted, broke, swinged, hatched and spun. It was often put into the loom and woven into plain or figured cloth for the raiment, the table or for dressing the beds. The sheep were sheared and the wool washed, carded and spun and then dyed and woven into cloth for the use of the family. The sheep and cattle were butchered and the tallow was tried out and made into candles and the hides were taken to the tannery and brought back to be made into boots and shoes during the long winter evenings. In the shop sleds, wagons, tubs, boxes and pails were made, and in the front of the horse barn there was a bellows and forge, an anvil and other tools by which the horses were shod, and every conceivable implement of iron and steel made and repaired. Every bit of work that the boy or girl did was educational and developmental, and none of it was toil or grind. It amounted to a natural and unconscious sloyd, in which the father and mother and older brothers and sisters were the teachers and the children the pupils.

In the twentieth century, and in this free country, the toiling child is routed out of bed, eats a joyless breakfast of scant nutrition, and takes a street car, where he pays an adult fare, for the factory. He enters with a number and sits down before a machine contrived so ingeniously that any child can run it, and built so substantially that no fool can break it. There he sits all day and feeds plates of tin, wood or iron to its insatiable and relentless jaws. At the noon hour he swaggers off and eats a cold lunch amongst surroundings anything but conducive to his health, his physical comfort or his intellectual and moral needs. The afternoon is spent before the same insatiable machine. As the day wears away and sundown approaches, there are more errors, and here and there the revengeful machine takes his meed of blood and bone. The child goes home weary and bedraggled, physically, mentally and morally. Irresponsible, over-worked and over-wearied, under-fed and unrecruited, he naturally seeks stimulants and dissipation. Days and weeks drag on, until in a fit of almost propulsive insanity he quits his job on trivial provocation, and in spite of forfeits or fines, shortly seeks another, where the same history is repeated.

It is wonderful what skill and aptness the child acquires. He can feed a machine more deftly than any man or woman; he learned it quicker, and can outstrip his older brother or sisters at piecework,

but the act is one ceaseless repetition, until the whole nervous system revolts, or until he is displaced by a younger and defter competitor. The child is kept at the machine he can feed the fastest, without regard to his need of physical development. There is no rotation, there is no consideration for the fact that this ceaseless attention of the weary eyes results in a baneful astigmatism which no lens can cure, that the posture provokes or aggravates a curvature of the spine and that the dusty atmosphere lays deep and sure the basis of respiratory infection. Only one thought rules in the factory where children are employed—it is cheap and manageable labor and a profitable product.

The factory toiling child is placed under conditions advantageous to the production of goods and regardless of the destruction of the embryo man and citizen. It is possible that factories could be sanitary, dustless and well lighted. It is possible that the machines could be so guarded that they would be harmless and so devised that they would be noiseless. It is possible that the factories could be made as educational as the household of fifty years ago, and that by a rotation of occupations the child could be made useful while at the same time his body would be developed by measured and well-timed exercise, his mind be cultivated and stimulated by rational and reasonable activity and his soul brought out and mellowed by the charm of sympathy, the stimulus of social dependence and enthusiasm and the fascination of beautiful surroundings and lofty ideals.

As it is, however, the machine maims the child. The toil stunts him. The ceaseless expenditure of energy dwarfs his mental development and ruins his physical symmetry and beauty, and the irrational methods of manufacture and commerce unhinge his moral sensibilities. The result of child labor is defective manhood and womanhood. The strength of the state is its citizenship. The toiling childhood is a poor preparation for patriotic manhood. Bond slavery conserved childhood and youth to realize on manhood and womanhood. The wage system of today ruthlessly sacrifices profitable adult labor for a few years of cheap child labor.

The only reason why the State can interfere with the freedom of employment of women and children is because it has the inherent right to protect itself. Society does not reform the criminal in order to make him a good man, but confines him in order to protect itself. Society does not cure the insane person in the asylum or hospital, but shuts him up for its own peace and protection. So society must prevent the child from toiling, not because society wishes to give as large a life as possible to the child, but because society must protect itself from the defective, the delinquent or the criminal adult, which child labor unerringly produces.

The toiling child is a menace to the laboring classes, to the laboring man and to the laboring woman, by taking a man's place at the machine in the factory, or in the store, at a child's wage.

Child labor is a menace to organized, self-respecting labor by furnishing in a few years a weak, defective and irresponsible flood of labor similar to that of the hopeless coolie, or the careless, subservient negro.

