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# ST. LOUIS LABOR

## 1910

OFFICE: 212 SOUTH FOURTH STREET.

ST. LOUIS, MO., JANUARY 1, 1910.

PHONE: KINLOCH, CENTRAL 1577.

NUMBER 465.

### A Happy New Year

### A Happy New Year

1910

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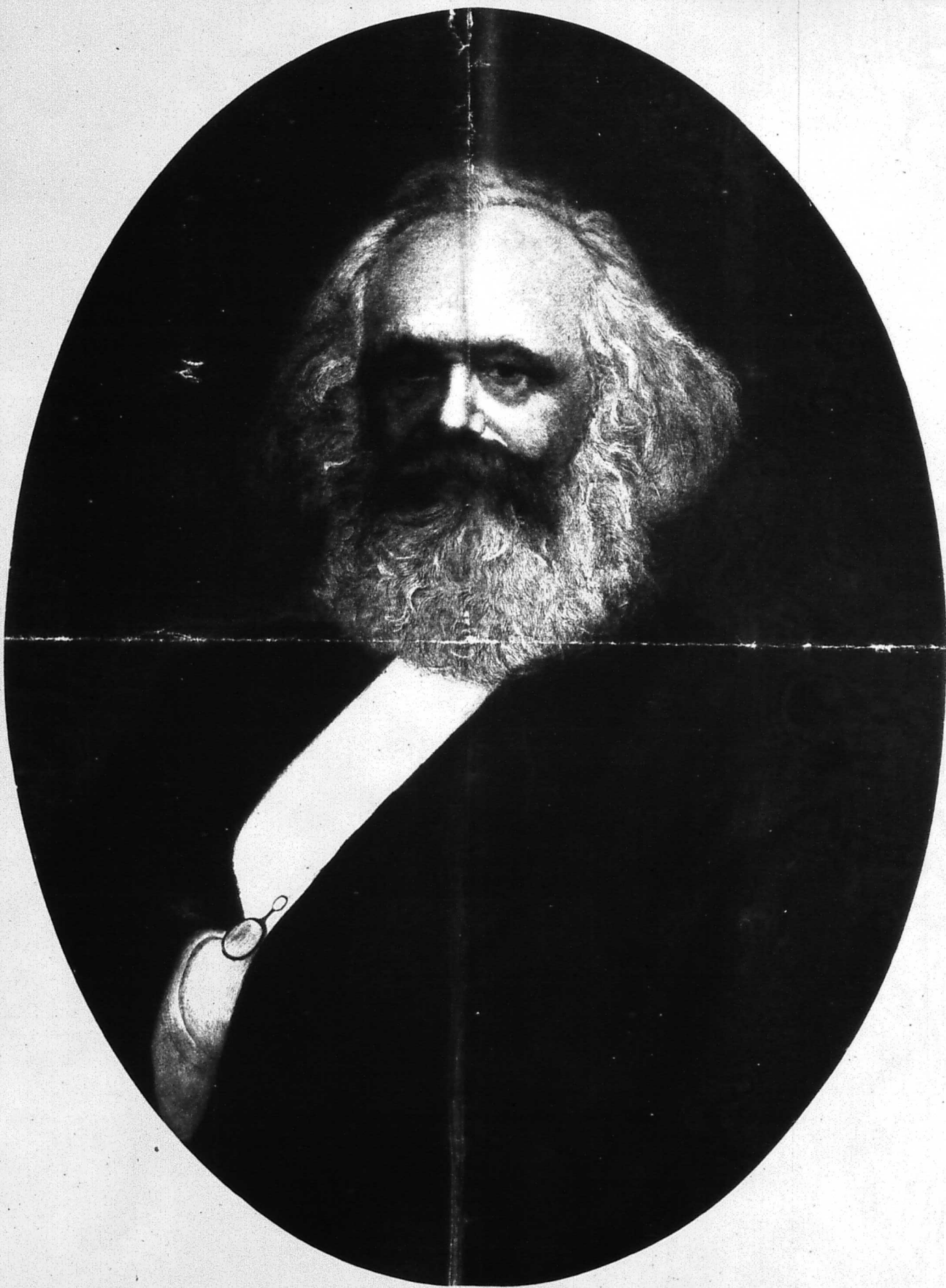
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KARL MARX.

"With the development of industry the proletariat (wage working class) not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. \* \* \* The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes the workers' livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois (capitalists) take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form Trade Unions against the capitalists, in order to keep up their wages and to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts."—(Karl Marx, in 1847.)

"This organization into Trade Unions is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. \* \* \* This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. \* \* \* In all its battles for class interests the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus to drag it into the political arena. \* \* \* Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."—(Karl Marx, in 1847.)

We plow and sow, we're so very, very low,  
That we delve in the dirty clay,  
Till we bless the plain with the golden grain  
And the vale with the fragrant hay.  
Our place we know—we're so very, very low—  
'Tis down at the landlord's feet,  
We're not too low the grain to sow,  
But too low the bread to eat.  
Down, down we go—we're so very, very low—  
To the hell of the deep-sunk mines;  
But we gather the proudest gems that glow  
When the brow of a despot shines;  
And when'er he lacks upon our backs  
Fresh loads he deigns to lay,  
We're far too low to vote the tax,  
But not too low to pay.

**LABOR**

**"THE Emancipation of the Working Class Must Be Achieved by the Working People Themselves."**—Marx.

We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—  
But, at our plastic power,  
The world at the lordling's feet will grow  
Into palace, and church, and tower,  
Then prostrate fall in the rich man's hall,  
And cringe at the rich man's door,  
We're not too low to build the wall,  
But too low to tread the floor.  
We're low, we're low—we're very, very low—  
Yet from our fingers glide  
The silken flow and the robes that glow  
Round the limbs of the sons of pride;  
And what we get and what we give  
We know, and we know our share,  
We're not too low the cloth to weave,  
But too low the cloth to wear.

—PATRONIZE—  
**TOMBRIDGE AGENCY**  
IN FIRE INSURANCE,  
REAL ESTATE  
Office: 324 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

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# "HAPPY BREWERY WORKERS"

## Some Facts and Comment Concerning the Conditions of Labor in the St. Louis Brewery Industry

By St. L. Vieux-Brasseur.

### III.

Once more I must refer to the industrial revolution which has taken place in the brewery industry of St. Louis within recent years. During the Christmas days an advertisement from a local brewery appeared in the daily papers which read like this:

"Merit tells! Sales in 1900, 30,000 barrels; in 1909, 110,000 barrels."

No doubt, the statement is correct. But the public was not informed of the fact that in 1900 it required ten or eleven brewers and masters to brew the 30,000 barrels of beer, while in 1909 only 25 men were required to get 110,000 barrels on the market. While the output increased 250 per cent, the increase in the number of men employed is but about 100 per cent.

What influence such a change in production will have on the condition of the brewery workers can be easily figured out by anybody who has given the labor problem the least consideration.

Our bosses, as I have repeatedly pointed out, are always complaining about our high wages. What those high wages really are, I have shown by facts and figures in my last article.

In a recent brewery receiver transaction in New Orleans, one of the proprietors, who is a St. Louis man and has also considerable interests in local brewery property, was offered \$40 a week salary by the receiver. The gentleman in question was Mr. Zach W. Tinker. And what was the reply? Mr. Tinker indignantly declared: "Why, this is a gratuitous insult! I will not accept this charity job!"

How can any man support a family with \$40 a week and be a brewery lord! It is the easiest thing in the world, however, to be a brewery worker with a big family and live on \$10 a week. You understand.

Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, in a recent bulletin spoke of the enormous prices of meats. This high official, in his official capacity, tells us that the kinds of meat generally consumed by the working people are the most expensive and bring the highest profits to the dealers. And we have to pay for it. Mr. Wilson's figures show that my statements concerning the cost of living in connection with the low wages of the brewery employes of this city contain no exaggerations whatever.

In a German paper of last Saturday I noticed a report about the Family Christmas Celebration of the leading brewery proprietor of St. Louis. In said write-up I found these lines:

"Besides the celebration in the house, automobiles of the family were on the road all day, delivering and distributing presents to those in need in the neighborhood. Neither were the employes of the brewery forgotten, for in most cases they received gold pieces as Christmas souvenirs."

Believe me, dear reader, that myself and colleagues, employed in the same brewery do not know of any such presents. Wonder where those Santa Claus automobiles delivered all those gold pieces? They failed to reach us employes of the same brewery.

But quite a number of our brothers employed in that brewery received a different kind of Christmas present. They were laid off for several days. Do you realize what laying off means during the Christmas holidays? The laying off of the "common herd" may have been necessary to pay for those \$5 gold pieces given as Christmas presents.

In the Globe-Democrat of last Monday morning I was surprised to read that Mr. Augustus A. Busch, in a communication to the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, offered his check for \$1,000 for the purpose of entertaining the delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is to be held in this city in November, 1910. As I was later informed by a delegate, Cassie also wanted to know what kind of entertainment would be preferred, i. e., how the delegates should be entertained. Of course, I am only I, which means that I am only one man with one opinion. It is not my intention to offend Mr. Busch, nor do I feel justified in telling the Central Trades and Labor Union how to entertain the brothers and sisters who will be with us next November. I am as much interested as anyone else to give our representatives of America as royal a reception as possible, but I want this done by Organized Labor of St. Louis, and not by any capitalist or capitalist corporation. I am the last one to stir up strife, because I know the importance and necessity of harmony and united action in the great struggles of labor. One thing we should always keep in mind is that we should not place our organizations into a position where we get our hands bound by our masters, where there is a possibility of getting killed by an overdose of molasses medicine. You must excuse me for being plain on this point. I can not forget that the same gentleman who offers the \$1,000 to the Central Trades and Labor Union now, only nine months ago, during our lockout, declared that there were 60,000 unemployed men in St. Louis whom he could put into his brewery at any time to take the places of the locked-out and striking brewery workers, if they would not return to work soon. Indeed, he took some of the poorest of the poor off the streets—Greeks, Sicilians, Syrians, and other common, most ignorant wage slaves, unacquainted with the situation, unacquainted with the language of our country, or with the conditions of living, and employed them in his establishment. These are facts, and as an old pioneer Union man I can not so easily forget them, because it is dangerous to forget in these days of grave labor battles. Why not spend those \$1,000 and a little more to it in his bottling department, where people would be only too glad to get a few pennies more pay. I have no bitterness or malice toward Mr. Busch or anybody else: If the fifty thousand Union men and women of St. Louis are unable to provide for the entertainment of the A. F. of L. convention delegates, then let them go home without entertainment. As a rule the delegates sent to such conventions are fairly well provided with money, as we know from our own local central body and from our national and international unions.