Child labor is a menace to capital by filling the state institutions with defective delinquent and dependents. This class is growing, and the expenses of police departments, of so-called justice, and for institutions of reformation and confinement are a burden to capital, both by direct taxation and by private endowment, increasing year by year.

The best employer does not employ children, coolies or imported labor. He gets the best and most responsible labor in the market, and is glad to pay the highest price. Child labor laws do not influence him, except as they restrain an unprincipled competitor. As a citizen and as a manufacturer seeking a market he is interested in keeping to the minimum the defective, dependent and delinquent classes, and in maintaining as high a standard of life in the community as its resource can possibly support. Thus is his market increased and the safety of the community insured.

## WORKING WOMEN OF ST. LOUIS AND VICINITY

These lines are addressed to the women of St. Louis, especially to the working women.

Your husband is a workingman. In order to support his family he must work hard and give the best part of his life to his daily work.

You go to the bakery and you will find that the 5-cent bread is not as big as it was years ago; that you get less cake for a nickel. You go to the shoe store and there you will find that shoes cost more than they used to.

Ten years ago you could buy more meat, bread, shoes, etc., for \$5 than you can buy today for \$8.

Why is everything so high-priced? Some slick fellow may tell you: "The high wages of the workmen are the cause of it!" This is not true.

The fact is that big corporations, trusts and monopolies are today in possession of the business and fix the prices arbitrarily. The meat trust fixes the meat prices!

The sugar trust fixes the sugar prices! The flour trust fixes the flour prices! And now comes the Bakery Trust and attempts to run the bakery business of St. Louis!

American Bakery Co., has gobbled up the following bakeries:

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- Condon Bakery Co.
- St. Louis Bakery Co.
- Freund Bakery Co.
- Welle-Boettler Bakery Co.
- Hauk & Hoerr Bakery Co.
- Home Bakery Co.

These seven bakeries are operated by the trust. This trust is this bakery trust, which is incorporated under the name of not only trying to crush every smaller bakery in St. Louis and vicinity, but the trust is also fighting Union Labor with a view of introducing cheap labor.

We appeal to the working women of St. Louis and vicinity not to buy any bread or cake from the above mentioned trust bakeries until such time as the Union contracts are signed.

Our demands are reasonable. We do not think that anybody will consider \$15 or \$16 a week a very exorbitant wage for any man who has a family to support.

Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1908.

Contains a complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the entire session. It presents the entire argument upon every question that was discussed. It is handsomely and durably bound and contains a complete alphabetical index. Fifty cents per copy; no reduction in quantities.

Here is a Good Pamphlet for Democratic and Republican Workingmen to read after the Nov. 3 elections: "What Help Can Any Workingman Expect from Taft or Bryan?" Price 5c a copy. This pamphlet is better now than before the day of election. Gradually the "free-born sovereigns of labor" are sobering up and a little reading on these lines may make thinking men out of them.

### PUBLIC SENTIMENT MEETINGS.

Open to everybody. Conducted by Public Sentiment Club. Every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock, Barr Branch Library Auditorium, Lafayette and Jefferson avenues. Any and all subjects of public interest will be freely discussed from all sides. You are requested to suggest one or more questions for consideration. Thos. Quinn, Secretary. H. H. Artz, President.

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### Socialist Sunday School.

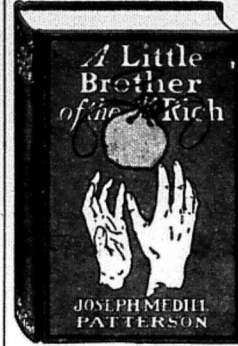
Fifteenth Ward Socialist Sunday School meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at 1823 Carr street.

### LETTER BOX.

Comrade W. W. Baker. Contribution will be published in next issue. Crowded out this week.

### SOME BOOK BARGAINS.

A Little Brother of the Rich.



Joseph Medill Patterson has thoroughly exposed the rottenness and degeneracy of "high society" in his latest book, "A Little Brother of the Rich." It has created a sensation and Comrade Patterson has seemingly portrayed conditions as he actually found them. Get a copy and be ready for the next individuals that tells you of our "upper classes." Price, \$1.15.