May Mr. Busch keep his \$1,000. If the Brewery Workers are properly paid for their daily labor their local unions, at any time, can put up \$500 or more, if necessary, for helping defray the A. F. of L. convention expenses.

We shall see in the near future whether Mr. Busch and his colleagues will again show their "liberality." New wage contracts are to be made, and I am informed by one who is in touch with certain Citizens' Industrial Alliance circles, that there has been some correspondence going on with outside brewery proprietors as to the feasibility or possibility of better co-operation in future troubles with the Brewery Workers' Unions. This may be a rumor, but it is a serious one, and whenever there should be any serious trouble in the St. Louis breweries you may rest assured that there will be some co-operation between the local and the outside brewery proprietors.

It may be said that I have no business to bring matters of this kind up at this time. But why should the Organized Labor forces of this city not be warned in time and be on their guard instead of being lulled into a dangerous sleep, with the flies feeding on the molasses that some good millionaire brewer might smear round their mouths.

Yours for the cause of Organized Labor,  
ST. L. VIEUX-BRASSEUR.

### A Letter From Philippi.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 27, 1909.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

Dear Sir and Brother:—No doubt you have read the various accounts in the daily press of the alleged remarks I should have made. The Times quotes me correctly with the exception of that part that

refers to my not exactly being a Socialist. I was asked whether I was a member of the party, and I said I was not, but that I always voted the ticket with the exception of one time, when I could not vote. I told a Globe reporter Sunday that Socialism was not the issue in the election of officers, and that Socialistic delegates as well as others voted for me; that there were socialistically inclined members in all the unions. I was interviewed by no one but the Times and I can't understand how the Post-Dispatch can say that I was not a Socialist. I have asked them to correct that; I will also demand a correction in the Times. I have tried to place the socialistically inclined delegates of the C. T. and L. U. in the right light. Hereafter no more reporters for me, if I can avoid them! It certainly pleases some one to try to bring me before the public as a non-Socialist. Some good people, no doubt, were responsible for all the nonsense published in the Globe. I have also stated that I have no plans for the future, but was again misquoted. I was at one time a member of the 8th and 9th ward club, and the reason that I withdrew was that I had so many meetings to attend and devoted nearly all my time to my Union. These articles certainly place me in an embarrassing position. I will not boast, but believe that I will be placed in the right light. I don't like to see the Socialists blamed for everything in the central body. We are represented there as delegates from our Unions, and not as delegates from the Socialist Party; but some of these confounded old party politicians are always ready to discredit us for their own personal gain. Hoping you will give this your kind consideration, I remain yours for Labor's Victory and Success.  
LOUIS B. PHILIPPI,  
2427 Menard Street, St. Louis, Mo.

## Socialist News Review

### Contributions to Socialist Campaign Fund.

Fred Wedel ..... \$1.00  
Jos. Wallner, Troy, Ind. .... 1.00  
Mrs. W. H. Yeldell ..... .50

### The St. Louis Tenth Ward Socialist Club

Will give a family entertainment Saturday evening January 15 (the fifteenth of January!) at the hall on Cherokee street and Nebraska avenue. The comrades and their friends are invited.

### On to Druid's Hall!

Sunday, January 2, at 2 o'clock p. m., Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis will address a public meeting under the auspices of the Socialist Party, on the subject: "Woman and Socialist." Admission free; everybody invited!

### Franklin Wentworth Elected Alderman by Workers of New England Town.

Salem, Mass., Dec. 26.—One speech elected Franklin H. Wentworth, well-known Socialist writer, to the Salem City Council. The address contained little about politics, the speaker dwelling mainly on "The Abuse of Injunction," in which principal mention was made of the recent issuance of an injunction by the court to the Cass & Daley Co. against the strikers.

### New Subscribers.

F. J. Kloth, 1; Arnold Hippe, 1; H. Schwarz, 1; O. Pauls, 17; A. Siepmann, 4; R. Goodenough, 1; L. E. H., 4; S. D. E., 1; F. J. Kloth, 4; Mrs. M. Boer, Sagerton, Tex., 1; Nick Corrigan, Gale, Ill., 1.

### Outside Renewals.

Richard Spindler, Streator, Ill.; Julius Neumann, Valley Mills, Ind.; Mrs. Emilie Hofmann, Indianapolis, Ind.; A. Jeske, Ferguson, Mo.; Adolp Nothe, Monson, Mass.; William Kleemann, St. Paul, Minn.; Fred Huettenmeier, Deer Park, Wash.; Thos. Forscherler, Mammoth Springs, Ark.; Mrs. C. Dorothea Bohl, Chicago, Ill.; W. L. Buchanan, Indianapolis, Ind.; Chas. Holzknicht, Louisville, Ky.

## Public Lecture Meeting The Issue Is Socialism!

HEAR  
LENA MORROW LEWIS



THE WELL KNOWN

Socialist Lecturer

—ON—

Sunday, Jan. 2, 1910

—AT—

Druids Hall

Ninth and Market Sts.

ALL ARE WELCOME!  
LADIES ESPECIALLY INVITED! TELL  
YOUR NEIGHBORS ABOUT THIS  
MEETING!

Lena Morrow Lewis is undoubtedly one of the most successful woman orators of the Socialist movement in America. She has lectured in nearly every state in the Union and has just closed a successful tour of the Pacific coast states. You will want to hear what a noted woman speaker has to say about Socialism.

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

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

### General Demands.

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed work-

ers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing rate of union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misuse of the capitalist class.

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

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

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

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

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

### Industrial Demands.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased

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

productiveness of machinery.

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

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

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

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

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

9. A graduated income tax.

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

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

12. The abolition of the Senate.

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

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

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

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

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

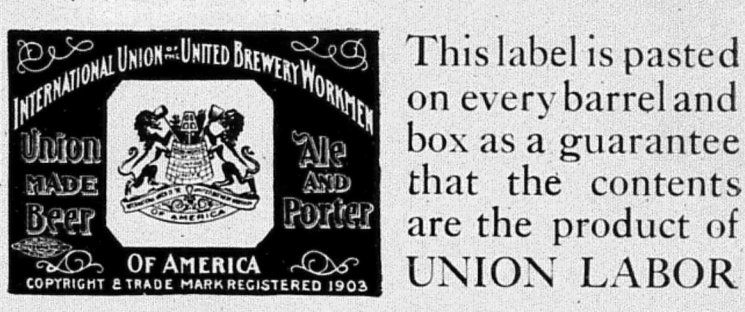
18. The free administration of justice.

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

## Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



## UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE Blue Union Label Drink Only UNION BEER



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# Study Course in Socialism

Authorized by the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

## The Economics of Capitalism.

The Expansion of Capitalism—Capitalism expands, not only by the accumulation of capital in those industries and those countries in which the capitalist system already prevails, but also by the extension of the system to other industries and to other countries.

Capitalism in its mature form first appeared in the cotton and woolen manufacture in England. But the use of machinery in those industries created a large demand for machinery and coal. Coal mining, iron mining and the making of machinery were forced into the same course of development. Increased production of machinery and coal facilitated the introduction of similar methods into the manufacture of other textiles, other metal goods and many other commodities. Part of the surplus value derived from industries already capitalized was all the time being invested (either directly by its owners, or oftener through loans from the banks in which capitalists kept their money) in establishing capitalist enterprises in other industries. As soon as capital was turned to any industry and stimulated the invention of machinery for conducting it, the old hand trade was doomed; it might linger for years, but the superior cheapness of machine production eventually drove it out.

In other countries where social conditions were more or less prepared for it (Western Europe and the United States) the example of England stimulated and English competition compelled the rise of capitalism as a native growth; even in these countries, however, native capital was largely reinforced by English capitalists investing there a part of their income. Later capitalism spread somewhat less rapidly and by somewhat different methods to Mexico, South America, Japan, Russia, etc., and is now establishing itself in Turkey, China, India and other parts of Asia and in Africa.

The entrance of capitalism into a new land is generally marked by several stages. First, the country is opened to commerce, becoming a market for manufactured goods from capitalist countries and supplying them with raw materials and with its own peculiar products. Then by conquest or by bribing or bullying native rulers, capitalists get grants of land, mines, concessions for building railroads, and exclusive commercial privileges. Finally they introduce capitalist industry into the country, employing native workers at low wages. Such industry, once established, tends to crowd out native handicraft and gradually develop the characteristic features of capitalist society, the ownership remaining largely in the hands of the financiers of older capitalist countries.

Nor is capitalism confined to manufacture, mining, transportation, commerce and finance, though in these branches it first develops. Later it invades the field of agriculture, as will be seen hereafter.

Thus capitalism tends to spread to all departments of economic life in all countries, establishing virtually similar social conditions throughout the world, the whole system dominated by the great capitalists of the most advanced countries.

Concentration of Ownership and Control—The ownership of this accumulating and expanding capital tends to become concentrated in fewer hands, and its control to become still more concentrated.

Concentration is a normal outcome of competition, which in turn destroys. It is often promoted by special legislative favors—protective tariffs, land grants, monopolistic franchises, etc.—and by illegal methods on the part of the capitalists. But even without these it would come about, somewhat more slowly, through the workings of competition.

As already stated, larger capitalists have the advantage in competition. In any industry, as a rule, a large capital gives a higher return to the owner than a small one (up to a limit set by the technical and social conditions of the time); large enterprises can undersell small ones and yet have a sufficient surplus to increase their plant and gain a still increasing advantage. The large enterprises continue to grow and absorb a greater share of the trade. The smaller ones are forced to two alternatives—either separately they must leave the field, becoming bankrupt or selling out to large competitors; or several of them must combine to form one large enterprise. Besides combinations thus forced by fear of failure, combinations of large enterprises are formed for the purpose of increasing the advantage already gained. In place of the maxim of early capitalism, "Competition is the life of trade," we now have the principle recognized, even by bourgeois economists, that "Wherever combination becomes possible, competition becomes impossible."