### The Moneychangers.

This latest book from the pen of Upton Sinclair is a sequel to "The Metropolis," which appeared some time ago. Sinclair delves deep into the doings of our "best citizens" in Wall Street. He depicts the panic of 1907 as being

caused by rival speculators quarreling over the possession of a woman. Price, \$1.20.

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- The Iron Heel, by Jack London..... 1.50
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# Chaining the Trade Unions

By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P.

London, Dec. 25.—The court of Appeals has decided that a trade union must not meddle in politics. The present Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. Justice Darling, Mr. Justice Phillimore, Mr. Justice Neville, and some half-dozen other eminent lawyers, think the contrary; but for the time being, the Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Boulton, and Lord Justice Farwell rule the roost.

The Master of the Rolls wisely confined himself to what he called facts. His argument was that the Trade Union Act of 1871 defined the object of a trade union, and that nothing outside that object could be subsequently added by trade unions to the activities which they impose by compulsion upon their members. "It is common knowledge," said the Master of the Rolls, "that in 1871 the idea of securing parliamentary representation was not one of the objects attempted to be secured by trade unions."

This is an arguable position, and is one which a judge may very properly take up. Anyone, however, who is acquainted with the history of trades unionism also knows that it is "a matter of common knowledge" that in 1871 the idea of securing the parliamentary representation was one of the objects which trade unions, perhaps vaguely and indefinitely as to method, but nevertheless quite distinctly as to intention, had before them. The securing of parliamentary representation is only the last act of a series, and by 1870 the trade union movement had entered wholeheartedly into political agitation for the purpose of securing by legislative action not only liberty for itself as a movement, but also an improvement in the industrial condition of the wage earners. George Howell's book on "Labor Legislation, Labor Movements and Labor Leaders" contains over twenty chapters dealing with the period before 1871, and in the latter part of that section he narrates political activities of the most strenuous kind carried on in the House of Commons and through the House of Commons.

But this is not all. In the middle of the 60s the trade union movement has seen that without direct representation in the House of Commons its political activities were bound to be weak. The Labor Representation League, was, therefore, organized, and although its connection with Organized Labor was only semi-official, everything foreshadowed, as a natural development, the final creation of an official party. The point, therefore, raised by the Master of the Rolls' position is: Whether what every student of trade unionism knows is to be found in embryo in the action of unions before 1870 is or is not to be regarded as a new phenomenon when it comes to maturity?

When, however, we leave the Master of the Rolls and come to Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton, we leave the bench and go to the platform. Lord Justice Moulton's main contention is that the conditions of membership of the Labor party amount to a subversion of public policy. They mean, he thinks, that the member is tied body and soul, that he ceases to be a representative of a constituency, and becomes the slave of a trade union. "Suppose," he said, "that A contracts with B that he will pay the election expenses of B and support him whilst in Parliament, provided that B engages to vote as A directs." That is Mr. Justice Moulton's idea of the position of our Labor members. I confess that such a notion takes my breath away.

In the first place, it is an absurd caricature of the facts. A does not say to B, "I will pay your expenses and give you your instructions." A (the union) says to B (its candidate): "I am part of a national party which forms its national policy upon my principles. I am subscribing to that party, and if you are to be my candidate you must belong to that party. On matters of detail you will have to consult with your colleagues, and you and your colleagues together will have to decide how best to carry out our principles." That is what A says to B.

But that is not all. When B is returned he sits with his colleagues, takes part in their business, argues with them, votes in their majorities and minorities, and otherwise influences their action. He finds, moreover, that he is never coerced, and that no pressure is or can be brought to bear upon him to enter one division lobby when he feels conscientiously bound to go into the other. Lord Justice Moulton's A and B illustration is simply absurd.

But there is a further point. Lord Justice Moulton, before he was a judge, was a member of Parliament. As a member of Parliament he was a partisan. As a partisan he votes scores of times with his party and against his own opinion. If he did not, he is the only Liberal or Tory lawyer, with an eye upon preferment, who has not done so. He knows perfectly well that the whole of our constitutional practice is built upon the theory that our legislation is to be carried out by that party, that the work of Parliament is to be done by party, and that party means to a very considerable extent the subordination of individual opinion to general opinion. As a Liberal, he accepted that as his own policy. But the moment that organized workers do the same and assume that party government (the form of government praised by all our classical political philosophers) is the condition of political life in this country, and create for themselves the machinery and organization of such a government, Lord Justice Moulton resorts to a stilted philosophy, and writes, and reads from the bench a silly essay about public policy which every politician in the House of Commons knows has not only no bearing upon actual life, but assumes a condition of things which, if applied to the House of Commons tomorrow, would bring our system of government into anarchy and chaos.

If Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton's pronouncement was a platform one, Lord Justice Farwell's was of the same character, but on a lower grade. He quoted the constitutional theories of Blackstone, the party speeches of Burke, and the political philosophy of Locke, as though they were fundamental constitutional laws. An American lawyer has a written constitution which he applies as a legal standard to every political act. We have always thanked Providence that no written constitution places our liberties in the hands of mechanically-minded lawyers. Lacking such a constitution, however, Lord Justice Farwell falls back upon the private opinions of Blackstone, the party views of Burke and the political philosophy of Locke.

Further, Blackstone and Burke, in particular, were defending a constitution which was menaced by certain democratic demands for an extension of the franchise. The extension was made, and the State declared that both Burke and Blackstone were wrong, and that public policy did not require a recognition of their views. That took place nearly a century ago, and now, in 1908, those very views which were promulgated mainly for the purpose of restraining the granting of the democratic franchise are produced as constitutional reasons why trade unions should not assist in the formation of a political party.

These considerations seem to me to be fundamental to the judgment delivered last Saturday. Several of the opinions of fact expressed by them incidentally are simply ludicrous, but it is better, in view of what is now to happen, to take the judgments at their best. Their facts are wrong, their philosophy is appalling, and there we can leave them.

A sentence or two remains to be written about the future. The effect of the judgment is to show to trade unions that it matters not how the social circumstances develop, they are bound hand and foot to what they were doing in 1871. Beyond that no progress and no initiative are allowed. That is what the House of Lords said to the Free Church of Scotland a few years ago, and so absurd did everybody regard the verdict that legislation was immediately passed to upset it. The trade union can claim the same privilege now.

In the meantime, everybody must regret that the Court of Appeal did not agree to a suspension of its injunction pending an appeal to the House of Lords. I suppose that the three judges assumed that those of us who are actively engaged in this movement are

scoundrels or something of that character. Lord Justice Farwell's outburst, as reported in the "Times," indicates something like that. Lord Justice Farwell knew as well as I do that greater lawyers than himself held different opinions than that expressed by himself on that very point. He ought to know as well as I do that this movement has been imposed upon the trade unions by the sheer necessities of the case. He ought to know as well as I do that this action raises the most important issues that trade unionism has ever had to face since 1871. He and his colleagues ought, therefore, to have seen that until the House of Lords had said whether it agreed or disagreed with them it was their duty to allow the status quo to exist. The trade unions will not overlook this little indication of the spirit of the bench. It means much.

In a sentence, therefore, Saturday's judgment was a declaration that political liberty is to mean one thing in practice for the rich and the employing classes, but a totally different thing for the poor and the wage earning classes.

## The World of Labor

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

DEBS IS WITH GOMPERS.

Socialist Condemns Prison Sentences in Contempt Cases.

Special Dispatch to the Globe-Democrat.

Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 1.—Eugene V. Debs, commenting on the Gompers contempt decision, said:

"I have nothing to say about Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison as labor leaders. Their official attitude, views and politics I have no sympathy with, but in this fight I am with them as thoroughly as if they were my Socialist comrades. Federal judges are extremely jealous of the sacred rights of capitalist property, but supremely indifferent to working class life. The boycott by labor is punished with a jail sentence, but the blacklist by capital under which a workman is driven to suicide is no infraction of law as administered by corporation judges.

"It is worthy of note that, coincident with the sentencing of Federation leaders to jail the Superior Court of the United States handed down a decision absolving Edward Harriman from answering the questions of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Let but the workers make this cause their own, and a storm of protest will sweep over the nation."

The Terre Haute Central Labor Union adopted resolutions offered by a local Socialist leader, asking the American Federation of Labor to urge the necessity of political action along class lines.

UNION FALLS OUT WITH PREACHERS.

Toledo Central Labor Union Withdraws Its Fraternal Delegate From Preachers' Union.

Toledo, Ohio, Jan. 4.—The open hostility between Rev. Boetcker of the Citizens' Alliance and the trade unions reached an acute stage last Thursday when, on motion of a laundry worker, the Central Labor Union's fraternal delegates to the Preachers' Union were unanimously withdrawn.