Competition generally begins with attempts to limit competition within a certain group, while retaining separate organizations and ownership—price agreements, joint selling agencies, pools, etc. These prove ineffective, partly because illegal, chiefly because capitalists can not trust each other. Then comes actual combination by merger or formation of holding companies, which unify ownership and control.

It has been noted that, in the process of capitalist accumulation, there is a continual increase in the amount of capital necessary to carry on an enterprise profitably. From this it follows that it becomes even harder for small capitalists to establish a new enterprise successfully in competition with those already in the field.

Concentration of control even outruns concentration of ownership. A corporation with a capital of a billion dollars may have a hundred thousand stockholders. But most of these have such small holdings that they can not have any effective voice in the management of the company; it is practically governed by a very few large stockholders, who own large enough amounts of stock to carry elections by voting together. They usually divert a large part of the company's income to themselves by issues of preferred stock or bonds, high salaries and fees, contracts, etc. Thus the capital of both large and small holders is used in expanding industry and increasing the total of surplus value, but the surplus value is mostly appropriated by the large ones.

The Integration of Capitalism—In earlier days the capitalist class consisted of many groups, one for each line of business. With the full development of the corporate form of ownership this ceases to be the case. The capitalist becomes simply an owner, not a director of industry, and invests not in some one industry, but in whatever securities at the time promise the largest return. Each large capitalist, as a rule, has investments in several industries and often in several countries. Steel and oil capitalists hold railway stock; railway and coal mine capitalists hold copper stock; copper and sugar capitalists hold stock in tobacco companies, insurance companies, traction companies and banks.

Aside from this cross-ownership by individual capitalists, corporations also (especially banking, trust and insurance companies) invest much of their surplus in the stocks and bonds of other companies.

This integration of capitalism extends beyond national frontiers. English capitalists hold large amounts of American securities; French, Belgium, German and American capitalists have large holdings in Russia; Belgian and American capital is united in exploiting the Congo; American, French and Spanish capitalists are joined with Mexican capitalists in dominating Mexican industry.

The Integration of Industry—One form of the integration of capitalism must be mentioned separately. In the past, manufacturing was generally quite separate from mining and agriculture, from transportation and from commerce. Manufacturers bought raw materials directly or through wholesale dealers and sold their products to other wholesalers, who sold it to the retailers. This is now changing. The Steel Trust owns iron mines, coal mines, limestone quarries, forest lands and railways and steamboats to transport materials. The Tobacco Trust owns considerable tracts of tobacco land in the United States and Cuba; on the other hand, through a subsidiary company it sells its product at retail to consumers direct. A

syndicate of cotton mill owners lately bought 250,000 acres of cotton land in Texas.

### References.

Marx, Deville or Hyndman, as before.

### Questions for Review.

1. What is the distinction between constant capital and variable capital? How do their proportions change in the course of capitalist development?
2. Why can not wages for any considerable time increase equally with the increasing product of labor?
3. How is the statement that capitalists receive larger share of the product now than formerly consistent with the fact that the rate of interest on capital is falling?
4. What are the two principal differences between a partnership and a joint stock company? What is the advantage of the joint stock form of organization, from the point of view of the development of capitalism?
5. What is the difference between stocks and bonds?

### Labor Unionists Demonstrate Against Steel Trust.

Wheeling, W. Va., Dec. 6.—One of the most enthusiastic labor demonstrations ever witnessed in Wheeling was held last night, when between 2,500 and 3,000 men of Organized Labor marched over the streets to the music of a number of bands. The demonstration was given in behalf of the striking members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and the members of other trade unions turned out in large numbers. The parade was followed by a big mass meeting at the Carroll Club auditorium, which was addressed by a number of prominent labor leaders. The strikers from the Labelle, Aetna-Standard and Laughlin mills turned out in force and, to add to the success of the demonstration, Steubenville and Follansbee sent large delegations, each delegation headed by a band.

### ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

#### How the Organized Craftsmen of Paris Do Things.

The electrical workers of Paris are an ornery set. They don't seem to know their place or have due reverence for the "best people." Here the King of Portugal and all fashionable society attended the grand opera to hear "Faust," which was given in honor of the visit of his royal kingly. In steps Pataud, the secretary of the electrical workers and "labor boss" of Paris, and talks with the unionists behind the scenes. Then all shrug their shoulders a couple of times, fold their arms and refuse to work unless they are granted an increase of pay. The managers of the opera stormed and said "sacre" many times, but the men shut off the lights on the stage and stood pat. Finally the managers yielded and the curtain goes up 20 minutes late, while Mephisto Pataud makes his get-away and the "best people" are again permitted to follow Mr. Faust in his adventures.

### Labor Victories in South Africa.

Under "Triumph of Labor" The Johannesburg (South Africa) Worker publishes this encouraging news item: "Last Wednesday, at Pretoria and Johannesburg, it was found that the cumulative process provided by the 'Single Transferable Vote' method of election is distinctly favorable to organized interests. Instead of having to choose between two candidates in a ward who might or might not be sympathetic towards the claims of workmen, working people in every ward were able to concentrate their voting strength on candidates chosen by themselves among themselves. It is now clear that in Pretoria the Labor Party can command one seat on the Council every year, and that in Johannesburg it can command two seats annually. In Johannesburg, on the first count, 2,126 votes were cast for the three Labor candidates. That was not quite enough to get in two, seeing that the quota was 1,070; but by picking up stray votes here and there from other men's discarded votes Mr. Mulvey became the colleague of Mr. Ware. Their joint success was well deserved, and Mr. Mulvey's sterling common sense will be welcome in the Council. Workers of Johannesburg are to be congratulated upon their new representative."

### International Brotherhood of Bookbinders—St. Louis Joint Advisory Board.

Office, 305 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 15, 1909.

To Members of Organized Labor and Friends—Greeting: All unions, lodges, clubs, etc., use blank books in some form, for the proper care of their finances, records, lists of membership and for numerous other purposes, which prompts us to bring to your notice the blank book label recently adopted by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

This label is for use on blank books, such as ledgers, journals, cash books, day books, loose leaf devices or any other class of unprinted books.

The purchaser of a book bearing this label will have the satisfaction of knowing that it was made under sanitary and fair conditions, by men and women who receive a living wage for their labor, and the book will be a finished product of the bookbinders' art.

We earnestly solicit your cooperation in creating a demand for the bookbinders' label, and request that a resolution be adopted by your organization instructing your officers to purchase none but books bearing the blank book label of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Any further information concerning the blank book label can be had by communicating with A. P. SOVEY, Secretary.

### Public Lecture at Druid's Hall.

Sunday, Jan. 2, 1910, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis will lecture at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets. Admission free! The first public lecture meeting in the new year. Be sure to attend. Tell your neighbors about this meeting.

## Bartenders' Union Local 51

Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button



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Will celebrate New Year's eve at its hall, 4444 Penrose street. All members and friends are welcome.

Watch the Proud Union Man Who Is Patronizing the "Smoke Houses" of the American Tobacco Trust. Tell him that every trust cigar he smokes contains some of the life blood of poorly-paid women and children. Stick to the blue label of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

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DOES THE BREAD UNION



YOU EAT BEAR THIS LABEL?

### IF NOT, WHY NOT?

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They tell you and their customers they are your friends and are friends of organized labor. Yes, they are your friends as long as they can get your money; but for the men in the bakeshop they have no use, if they belong to their respective unions.

Therefore, union men and women and citizens, show that you are opposed to slavery and that you are further opposed to a concern which tries to monopolize the bread market of St. Louis.

Therefore, we ask the public in general for their support; you can give us your support by asking for bread with the Union Label.

Shun the product of the following firms—they are Trust bakeries: Heydt Bakery Co., Condon Bakery Co., Hauck-Hoerr Bakery, St. Louis Bakery Co., Welle-Boettler Bakery, Home Bakery Co., Freund Bros. Bread Co. Ltd., McKinney Bread Co.

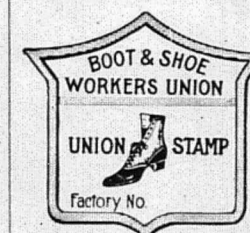
They want the men to fall at their feet and ask them for a job, so they can pay the employes small wages and work them the hours they feel like.

## When You Buy Mercantile and "305" CIGARS

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We do not advertise on billboards and take the cost of the advertisement out of the quality of our goods.

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# ST. LOUIS LABOR

Published Every Saturday by the  
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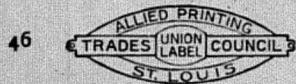
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## CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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

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

## ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL.



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 cooperation 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 PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1900 for Debs and Harriman..... 96,931  
In 1904 for Debs and Hanford..... 408,230  
In 1908 for Debs and Hanford..... 423,898

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1857..... 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

## "Class Consciousness"

The average capitalist editor is a queer animal. He is and he isn't. He can and he can't. He will and he won't.

He is supposed to know something about everything, write something and say nothing. Naturally enough, under such conditions he gets possessed of the fixed idea that he really knows how to write on any subject at any time in any way. There is nothing under the sun which he would be incapable of handling.

Of course, it matters little what he writes on any subject so long as it is something which will not conflict with the policy outlined for him by the head man in the paper's business office.

For a change he may write on Socialism, or even on "Class Consciousness." Last Sunday's Post-Dispatch editorialized on class consciousness. Under the heading "No Class Consciousness Here" the P.-D. said:

When two women of fashion, wealth and social position like Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Miss Anne Morgan undertake the leadership and direction of a strike, class distinctions are pretty well broken down.

Ever since Karl Marx published his great book, "Capital," the Socialists have preached the doctrine of class and insisted that work people can accomplish the regeneration of society only by cultivating what they call "class consciousness" and making it the ground upon which they proceed in their war against class. On the face of it the doctrine is a paradox, but the contradiction disappears when it is explained that the victory of the working class will destroy the very idea of class by the creation and establishment of one class, which will swallow up all other classes. Of course, if there is only one class there can be no classes and all distinctions based upon differences of economic conditions will disappear with the disappearance of those differences.

But Mrs. Belmont and Miss Morgan cut the knot in the beginning by repudiating such distinctions and abandoning their own class to identify themselves with the human species itself, in which, in the natural order, there are infinite distinctions of individual power, but none at all of artificial creation. They assume from the first what the Socialist hopes for at the close of a long struggle.

As described, the plan of campaign of these two ladies is intelligent and practical. It would be a strange outcome, and yet in the light of experience it ought not to be surprising, if the cause of the working people as represented by the trade unionists should after all go to their "oppressors" for leadership. Class consciousness is a vulgar and abominable consciousness, and if any members of the class can get rid of it to the extent of merging themselves with the masses, they will thereby prove their fitness for the work of humanizing society and the extinction of all classes. Socialists and workmen who pride themselves on their class consciousness should think about this.

Because Mrs. Belmont or some other kind-hearted woman render their moral help to thousands of striking working girls? does not break down the "class distinctions." Neither has Mrs. Belmont nor Miss Morgan "repudiated such distinctions and abandoned their own class" by defending and protecting poor girls arrested for picketing. In making such assertions the P.-D. is dishng out the cheapest kind of rot. If these assertions were true, then Mrs. Belmont and Miss Morgan would no longer be the wealthy wife and daughter of mighty railroad kings and exploiters of labor, enjoying the results of such exploitation; they would be of the rank and file of the army of the poor striking women and girls. Because Marx himself was a university professor, or his lifelong friend Frederick Engels a wealthy Manchester manufacturer, and because these two giant intellects gave us the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism, could not change the class character of the modern labor movement.

Why not? Because "class distinctions" and "class consciousness" are not abstract theories or hallucinations invented by Marx and Engels, or by any one else; Class distinctions and class consciousness are but the reflex of existing material class interests, class privileges, class domination; exploitation of one class by another. Because Mrs. Belmont does picket duty in her automobile or frees girl pickets from the police court at midnight does not remove the fact that the desperate class war is on—the class war between the 40,000 poor, exploited shirtwaist makers and the manufacturers, who constitute a part of the employing capitalist class.

In this brutal class struggle on the east side of New York vital

# LIVE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED IN LIVE MANNER

By Robert Hunter, Author of "Socialists at Work."

## I.

### HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY—THE STEEL TRUST.

On all sides we'll see war and hear rumors of war. The strikes of the last few weeks are momentous. The wretched and unorganized of McKees Rock struck. Forty thousand unorganized girls in New York are striking. The miners declare they will soon demand an increase of wages. The Railroad Brotherhoods—rich, powerful, organized, are demanding higher wages. The steel workers have thrown down the gauntlet to the powerful Steel Trust.

All over the country labor is in revolt. After all the dinners and conferences, welfare associations and the profit sharing, the break comes.

Everywhere unrest manifests itself. Prices are high, rents exorbitant, hours long, wages insufficient.

And yet the men want peace. They were unemployed in the recent panic. They suffered for lack of food. They wanted work then; they want living wages now.

And there is no peace. Profit sharing in the steel works fails to bring peace. Welfare work in the factories of the Cash Register Co. and the Ludlow mills fails to bring peace.

Even the Civic Federation with dinners and soft talk and soothing words fails to bring peace. And so war is on.

Today the Steel Trust is employing detectives to work among the men in all its mills. It is giving orders to its judges, governors, generals and sheriffs to prepare for war.

It will use all its immense power, political and financial, to utterly crush the men and to annihilate every vestige of their organization.

And the Steel Trust will have aid not only from the courts, the government and the combined financial power of the nation, it will also have the aid of some of the workers.

They have already bribed some of the men to betray their comrades. A statement issued the other day by the Steel Trust says that 40,000 men own stock in the company.

It is said this stock was sold to the employes with two objects in view. First, "we wanted to make them good faithful employes," and second, "we feared that at some time some dissatisfied persons would try to inaugurate a strike."

"There are any number of spendthrifts among the employes," says the statement, "who may go out on strike if called, but when they see the good employes remain at their furnaces it is doubtful if even they would strike."

The "good employes" have been bought. "Good leaders" are the ones that sell their following out. "Good laborers" are always "scabs."

Now let the men realize what they are up against.

They are fighting Morgan, the most powerful financial magnate in the world, to whom unions are poison. They are fighting his courts and his government.

They are fighting his "good employes," who have sold themselves and their comrades for a share of stock. They are fighting spies and traitors in the organization employed by detective agencies.

The workers of America should know the conditions of this fight. Every man in the ranks of labor should realize in advance that if war is declared on the Steel Trust it will be either a fiasco, or one of the great labor wars of history.

Let labor be prepared to back that fight to the limit with money and everything else that labor possesses.

The steel workers alone can not win. Shorn of the aid and encouragement of the workers of other crafts they are doomed to defeat and ruin.

Aided by every dollar the workers can raise, by every resource of the union movement and by the loyalty of the entire working class, even His Imperial Majesty, the Steel Trust, may be humiliated.

Workers of America, the test that you will be called upon to bear will be a severe one. It can be borne and victory won only by perfect unity and solidarity. Ask yourselves, before the fight begins, will you keep the faith?

class interests are at stake. The 40,000 wage working girls are fighting for their very lives, because their labor means their bread, and bread means life for them. If the bosses succeed in further decreasing their wages, it means less bread, less life for the girls.

Wage labor is the basis of Capitalism. Without wage labor capitalist exploitation would be impossible, because wages under capitalism will always be but a part of the wealth produced by the wage working class. The other part is withheld by the employing or capitalist class.

"Class distinctions" are not soap-bubbles, but social facts resting on a material basis.

The conflicting class interests cause the class struggle, the modern labor and Socialist movement; the class struggle develops the class consciousness among the wage working class; this class consciousness enables the working class to see more clearly the demarkation lines between the classes in modern society.

This class consciousness also enables the working class to clearly distinguish between the common sense doctrines of Socialism and the editorial nonsense dished out to the readers of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

As to the work of Mrs. Belmont and other well-meaning wealthy women in connection with the New York shirtwaist workers' strike, we fully agree with our New York organ, The Call, which says, editorially:

### "Honor to Whom Honor Is Due!"

"In Lead, S. D., where there is a lockout of the employes of the Homestake Mining Company, rich women are reported to have gone into the homes of workmen and to have pleaded with the wives and mothers to induce the men to become traitors to their fellow workers, to sign a statement to the effect that they are not members of any labor union, and to return to work.

"After the Hippodrome meeting in this city, which was organized by a wealthy woman for the purpose of aiding the striking shirtwaist makers, it was reported that other wealthy women, who are anti-suffragists, were intending to arrange a demonstration on behalf of the strike breakers and their bosses.

"In view of facts like these it is all the more necessary to give expression to our appreciation of the assistance which Mrs. Belmont, Miss Morgan and their friends are rendering to the shirtwaist makers. The latter have to contend not only against economic oppression, but also against the worst form of political tyranny—police tyranny, the rule of the club and the sentence to the workhouse. In a fight like this, in which their most elementary legal and political rights are being violated, the striking girls are entitled to the aid not of their fellow workers only, but also of all decent and liberal-minded citizens. The rich women who have come to the aid of the poor working girls are doing no more than their duty as citizens of a re-

## II.

### A WARNING REPEATED.

The bosses are trying to tie the men to their jobs. They are trying to do it by contracts, by judicial decisions, by selling them houses and by selling them stocks.

We warn the workers of America against these subtle efforts to tie the hands and cripple the power of Organized Labor.

Read the following, printed February last, in the light of the proposed steel strike:

"The Good People have a new idea. They are as delighted with it as a child with a new toy. Wherever I go I hear them chortling about it.

"The Civic Federation is frantic over it, and Morgan's men, and Harriman's men, and their lawyers and clergymen talk everywhere about it as one of the greatest discoveries of the age.

"It appears a solution has been found for the class struggle, and the solution is profit sharing.

Andrew Carnegie believes in it; thought about it late.

"M. E. Ingalls, chairman of the Big Four Railroad, is sure that profit sharing is the only solution of the problem of capital and labor. George W. Perkins of the United States Steel Trust declares that profit sharing will put an end to all war between capital and labor.

"The idea is to allow workmen to buy shares of stock. When they become stockholders they will rob themselves with one hand and dividend themselves with the other.

"As stock buyers they will be in favor of putting wages down, of extending hours and of breaking up unions.

"They will want to pile up dividends, and in order to pile up dividends they will declare war on labor agitators.

"Incidentally they will learn to believe in big dividends. They will have no objections to the Standard Oil making eighty-four per cent a year on its capital stock. On the contrary, they will begin to hope for two hundred per cent, so that every dollar that works will earn two dollars a year.

"It is a bright scheme, and ought to help in the campaign of breaking up the unions and impoverishing the workers.

"It ought to help, also in the campaign against Socialism, because the more men there are who own stock, the more men there will be to fight for capital against labor.

"We recently had a fearful expose of conditions in Homestead and Pittsburg. The total disregard for life, the driving, agonizing toil of twelve hours a day, in the most exhausting work in the world, the low wage, the despairing, hopeless workers, the lack of unity and fraternity among them are all evidences of the power of the Steel Trust.

"But the Steel Trust shares profits with these poor victims of toil. Many of them have a share or two of stock. Some of them get as much as five or ten dollars a year without working for it.

"Isn't it wonderful? And that is the plan of the Good People to solve the class struggle.

"And I wonder what the workers think?"

"The pathos of it is beyond expression. We have seen workmen fight other workmen, but have we ever before seen so perfect an example of workmen enlisted in fighting themselves?"

"I suppose that it is just possible that in the next ten years or so we shall find two or three million labor stockholders.

"They will then become reasonable, and allow their fellow capitalists to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust act, and imprison labor leaders, to hire Pinkertons and use the militia, to lower wages and lengthen hours, to break unions and crush strikes, to rob widows and impoverish orphans, all because they have learned as they labor and sweat how pleasant it is to have one dollar change each year by magic into two dollars."