This was the result of a report by Business Agent Rumsey of the Central Labor Union, who told at length of the visit of unionists to the preachers, and the failure to present evidence, backed by affidavits, that Boetcker was using his ministerial garb to break the Laundry Workers' strike in this city. At that time the preachers recommended that the matter be taken up with the presbytery or the Citizens' Alliance. Resentment on the part of many unionists had developed because the central's fraternal delegates were seated with Boetcker. This, together with the method of the preachers in discussing matters behind closed doors, and only making public what their press committee decided, led to the above action.

The Woman's Trade Union League

Gave a very successful ball on New Year's eve at Aschenbroedel Club Hall. There was a good attendance and all participants enjoyed a good time. This organization is doing splendid work.

Charles F. Bechtold Dead.

We read in the Brewers' Journal, official organ of the International Brewery Workers' Union: Brother Charles F. Bechtold, well known to all members of the International Union and in the American labor movement, died December 27, 1908, at 7:40 a. m., in Brooklyn, N. Y., at the age of 48 years. With his death the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen has lost one of its pioneers, who has done much, especially during the first half of his membership, to uphold the organization. Bechtold was a member for more than twenty-two years. After being secretary of L. U. No. 6, St. Louis, Mo., he was elected national secretary by the sixth convention, held at Buffalo, N. Y., in April, 1892, which office he held until May, 1901. In July, 1901, he became secretary of L. U. No. 74, Rochester, N. Y., and in July, 1905, secretary and business agent of the two local unions—No. 345, Brooklyn, N. Y., and No. 347, New York, N. Y. Not being in the best of health for years, his condition compelled him, not quite a year ago, to resign his position with L. U. No. 347, but he held his position with L. U. No. 345 until his death. Apoplexy of the heart finally ended his life and earthly career. Brother Bechtold had many friends who will hear with sincere regret of his untimely death. May he rest in peace!

The Electrical Workers' Controversy.

Springfield, Ill., Jan. 4.—Peter W. Collins and F. J. McNulty, former officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, have been asked to produce the books and records of the organization in court by a bill for accounting filed by Secretary J. W. Murphy of the organization, in the Circuit Court today. An injunction also has been asked to restrain the former officers from spending any more of the organization's money and to restrain the Lincoln Bank from honoring any checks drawn upon it upon the organization's funds by Collins and McNulty. The bill is a voluminous document and reviews the last convention of the organization, held at St. Louis, which resulted in deposing McNulty and Collins from office.

Typographical Union No. 8 On the Gompers Case.

At a meeting of the St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 Sunday resolutions were adopted declaring the loyalty to the laws of the land and its respect for all officers of the law, but claiming the right to criticize the acts of any official or department of the government, including the judiciary. The resolutions declare the order of the United States Court of the District of Columbia for the imprisonment of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison to be both unjust and unlawful. Congress is called upon to enact legislation to effectually arrest the tendency of the federal courts to invade the rights of the citizen.

West Virginia Glass Works Shut Down.

Grafton, W. Va., Jan. 4.—Because of a disagreement between operators and employes, the Tygarts Valley Glass Co. closed its plant at midnight for an indefinite period. It is said that the shut-down was ordered on account of workmen staying away from work on New Year's day, when the operators had not agreed to the holiday. Two hundred men are thrown out of work.

Foulest Crime in History.

"The Blackest, Foulest Crime in History of our Government!" This is the verdict of the United Mine Workers' Journal on the "Wrightful" decision against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.

WHEN WILL YOU STOP TO THINK?

History will repeat! The election is over, pay your bets, settle down to hard work again and get ready for four years hence, when, if you are alive, you will go crazy again, and for what purpose? Why, just to pay your bets and settle down to hard work. History will repeat itself again. When we were young we went to see a clairvoyant who professed to be able to see very fully the transpiration of future events. She took our money and then said: "There was nothing but hard work, and little for it, ahead of us." You may think she guessed that, but a fortune teller can make a forecast like that ninety-nine times in a hundred and hit the bull's eye every time. That's why we say that your history will be the same four years from now as it is in the present election. Hard work and little for it is the condition of the great majority of us. The others kill themselves and others with automobiles which are paid for out of the products of our labor, while many starve for the lack of the comforts of life. Why don't labor stop to think? How long will it vote like mad for the other fellow and never stop to think of itself?—Mine Workers' Journal.

BOYCOTT THE DOUGLASS SHOES.