That was written a year ago. Today it has point.

The men who bought the stock of the Steel Trust are expected to sell out their comrades and betray their common cause.

For a miserable share in the profits of the Steel Trust they have tied themselves to the wheel that will one day break their backs.

public. And we hope that their aid, on its small scale, will be as effective as the work of Lord Shaftesbury and his friends on behalf of the English workers, in the latter part of the first half of the nineteenth century, was effective on a national scale.

"It is a matter of course that in the long run the working women, like working men, must depend on their own unaided efforts and on the strength of their organization for substantial improvement in their economic condition and political status. After they shall have risen from the lowest depths of economic and political degradation they will be sure to find themselves bereft of all further aid from the so-called upper classes. This has been the uniform experience of the labor movement in every country. But meanwhile the working women of this country need that aid, and we are glad to see them get it."

## A New Year's Greeting

We have received the following communication from the state headquarters of the Socialist Party of Connecticut:

Shelton, Conn., Dec. 21, 1909.

At a meeting of the State Committee, Socialist Party of Connecticut, held in Derby, at the rooms of Local Inter-City, 139 Main street, Sunday, Dec. 19, the following resolutions were adopted:

**Whereas**, A copy of a letter sent by A. M. Simons, editor Chicago "Daily Socialist" and member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, to William English Walling, same having been sent to State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Connecticut and by him turned over to this committee, and

**Whereas**, This committee deplors the mistake made by Comrade Simons in writing such a letter to a non-member of the Socialist Party, we believe that the question of a conspiracy to bring about an internal revolution in the party and an attempt to turn our party into a labor party is largely the result of an overblown imagination, and an absurd attempt to widen and make more bitter the gulf existing between the so-called Intellectuals and Proletarians in the party; and

**Whereas**, We believe it is impossible for any man, or set of men, to dictate to the rank and file of the Socialist Party what course it shall pursue and what policy it shall adopt, and that the question of a labor party rests with the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, not with the officers of either organization.

**Therefore, Be It Resolved**, That we, the State Committee of Connecticut, desire to hereby emphatically resent the interference of one who is not a member of the Socialist Party in internal affairs of the party. We believe that the Socialist Party has not yet reached the point where it is capable of judging the ability of its officers and their duties

(Continued on page 6.)

**UNION SECRETARIES AND BUSINESS AGENTS**

ARE REQUESTED TO SEND IN FACTS CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS STRIKES, MEETINGS, TRADE CONDITIONS, GROWTH OF ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THE WORKERS. ITEMS FOR PUBLICATION IN THE SAME WEEK'S ISSUE SHOULD REACH THIS OFFICE NOT LATER THAN TUESDAY EVENING. ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS:

ST. LOUIS LABOR, 212 South Fourth St.

**FROM THE FIELD OF UNION LABOR****CENTRAL BODY GIVES CHRISTMAS PRESENT TO GARMENT WORKERS**

**A Special Assessment Levied for Locked-Out Employes of Marx & Haas Clothing Co.**

**LOUIS PHILIPPI ELECTED PRESIDENT**

**"Gussie" Busch's \$1,000.00 Offer for the A. F. of L. Coldly Received.**



LOUIS PHILIPPI,

Who Was Elected President of the C. T. and L. U. Last Sunday.

"Merry Christmas!" and "A Happy New Year!" to the locked-out Garment Workers of the Marx & Haas Clothing Co.

This is exactly what last Sunday's action of the Central Trades and Labor Union means. What action? the reader will ask.

The Executive Board of the central body, at last Sunday's meeting at 3535 Piney street, recommended that a special assessment of 5 cents be levied on the members of all affiliated unions, for the benefit of the locked-out Garment Workers of the Marx & Haas Clothing Co.

This recommendation was unanimously indorsed by the 250 delegates in attendance. The assessment is payable within 30 days.

In addition a motion was passed that all the Garment Workers' locals of St. Louis be kept on the central body's books in good standing, without per capita tax, while the present lockout was on. The adoption of this motion was followed by applause.

Delegate Conroy of the Police Committee made a final report on the Police Headquarters strike-breaker affair in connection with the Marx & Haas lockout, stating that Chief Creevy was not personally responsible for the underhanded work engineered by "Archangel" Goldstein of the Marx & Haas firm and some "co-operator" in the police department.

**The Election of Officers**

Caused somewhat of a surprise to the delegates present. Two nominations for president were made: Owen Miller and Louis Philippi. On the first ballot a tie vote resulted—114 to 114. Another ballot was required, which resulted in the election of Philippi with 128 votes against 117 votes for Miller.

John A. Murray defeated Percy Penon for the vice-presidency by a majority of 77. David Kreyling was re-elected secretary by acclamation. In the new roster of officers there are two women, Mrs. A. Spraggon, who was elected a trustee, and Mrs. D. W. Kneffler, who was given a place on the Legislative Committee. Other officers elected were: Peter Beisel, treasurer; Joseph Houser and Lon St. Clair, trustees; C. Schott, sergeant-at-arms; Joseph J. Sommers, J. P. McDonough, R. Goodenough and M. Hocken, Legislative Committee.

The election of a Law Committee was postponed until next meeting, when it will be made a special order of business.

A letter was read from Augustus A. Busch, in which he offered \$1,000 for the entertainment of the delegates to next year's A. F. of L. convention in St. Louis. The communication was received in silence and one delegate remarked that the central body should be careful about accepting money from manufacturers, since you never know when unions might get into trouble with them. The matter was referred to the Convention Committee which is to be elected at next meeting.

**A Word of Warning to the Members of the Central Trades and Labor Union.**

The election of Louis Philippi as president of the Central Trades and Labor Union caused the daily capitalist press of St. Louis to once more inform the public of a "serious fight between the Socialists and the Trade Unionists in the central body." Between the lines of these newspapers you can read the anxiety of the local capitalist interests to stir up dissensions and internal troubles among the organized workmen of this city. Some of the sheets tried to make the people believe that there was some kind of a Socialist conspiracy against Owen Miller which brought about his defeat. One paper came out with an alleged interview with Philippi, in which he was reported as having made all kinds of foolish remarks, which, of course, was not the case. As stated in the editorial columns of this paper, Organized Labor of St. Louis stands united no matter whether the central body's president's name is Miller, Philippi or John Smith. Owen Miller made a good president; he had his faults like most of the people. And we are convinced that Philippi will also do his duty; he may make mistakes, like everybody else will make mistakes sometimes. But he is ever ready to learn and listen to advice. In the C. T. and L. U. all delegates are seated as Trade Unionists, bound together by brotherhood, class interests and solidarity. Don't permit the capitalist press to cause dissensions, and division in your ranks. Whether Socialists, Democrats or Republicans, stick together as Union men. Uphold the banner of Organized Labor, never forgetting the noble motto: United we stand, divided we fall!

**Notice: Stay Away from Nova Scotia! Strike Is On.**

Agents of the Dominion Coal Co. of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, are at work trying to induce miners of Wilkes-Barre and other anthracite mine towns to go there to scab. District and local officials should exert themselves to prevent them from securing any men for such purpose.

A strike has been on in Nova Scotia and at these mines since July 6, with every prospect of winning. Don't go there and try to defeat your brothers who are fighting for the right to organize and better conditions of employment.

Stay away. Due notice will be given in these columns when the strike is won. Labor papers please copy.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS**

By A. M. Simons.



A. M. SIMONS,

Editor Chicago Daily Socialist and Member Socialist Party National Executive Board.

So far as the Socialist Party is concerned, the relations between these two wings of the army of labor have been decided by the highest authorities in the world of Socialism. The last national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States passed a resolution declaring that

The Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to Organized Labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists upon maintaining its own autonomy on the political field.

This is not the only time that this question has been decided by a Socialist body. The same question was upon the order of business of the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907. After discussion by representatives from nearly every nation having a Socialist movement, a resolution was adopted with an almost unanimous vote containing these words:

The unions and the party have an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature, and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action.

Similar resolutions have been adopted by the Socialists of practically every country. They do not depend for their authority upon official adoption. They have been proven by experience in nearly every country possessing a Socialist and a trade union movement.

**What is needed today is not the adoption of more resolutions, but the translation of these resolutions into action.**

The union and the party are organized for different purposes. Each is an instrument created by the working class for specific work. Both have as their object the improvement of the present condition and the ultimate emancipation of labor. But they are not identical in their method of operation. Their work lies in different fields, even though their objects be the same.

The union is organized for bargaining at the shop door. It is formed for the purpose of strengthening the resistance power of the workers in the sale of their labor power. It does not possess the machinery for political action. Its methods of organization are not fitted to political purposes. Its divisions are not along the lines of political subdivisions. Every attempt of the unions, as unions, to conduct a political campaign has proven a failure.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party is not fitted to do the work of the unions. Its membership must necessarily include many who are not members of unions. It is organized to improve present conditions and ultimately emancipate labor through political action. It seeks to gain political power, to change legislation, and finally to use the government as a means of supplanting the capitalist in the field of industry. Its organization must fit political subdivisions. The Socialist Party is as ill-fitted to manage trade union affairs as the unions are to conduct political campaigns.

So long as these differences are kept in mind there is no conflict. It is only when Socialists seek to use the political organization as a means of managing the economic organization, or when the unions seek to interfere in the political field that conflict results.

What, then, should be the relation between the unions and the Socialist Party? It can not be one of isolation. Their aims are the same; their work overlaps too frequently for absolute separation.

Every Socialist should be a member of a union, if working in any organized industry. In that union he should be, first, last and all the time, a union man.

The Socialist in the union should simply be the best union man in the organization. He should bear in mind the decisions of the national and international Socialist bodies and the fact that these decisions are based upon a world-wide experience. When the union meets with an obstacle that demands political action, when it is confronted with an injunction, with the restrictions of class legislation in any form, then he has an opportunity and a duty to call attention to the need of a political party that shall fight the battles of the workers. Moreover, he can show that the Socialist Party is the only party that can perform this function in accord with the interests of Organized Labor.

The Socialist Party, and the Socialist press and the Socialist speakers are not called upon to settle union questions. They can not settle them, anyhow, and the experience of the Socialists of the world is against attempting it.