W. L. Douglass of Brockton, Mass., the great shoe man, and likewise the great "friend of labor," has returned the union label to the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union. This great "friend of labor," whom labor aided to reach the gubernatorial chair of the Bay state, has concluded that he no longer needs the recognition of Organized Labor, and therefore spurns the placing of the label on the products of his factory. The Douglas matter should be referred to Samuel Gompers, whose slogan is, "Reward our FRIENDS and rebuke our ENEMIES."—Miners' Magazine.

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According to advices from Central America, there is prospect of an early upheaval there, and President Belaya of Nicaragua will be hard put to it to maintain his sovereignty in his own country.

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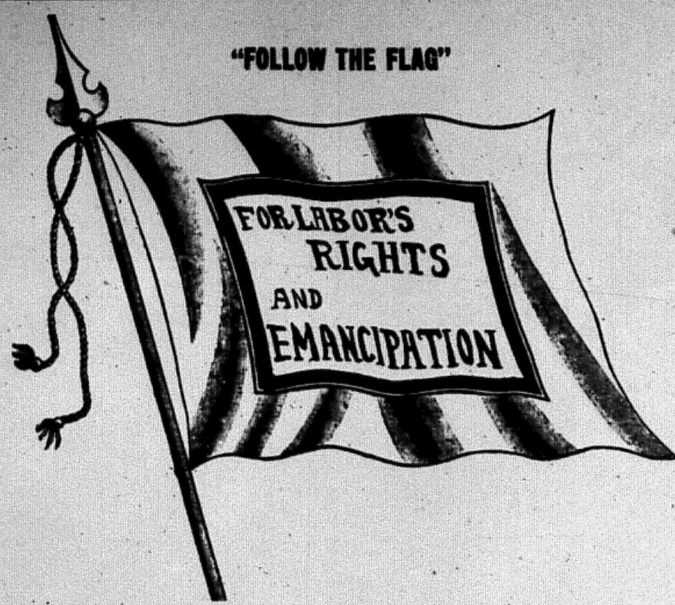
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## NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO ST. LOUIS LABOR.

We want 10,000 new subscribers within this year. Can we get them. It all depends on the work of our St. Louis comrades. The way to do a thing is to go and do it. Within the last few days the following comrades have sent in new subscribers:

J. S. Kiefner	1
F. J. Grone	1
Peter Weisz	1
Louis Greengard	1
W. F. Crouch	3
W. Munzinger	3
L. J. Longuet	1
O. Pauls	1
D. Onken	1
Paul Petra	1
Mrs. Hunstock	1
G. Wackerly	1
Jac. Wunsch	1
Fred Stocker	1
O. Lowder, Indianapolis	6
John Kastel, Rolla, Mo.	2
H. J. Morrison	2
Total	28

To increase the circulation of St. Louis Labor means to build up the Socialist Party and to strengthen the trade union movement. St. Louis Labor is the only English Socialist and trade union paper in this city. Let us get busy!

## STAGNATING TACTICS

Some Interesting and Valuable Criticism by an Experienced Comrade.

(From the Current Socialist Party Bulletin of Ohio.)

"The decrease in our vote in a good many localities has been chiefly explained by causes for which we, as a minority party, can not logically be held responsible. It appears as almost inevitable that our vote should be affected, more or less, by the issues and contentions of the majority parties, but, aside from these, however, a certain responsibility attaches to the conditions that obtain within the movement in some localities, viz., poor organization, the lack of definite policies and defective methods of propaganda.

"This is especially true of Local Cincinnati, and its primary reason is incapacity. Its form of organization and manner of administering its affairs is a travesty on democracy. The former is cumbersome, while the latter verges on the chaotic. The Local needs leadership, which is essential to all organizations, notwithstanding the silly presumptuousness of a good many Socialists, cohesion of its various branches and restraint and discipline in its membership.

"As to policy, there is none worthy of the term. Activity in the trades unions is considered futile. The idea of mingling in other progressive circles is not considered, and the means of attracting the attention of the community is usually the commission of crude, unwarranted and undignified acts of notoriety. The methods of propaganda are defective chiefly in that the distribution of literature is not systematic and according to a definite plan, which would take into consideration, besides the nationalities, the economic and social conditions and the religious opinions prevailing in the various sections of the city. Furthermore, too much importance is placed on street corner 'oratory,' which in many cases was of such character as to arouse the sense of humor (or pity) of critical pedestrians to the extent of causing them to disgorge the encouraging sum of eleven cents or thereabouts in full payment for the laborious efforts of some ambitious but (sad to say) incompetent comrade in that particular field of activity.