The Socialist Party must necessarily give aid to every effort of Organized Labor to better the condition of its members. No other party can do this. No party, financed and controlled by the employing class, as are the Democratic and Republican and all other parties save the Socialists, can voice the political interests of labor. The unions themselves are unfitted to directly conduct a political struggle.

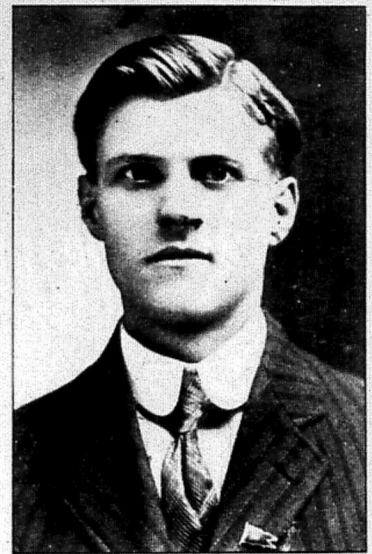
In this country, as in every other country where capitalism has gained a stronghold, the political battle of labor must be fought through a Socialist Party.

**"UNITED WE STAND!"**

This is the Motto Inscribed on the Locked-Out Garment Workers' Banner.

**LOCAL CENTRAL BODY'S SOLIDARITY**

By Unanimous Vote the C. T. and L. U. Levies Assessment for Victims of Marx & Haas Clothing Co.—Chicago Unions Aid St. Louis.



OTTO KAEMMERER,

President Garment Workers District Council of St. Louis.

Nearly four months of brutal warfare carried on by the Marx & Haas Clothing Co. against their organization could not lessen the energy and activity of the United Garment Workers of St. Louis. The lockout of the one thousand employes of this firm is no longer a local affair; it has grown into a national fight for the cause of Organized Labor.

Every labor union throughout the land, wherever Marx & Haas sell their products, is being drawn into the battle.

A committee of the St. Louis Garment Workers' District Council, consisting of Fannie Sellins and Kate Hurley, spent a week in Chicago visiting unions and soliciting aid for the locked-out Marx & Haas employes. The result was most encouraging; the Chicago Federation of Labor gave them a rousing reception and provided them with credentials to all the local unions of Chicago. Over five hundred dollars were collected by the committee within a few days. The ladies will return to Chicago after the holidays and continue their work in behalf of their locked-out sisters and brothers.

The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, at its last Sunday's meeting at Aschenbroedel Hall, surprised the locked-out Garment Workers with an excellent Christmas present. On the recommendation of the Executive Board a resolution was passed, by unanimous vote, to levy a five-cent assessment on the members of every local union connected with the central body.

The following is a list of the

**Contributions for the Locked-Out Garment Workers of the Marx & Haas Clothing Co.**

|                                                                                                 |         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| United Garment Workers of America, Local 14, Detroit, Mich.                                     | \$22.00 |
| United Garment Workers of America, Locals 150-197-229, Chicago, balance of benefit given No. 15 | 42.00   |
| U. G. W. of A., Local 63, Columbus, Ohio                                                        | 5.00    |
| Electrical Workers No. 2, St. Louis                                                             | 25.00   |
| United Hatters of North America, No. 21                                                         | 10.00   |
| German Hod Carriers' Union of Chicago                                                           | 100.00  |
| United Garment Workers of America, No. 246, St. Louis                                           | 3.50    |
| United Garment Workers of America, No. 38                                                       | 2.50    |
| Waitresses' Union No. 484, Chicago                                                              | 10.00   |
| United Garment Workers of America, Local No. 27                                                 | 5.00    |
| Joint Advisory Board of Cigarmakers, 14-15-117-227 of Chicago                                   | 25.00   |
| Journeymen Plasterers Protective Benefit Society, 5, Chicago                                    | 25.00   |
| U. B. of Carpenters & Joiners, Local 13, Chicago                                                | 25.00   |
| United Garment Workers of America, Local 99, Cincinnati                                         | 34.20   |
| Woman's Trade Union League, Chicago                                                             | 25.00   |
| United Garment Workers of America, No. 96                                                       | 5.00    |
| United Garment Workers of America, No. 131, San Francisco                                       | 25.00   |
| I. B. of Stationary Firemen, Chicago                                                            | 50.00   |
| Proceeds of ball, Dec. 14                                                                       | 469.00  |
| Coopers' Union, Chicago                                                                         | 5.00    |
| German Painters' Local 275, Chicago                                                             | 30.00   |
| Webb Pressmen's Union                                                                           | 10.00   |

**Donations Received Through the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis.**

|                                                              |       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Beer Drivers, No. 43                                         | 25.00 |
| Tuck Pointers, No. 10384                                     | 10.00 |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, No. 4                           | 5.00  |
| Owen Miller                                                  | 2.90  |
| Metal Polishers, No. 13                                      | 10.00 |
| J. G. Schwartz                                               | 3.00  |
| Musicians' Union, No. 2                                      | 10.00 |
| Glass Workers, No. 6                                         | 35.00 |
| Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 25                                | 10.00 |
| United Garment Workers of America, 207, Woodbine, N. J.      | 5.00  |
| United Garment Workers of America, 75, Philadelphia, Pa.     | 10.00 |
| Brotherhood of Tailors of New York                           | 25.00 |
| Typographers No. 3                                           | 25.00 |
| Beer Bottlers, No. 187                                       | 15.00 |
| United Garment Workers of America, Local 73, Paterson, N. J. | 15.00 |
| Boot and Shoe Workers, No. 338                               | 5.00  |
| Sheet Metal Workers, No. 247                                 | 10.00 |
| Brewery Maltsters, No. 6                                     | 25.00 |
| Cigarmakers, No. 44                                          | 45.00 |
| Bookbinders, No. 18                                          | 10.00 |
| Wood Workers' District Council                               | 5.00  |
| Brewery Laborers, No. 262                                    | 10.00 |
| Iron Molders' Union, No. 10                                  | 2.00  |
| Teamsters' Union, No. 751                                    | 5.00  |
| Printing Pressmen, No. 6                                     | 25.00 |
| Tobacco Workers, No. 1                                       | 5.00  |

O. W. GOODIN, Secretary.

**Socialism for Students.** By Joseph E. Cohen. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price 50 cents. This little volume consists of a series of articles reprinted from the International Socialist Review.

## A NEW YEAR'S GREETING

(Continued from page 4.)

as such. Neither have they reached the point where they should ask the advice of outsiders in the party affairs.

The State Committee of Connecticut, therefore, desires to condemn the activity of those who desire to influence our elections by activity in circulating attacks on party members, written by non-party members, believing that those who have such a great love for the movement should be at least a member of such in order to consistently criticize its officers, members or policy, and.

**Be It Further Resolved,** That a copy of this resolution be sent to the party press, and to Mr. William English Walling.

(Signed)

STATE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CONNECTICUT.  
S. E. BEARDSLEY, State Secretary.

The foregoing resolution is in order. We do not deplore that Comrade Simons wrote the letter referred to in the resolution. We do regret, however, that Simons sent the letter to Walling instead of publishing it as an editorial in the Chicago Daily Socialist. Only weaklings or ultra-revolutionary confusionists and Utopians could get excited about what Simons said. He touched some weak spots in our party movement, which hurts somebody's sores, and because he said what he had to say immediately after his return from the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor, gave some iridescent wonder workers the Gompersitis, a kind of St. Vitus dance.

This latest attempt of saving the Socialist Party is indeed amusing. And there are so many "Saviors," which may be due to Christmas, the birthday anniversary of the original "Savior."

Walling is a great admirer of the "New Unionism of Europe." On May 5, 1908, while in Paris, France, Mr. Walling pleased to write a lengthy communication on "The New Unionism of Europe," which appeared in the June number of the American Federationist. From beginning to end the article was a knock at the Socialist political movement of Europe. Mr. Walling was overanxious to convince the readers of the American Federationist that the Trade Union movement of Europe was in open rebellion against the "Marxian political parties." The anarchistic "direct action" unions of France were the ideal of Mr. Walling, and between the lines you could perceive the author's desire to belittle and discredit the great Socialist political movement. This may explain why the Paris letter of this latest "savior" of the American Socialist Party appeared as the first and leading article of the official organ of the American Federation of Labor.

The same man today accuses Simons of a conspiracy to launch a labor party, the man whose "anti-Marxian" article received such extraordinary consideration from Editor Samuel Gompers.

The people who might be the first to run off with an anti-Socialist labor party are the very gentlemen who are "saving the Socialist Party" today from dangerous fellows like Simons, Berger, Hunter and others. These ultra-revolutionary phraseologists and Wonder Workers always remind us of the only clear-cut, scientific Dan De Leon, who, after shaking hands with Eugene V. Debs over the "bloody chasm," ridiculed the Socialist political activity.

Walling, the writer of the American Federationist article, though not a member, will save the Socialist Party. Gompers liked the article and gave it prominent space, but he doesn't like the Socialist Party. Eugene V. Debs likes Walling's work, but hates Gompers. "I am more than gratified with your uncompromising spirit and attitude," writes Debs to Walling, according to the Int. Socialist Review.

Before this latest revolution will be concluded there may be some more handshaking over the "bloody chasm." However, there is no danger that the "Salvationists" will ever make a "direct action" freak out of the Socialist Party.

### Editorial Observations

Eight Miners Killed and 400 Imperiled by an Explosion in a mine near Herrin, Ill., is the latest.

In Place of the old Bourgeois Society, With Its Classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. Communist Manifesto.

Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Was Sentenced to Three Months' imprisonment by a Spokane business men's jury. What for? For conspiracy! And the conspiracy consisted in her taking part in the Free Speech fight. Why not make the state of Washington a province of Russia?

The Spokane Police Are Worse Than the "Black Hundreds" of Russia. While a meeting of the I. W. W. was in progress the police put in an appearance and drove the people out, slugging anyone who opposed them. They did not leave until they had broken up all the furniture and satisfied themselves that the place was a complete wreck.