"These criticisms are based upon my observations for the past three years, and might be less severe had I not hailed from Milwaukee, and thus been able to judge by contrast. It would be sheer self-deception for the comrades of Cincinnati to deny their responsibility for the backwardness of their movement. Let us grant that the decrease in the vote from about 6,500 in 1904 to 2,500 in 1908 can be explained by the causes already referred to; but what accounts for the considerable decrease in the membership of the Local? There must be a cause for that among the Socialists themselves. Sectarianism of the past, with its dogmatic conceptions, dwarfed aspect, ascetic policy, ineffective methods and personal antagonisms, has left its impress on the local movement to this day, which must be eradicated, or at least rendered nugatory, by a change in the form, policy and methods of the movement before any real progress can be expected.

"This condition is not singular. There are other industrial centers where the movement is ridiculously backward, and it ought to behoove the national organization to render assistance. Many so-called organizers are in the service of the party who in natural ability might be qualified for anything else but the particular requirements of real organizers. Our National Committeemen could render practical service to the party by moving in the National Committee the adoption of a policy that would make possible the locating of efficient men as organizers in such large cities where the movement is exceptionally backward."—John Doerfler, Norwood, O.

## SARABIA WEDS BOSTON GIRL.

Former Member of St. Louis Revolutionary Junta Is Now in Arizona.

Tucson, Ariz., Jan. 5.—Miss Elizabeth Trowbridge, a wealthy young woman, who came west recently from Boston with her mother, last week became the bride of Manuel Sarabia, famous Mexican revolutionist and a former member of the revolutionary junta in St. Louis. Sarabia was in jail in Los Angeles for several months with some of his companions on charges of inciting insurrection in Mexico. He was brought here for hearing and was released recently by the federal commissioner. While Miss Trowbridge was in Los Angeles she became interested in the cause of the Mexican Liberals, and thus met Sarabia. They fell in love, and when he came to Arizona she removed to Tucson and began the publication of a magazine.

## Missouri Socialist Party

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

## New Locals.

During December six new locals were organized and quite a number of other points are working in that direction. Indications are that it is easier to secure new members and organize new locals now than ever before. Comrade Harper has lined up ten members to start a local with at Licking, in Texas County. A. Ashley of Proctor succeeded in organizing a local of five members, and more to come.

A lack of finances makes new work rather difficult, but the new year is here and let us all get busy and make January beat December.

## New St. Louis County Secretary.

The St. Louis County Central Committee held its regular monthly meeting on January 3. H. L. Howe of Maplewood was elected county secretary in place of A. Tschirner.

## Maynard Not Coming.

Owing to a change in plans, R. A. Maynard will not come through at this time. The national office states that he will stay in Michigan for some time as yet. Later on Maynard will be available.

## Miss Hallowell's Dates.

On her way to St. Francois County Miss Hallowell will speak at Sullivan, January 10; Morrellton, 11; St. Clair, 12. She will stop in St. Louis on January 13 and then take up her work in the lead belt.

## For Rudowitz.

Quite a number of locals have voiced their protest against Czarism in the Rudowitz case. The latest is one received from Wheatland comrades that will be forwarded. Comrade Harryman has the organization of a local in hand and they will get in the game in the near future.

## The Time Is Here.

The meetings that Comrade McAllister has held in schoolhouses seem to be a move in the right direction. It gets off the beaten path and opens up new fields of activity. As he states it, "get the farmer with you and then the small merchant in the town will not be trying to choke us off all the time." Comrade Parmelee of Hutton Valley is enthusiastic about the meetings in that vicinity and he will set about reorganizing the local, which has lapsed for some time. V. N. Townley says the Dunklin County meetings did much good and, while he has been the only Socialist in the town up to this time, he now expects considerable help in his agitation work.

## Platforms.

Get some for propaganda work. That Democrat will be interested in it now. The Bryan worship is sagging perceptibly and the old party man is in an approachable frame of mind. Get some of our state and national platforms. Either one, 25c per 100, postpaid. Nothing better than the national platform for use with other literature. It is a splendid answer to the man who advances the time-worn, stock objections to Socialism.