"Strikers Turn New Castle Jail into Temple of Honor!" Exclaims the "Amalgamated Journal," the official organ of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. In another caption on the same page we read: "Pickets Receive Shabby Treatment from the Sheriff They Helped to Elect." The two sentences above quoted contain two lessons: One for the capitalists and one for the workingmen.

The Author of Merrie England, Mr. Robert Blatchford, Seems to have developed a mania for jingoism and "Dreadnaughts." While the organized workers under the leadership of men like Keir Hardie, Barnes, Thorne, Snowden and others are carrying on the liveliest campaign in the political history of England, Mr. Blatchford in assisting the Conservatives in their jingo agitation against Germany and in favor of more "Dreadnaughts." The Berlin Vorwärts aptly remarks that fortunately Mr. Blatchford does not represent the British Socialist and Trade Union movement.

While the St. Louis Post-Dispatch Denies the Existence of class distinctions in this country, it takes special pride to announce in its Christmas issues that not less than 20,000 men, women and children submitted to the humiliating charity treatment of the "Post-Dispatch Christmas Dinner." Twenty thousand paupers at a public charity exhibition on Christmas day! Yet there are no class distinctions, and class consciousness has no place here, according to the P.-D., that uses the working class misery for lucrative advertising purposes.

A Capitalist Cablegram From Berlin Published in the Leading American dailies commences with this paragraph: "The specter of Social Democracy is abroad again in Germany. It has risen, hydra-headed, in all its old-time venom and fury, assertive, impudent and triumphant. By-elections for the Reichstag, general elections for state parliaments, and municipal elections in towns and cities are yielding a staggering crop of 'red' victories. To the Diet of Saxony which two months ago contained one Social Democrat, 25 have been returned. The Lancashire of Germany has given the signal for what the nation fears is destined to be an electoral revolution in the guise of a Socialist avalanche. How to avert it has suddenly become the paramount issue of German politics."

Our Local Capitalist Dailies of Last Monday Tried Very Hard to make the public believe that the St. Louis Trades and Labor Union was the battlefield between "Socialists" and "Unionists." The same old game of the plutocratic organs! Let it be understood clearly and distinctly that the Socialists in the central body are there as Trade Unionists, working for the interests of the working class and for the unity of the labor movement. The capitalist press, Republican and Democratic alike, is ever anxious to see a cat-and-dog fight in the ranks of Union Labor. But we wish to inform them that the St. Louis Socialists are not in the labor movement for any such purposes. United we stand, divided we fall! This will be the motto of the Central Trades and Labor Union in the future, as it has been in the past, no matter whether the president's name is Owen Miller, Louis Philippi or John Smith.

The Nomination of an Oligarch for the Supreme Court Is Commented on by the New York Call in the following language: To fill the place of Rufus W. Peckham as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the President has nominated Horace H. Lurton, a Circuit Judge of the United States and a former colleague of Mr. Taft. Horace H. Lurton showed the reactionary disposition of his mind and his admiration for the institution of slavery while still a young man. Born and brought up in Kentucky, a border state in which the people were divided in their attitude toward the Slave Power, young Lurton abandoned his studies and joined the army of the Confederacy. After the conclusion of the war he became a lawyer and at one time was a partner of Joseph W. Bailey, the Standard Oil Senator from Texas. Later he was an associate of Judge, now President, Taft in one of the United States Circuit Courts. That the opinions of a man of these antecedents and associations are not of a strikingly progressive nature, goes without saying. In fact it has been charged that in his judicial decisions Judge Lurton has manifested a strong bias in favor of the railroad corporations, and that his appointment to the Supreme Court would result in a reversal of the recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.

The Great Influence of the Labor and Socialist Forces of England in the present political campaign may be judged by the following London cablegram to American capitalist papers, published under date of Dec. 26: "The relations between Liberalism and labor are very interesting just now. To some extent they are combining to fight the Lords, mutual concessions to prevent three-cornered contests that might let the Conservatives win, and a score of Socialist candidates have been withdrawn to this end. But the labor men gain corresponding advantages elsewhere, so that Keir Hardie has reason to expect a much augmented party after the election. But the labor leaders, nevertheless, are enforcing strict pledges from all candidates they support, that they will ally themselves to neither Conservatives nor Liberals, but will act with Keir Hardie always. This means trouble with several fine representatives of labor who are more Liberal than Socialist. Richard Bell, an admirable railwaymen's member from Derby, is retiring from politics on this account. Charles Fenwick and Thomas Burt, two veteran miners' representatives from Durham, are being driven into revolt also. This growing aggression of the labor party is one of the most powerfully destructive forces that are changing the old order of things in England, and the next few years are destined to show great alterations in British political conditions. One notable aspect of the present situation is seen in Battersea, where the Socialists are fighting John Burns tooth and nail because he, the former labor agitator, accepted office in a Liberal Cabinet."

### Facts Wage-Workers Should Know

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organiza-

tions have continually petition have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### A LIST OF UNION BAKERIES

WHERE YOU CAN GET UNION

**BREAD** EACH LOAF BEARING  
The  
UNION LABEL

#### AND BAKERY GOODS MADE BY UNION BAKERS

|                    |                   |                   |                     |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Becker, Louis      | 2330 Menard st.   | Machatschek, Jos. | 1960 Arsenal st.    |
| Boeglin, Joseph    | 9800 S. Broadway  | Manewal Bread Co  | Lami and Broadway   |
| Dalies, R.         | 1027 Allen av.    | Marschall, L.     | 2968 S Broadway     |
| Dittmar, Frank     | 4251 Schiller Pl. | Messerschmidt, P. | 2225 Cherokee st.   |
| Eckert, Theo. F.   | 2809 Salena st.   | Michalke, F. L.   | 1901 Utah st.       |
| Enz, Aug.          | 6700 S Broadway   | Mueller, Fred     | 2012 Gravois av.    |
| Fischer, Wm. F.    | 5600-Compton Ave. | Nichols, E. S.    | 4136 N Newstead a   |
| Foerster, Chas. J. | 5228 Virginia av. | Nowack, Frank R.  | 616-18 Louisa Ave.  |
| Fuchs, Frank       | 2301 Plover Ave.  | Old Homestead Bky | 1038 N Vandeventer  |
| Geiger, H.         | 1901 Lami st.     | Papendick B'ky Co | 3009-11 N 22d st.   |
| Graf, Ferd         | 2201 S 2nd st.    | Rahm, A.          | 3001 Rutger st.     |
| Hahn Bakery Co.    | 2801-5 S. 7th st. | Redle, Geo.       | 2100 Lynch st.      |
| Halleman, Jos.     | 2022 Cherokee st. | Reichelt, H.      | 3701 S Jefferson    |
| Hartman, Ferd      | 1917 Madison st.  | Rother, Paul      | Lemay Ferry Rd.     |
| Hoefel, Fred       | 3448 S Broadway   | Rottler, M.       | 2500 Illinois av.   |
| Hollenberg, C.     | 918 Manchester    | Pube, W.          | 1301 Shenandoah st  |
| Huber, Math.       | 1824 S 10th st.   | Schmerber, Jos.   | 3079 S Broadway     |
| Huellen, P.        | 4101 N 20th st.   | Schneider & Son,  | 2716 N Taylor av.   |
| Huils, Fr.         | 7728 S Broadway   | Schueler, Fred    | 3402 S Jefferson a  |
| Imhof, F.          | 1801 Lynch st.    | Seib Bros.        | 2522 S Broadway     |
| Knebel, Adam       | 2577 Emerson Ave. | Speck, Geo.       | 311 W Stein st.     |
| Kubik F. J.        | 1723 S 11th st.   | Vidlack, Rudolf   | 2005 S. 11th St.    |
| Laubis, Herm.      | 1958 Withnell av. | Vogler, Mrs. G.   | 3005 S Broadway     |
| Lay Fred           | 8509 S Broadway   | Weiner, M.        | 1625 Carr St.       |
| Leimbach, Rud.     | 1820 Arsenal st.  | Witt, F. A.       | 3558 Nebraska av.   |
| Links, John A.     | 2907 S 13th st.   | Wolf, S.          | 3120 S 7th st.      |
| Lorenz, H.         | 2700 Arsenal st.  | Zwick, Mich.      | 7701-3 Virginia av. |

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## Missouri Socialist Party

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

Locals in the Seventh Congressional District have agreed on F. J. Hecht of Sedalia as their state committeeman.

Incomplete Returns indicate that A. Ellison has been elected State Committeeman for the Fifteenth District.

Lewis Dates: Jan. 2, St. Louis; 3, Local Longwood; 4-5, Hannibal; 6-7, Shelby; 8-9, Bevier.

Warren Protest Meetings: Jan. 16, Springfield. Webb City will also arrange a meeting if a suitable hall can be secured. Sedalia comrades found that they could not arrange a meeting owing to the adverse conditions now prevailing there. The Missouri Pacific shops have closed, throwing the men out of work—a Christmas present from capitalism. Local St. Louis will arrange a protest meeting, the exact date being in doubt till the date of the trial is set.

The Larger Locals have been written regarding meetings for De Lara, the Mexican patriot. All places that can count on an admission of 400 are requested to write the State Office without delay if a De Lara date is wanted. The time will be about the end of January.

"Barbarous Mexico." Get the January number of The American Magazine and read John Kenneth Turner's article on the slavery existing at this moment in Mexico. It has the ring of truth and carries conviction with it.

J. H. Branam is on an organizing tour of Scott County and is meeting with success. Local Cross Plains has been reinstated and a new local organized at Onthey School House.

Wib Conner of Wappapello is tickled with the Lewis meetings at that point. He says: "She is, decidedly, the best lecturer we have had here, and spoke to the largest crowds we have had out to hear anyone. The houses were chuk full of people anxious to hear and who were well pleased with what she said. Many women were present at both meetings—in spite of the prejudice against a woman on the lecture platform. We expect to organize this and other points in the near future."

Ballots for the Election of National officers and Referendum "D" have been held pending the arrival of ballots for Referendums "E" and "F." They will probably all be sent to locals by the end of December. This will make four national referendums to be voted on at one time, and others are following close behind. We will soon require a special fund to meet the expense of conducting referendums.