## To Help Along.

At the suggestion of the state secretary, the Quorum changed the state secretary's salary from \$40 to \$35 per month. During the campaign it had been advanced from \$30 to \$40, but as the work is lighter now and "overtime" not being so much in evidence, the secretary's salary was set at \$35.

## McAllister to Keep Going.

For some time it seemed that Comrade McAllister would have to drop his work and return to Springfield on private business. Happily this is not the case, and he will stay right on the job in the southeastern part of the state. In addition to his rousing speeches, Mac sells quite a lot of books and gets the farmers to read up. That is more important than all else. A speech is soon forgotten, but the reading of a good book makes a lasting impression.



## Rudowitz Protest Meeting.

Comrade F. G. Bufe informs us that the Socialists of Moline, Ill., will soon hold a mass meeting in behalf of the Russian revolutionist, Rudowitz.

## Rudowitz Protest Meeting in Milwaukee.

A very effective protest meeting was held last Monday night in Milwaukee on the Rudowitz case. A permanent "Political Refugee League" was organized.

## Tenth Ward Socialist Club

Met last Thursday evening at Southwest Turner Hall and transacted considerable business pertaining to the campaign. Arrangements for precinct meetings were discussed.

## Lecture on Labor Legislation.

The Young People's Socialist League of Cleveland, O., met Tuesday at Goodrich Social Settlement to listen to an interesting lecture on Labor Legislation by Comrade Robert Bandlow.

## Special Meeting for Women.

Miss Carrie Hallowell will speak at headquarters, 212 South Fourth street, on the evening of January 13. The Woman's Club is in charge and expects you to be there. Bring a friend along and let the light spread.

## The Socialists in the Legislature.

The Social-Democratic group elected to the Wisconsin State Legislature are busily at work preparing the legislative measures which they will introduce in the session of the State Legislature which opens next month.

## Churches Taking Up Socialism.

Unusual interest is being manifested among the churches of Wisconsin in the subject of Socialism. Wausau, Waupun and Appleton churches have recently had Comrade Thompson address them on the subject. A church in Grand Rapids, Mich., has arranged to have Comrades Gaylord, Brown and Thompson speak to them on three successive Sundays.

## French Socialist Gains.

Two Parliamentary by-elections for the French Chamber, one at Charolles and the other at Villefranche-de-Rouvesque, took place on Sunday last, and in each case the candidate of the United Socialists was returned. M. Ducarronge was elected Deputy for the former constituency, defeating M. Sarrien, the Radical candidate, and son of the ex-Premier, whilst M. Cabrol won the latter seat for Socialism.

## Socialists and the Congo.

Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, who has just returned from a visit to the Congo, delivered a telling speech in the Belgian Chamber last week. He denounced the forced labor and exploitation of the Congo natives, and announced that the Socialists would oppose the Colonial Budgets until these abuses were rectified.

Regarding the exploitation of rubber, M. Vandervelde said that there had been a notable reduction in production, and that the negroes had decided not to gather any more rubber. He declared himself in favor of the abolition of forced labor, the introduction of commercial freedom, the extension of the use of coinage, and the expropriation, with compensation, of the trading companies. The present Budget, he said, was founded on forced slavery.

## Joint Ward Club Meeting.

A successful joint meeting of the Socialist clubs of St. Louis Wards 7, 8 and 12 was held last Wednesday evening at Arsenal and Gravois avenue. The comrades present decided to attend the Hungarian Socialist meeting next Sunday afternoon at Neumeyer's Hall.

## Miss Hallowell in St. Louis—Will Address Meeting at Headquarters

The Woman's Club has arranged a meeting for Miss Carrie Hallowell of Greenfield, who will be in St. Louis on January 13.

Our women comrades have arranged to hold the meeting at headquarters, 212 South Fourth street, at 8 p. m., Wednesday, January 13. Every comrade is invited to be present and bring a stranger with him. Bring your wife, and let her hear a Socialist speech by a woman Socialist. Miss Hallowell has spoken for a number of locals and is well recommended. Don't miss the opportunity to interest women in our movement. Be there with all your friends.

## KREYLING LECTURES BEFORE WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

"Some Existing Conditions of Working Women in St. Louis" was the subject of an address last Wednesday evening by David Kreyling, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union, at an entertainment at Self-Culture Hall, 1823 Carr street, by the Women's Trade Union League. A musical program, refreshments and dancing were also features of the evening and the affair was successful and satisfactory in every respect.

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