R. R. Ristine Now State Secretary.

The election of state officers closed on Dec. 27 and the returns show that R. R. Ristine has been elected State Secretary. The vote has not been fully compiled at this writing, but indications are that E. T. Behrens and W. W. McAllister have been elected State Committeemen.

Locals are requested to address all communications pertaining to the State Office to R. R. Ristine, 1928 Main street, Joplin, Mo.

The tabulated vote will be published in this column next week.

Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome. By William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax. Chicago. Chas. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. 'Tis a splendid little volume which should find its way into every public and private library.

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## FROM OUR READERS

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

The High Salaries of Railroad Officials.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

The inclosed is a copy of a letter sent, which which never appeared, in the Post-Dispatch. It may interest some of your readers, even at this late date.

Pertinent Inquiry Asking Why High Salaries Are Paid Railroad Officials.

Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

The excellent portraits of A. J. Davidson and C. R. Gray, two of the Frisco Railway officials, and the write-up of each, attracted my attention. Not many years ago I was a neighbor to each, when they occupied lower rounds on the ladder of toil. I would like to ask what service they render for the high salaries they receive as compared with that for which they received \$30 per month, as against \$2,500 or \$1,250 now? As operators they assisted in saving human life, by safeguarding trains. I would like to ask, do they as usefully serve now? What are their duties? Do they strive to make the lot of those who toil hard in the various departments better than when they occupied such positions? Does the humble trackman enjoy more of the wonderful prosperity of the railroads than in former years as a result of their elevation?

Or, may be, membership in the social clubs forces them to:

"Forget the dunghill whence they grew,

And think themselves the Lord-knows who!"

Is the high pay they get the reward, for their audacity in

trampling upon the rights of the people of St. Louis, as to the removal of the dangerous crossings, and the persistent denial of the right of the people's representatives to pass a two-cent passenger rate bill?

Perhaps some of your readers may be able to tell why these "mortal men" need, or desire, to have such big wages for their present jobs?

Nov. 12, 1909.

ENQUIRER.

A Union Man

# BUCKS at SCAB STOVES because they Are UNFAIR

## OUR PRINCIPLES PLAINLY STATED Line of Arguments for Socialism.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner can not dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Busy Women

## Early Training One of Essentials

By ADA MAY KRECKER



QUEEN WILHELMINA has received the same education prescribed by the Dutch government in the ordinary national schools, and the head master of one of these schools at The Hague was appointed as the instructor of the princess. These lessons began when she was 6½ years of age. An important point in her education and preparation for royal power was the arrangement by which she visited each of the provinces in turn, taking one or two each year, so that the whole Dutch population should have an opportunity of seeing their future queen.

As Wilhelmina was an only child, the queen mother resolved that she should see plenty of other children. One or two afternoons of each week were devoted to the entertainment of Dutch children of high degree, when unrestricted romping and fun were the order of the day. A large suite of rooms, sparingly furnished, were given up to "blind man's bluff" and endless other games. The queen mother herself taught the princess needle-work. The girl also was trained to cut out pictures and paste them into scrapbooks for the children's hospital. Nearly every day was spent in the open. Wilhelmina, in short, was trained to be a queen by being given a happy, simple child life and girlhood.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is one of the Indian caste women who took a notable part in the recent Madras conferences on the national problems of India. She made one of the stirring speeches which surprised and pleased the men with the powers of Indian womanhood. She said that while other countries were advanced in civilization India was still dealing with social questions which should have been outlived long ago. Pandita Achilambika Anand, a poetess of no mean order, made an eloquent speech, which was punctuated by the appreciative cheers of the audience.

Sowbagyavati Srivongammall, B. A., speaking with the modesty of an Indian woman, said that it was a serious mistake to take girls away from school just when their minds were beginning to blossom and they were realizing the advantages of education. Miss Sundari Lazarus said that in all civilized countries women marched forward hand in hand with men and had proved the truth of the old maxim, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Mrs. Kashibai Devdhar of the Poona Widows' home observed since the inception of the social reform movement its ardent upholders had been lecturing upon the awful evils of early marriage.



## Boon for the Office Girls

By CAROLYN MOWAT

It is most important that the business woman's Sunday be most restful and pleasant, the fresh beginning of the coming week, not the fagged end of the old one. It should be a day to strengthen her during the busy week which follows.

Do not give the best part of the day to mending your clothes or washing your hair.

If you are interested in church work attend morning service, and if you are fond of children teach a class in the Sunday school.

If you love the little domestic duties which your work forces you to renounce, work in the kitchen, dust the parlors, set the table for the Sunday dinner.

Spend a good part of the day out of doors. Young lungs need the fresh air.

Let the evening be a long one; enjoy it in your own way; read, listen to good music, receive or pay visits.

But have your evening begin and end early, allowing you a long night's rest, which will allow you to meet Monday morning vigorous and in good spirits.

## Sabbath Should Be for Rest

By AGNES CLARKE

For the girl who has been shut in by the four walls of an office, or, in fact, the working girl, whatever her vocation may be, there is no boon like Sunday—the day of rest and gladness.

To my mind this little quotation expresses the whole thing in a nutshell.

To derive the most benefit from it, it should be spent in some way that will be an entire change from the week-day routine.

Attending the morning service in her church will give her comfort and solace for all the ills of the last week and strength to meet whatever fate has in store for her in the week to come.

The balance of the day she may visit with friends, take a little jaunt out into the country in fine weather, spend a few hours with her books or music, if so inclined, but in any event she must keep her mind entirely free from the worries that beset her the other six days.

If she follows this rule she will go back to her work every Monday morning with renewed zest and vigor, ready for the fray.

## Word of Advice to Timid Suitors

By MERRITT BATES

Each day I receive at least half a dozen letters from distracted young men asking me how it is possible to tell whether the object of their affection returns their regard.

Apparently most of these young men are afraid of meeting the final test of a definite "yes" or "no." They do not wish to subject themselves to the chance of a possible refusal. In other words, they want the girl to do more than half of the courting for them. They wish to be assured of the girl's love, although they are unwilling to assure her of their own.

These young men forget that a modest girl such as they would naturally choose for a wife will go to almost any lengths to conceal her love for a man who has not avowed his own affection for her.

Take the manly course and tell the girl of your love. Possibly she already cares for you, but if she does not the offer of marriage will at least insure her respect for you.

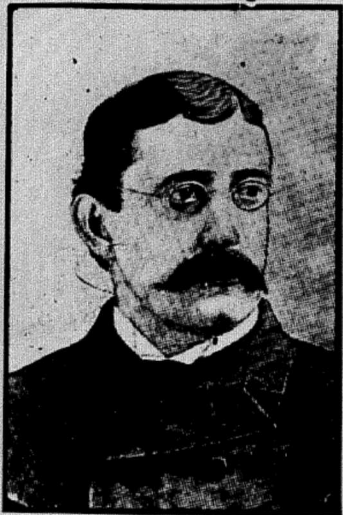
# INCREASE THE CIRCULATION OF ST. LOUIS LABOR

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## MILLER ELECTED PRESIDENT.

### Local No. 2, American Federation of Musicians.

Local No. 2, American Federation of Musicians, known as the Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association, held its annual election Friday, Dec. 17, at the Aschenbroedel Hall, 3535 Pine street, which resulted as follows: President, Owen Miller; vice-president, H. J. Falkenthiner; recording secretary, D. K. Howell; financial secre-



OWEN MILLER.

President Musicians Union Local No. 2, Editor of American Musician, Secretary American Federation of Musicians, and Member of the Board of Freeholders.

ary, Thos. H. Sims; treasurer, Joseph Bergman; trustees, W. A. Rau (chairman), August Centhart, Louis Schick, Jr.; executive board, Fred C. Schmidt (chairman), Louis Leppe, W. E. Roebke, Jara Vrana and F. A. Kuehn; sergeant-at-arms, William P. Bolin; delegates to the Missouri State Federation of Labor, Owen Miller; delegates to the St. Louis C. T. and L. U., Thos. H. Sims, Owen Miller, Otto Ostendorf; alternates, August Centhart, Noah Tarantino, Fred C. Schmidt, F. A. Kuehn; delegates to the East St. Louis C. T. and L. U., P. A. Kuehn; delegate to the Tri-City C. T. U., Fred C. Schmidt.

## TSCHAIKOVSKY AND BRESHKOVSKAYA.

### Their Trial Will Begin Sometime in February.

St. Petersburg, Dec. 25.—Nicholas Tschaikovsky and Catherine Breshkovskaya, who are charged with being members of the revolutionary organization, will be put on trial in February. Copies of the indictment found against them were served today.

There is a petition now on file in Premier Stolypin's office,



KATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY.

signed by about 500 prominent citizens of New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia, requesting assurance from the premier that Tschaikovsky and Madame Breshkovskaya will be given an open and public trial, in accordance with the time-honored principles of justice in all nations.

Both of the defendants in the present case have served long terms of exile in Siberia. Tschaikovsky, who visited the United States in 1907, where he pleaded for the cause to which his life has been devoted, was arrested on his return to Russia and immured in the fortress of St. Peter and Paul. For some time he has been at liberty on bail pending his trial, owing to a serious breakdown in health. Mme. Breshkovskaya also has visited the United States.

Mrs. Breshkovskaya was in St. Louis in 1905. She spoke in a number of meetings, also at Concordia Turner Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Mr. N. O. Nelson, the millionaire manufacturer and philanthropist, arranged a banquet in honor of Mrs. Breshkovskaya at one of the leading downtown restaurants, which was attended by the editors of the Globe-Democrat, St. Louis Republic, Post-Dispatch and other dailies. The late Prof. Soldan, then Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, Rabbi Leon Harrison and the editor of St. Louis Labor were also present. The brave old Russian lady spoke of the sufferings of her people and was listened to with intense interest by the local newspaper fraternity. We hope that Mrs. Breshkovskaya and Tschaikovsky will soon be set free. Both have sacrificed their very lives for the cause of humanity.

## SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

### How to Vote for National Officers.

The ballots for the election of national officers have been supplied to all branches and it is necessary for the members to exercise care in voting, as a new system is being used.

There is but one candidate for National Secretary, which insures his election. There are 27 candidates for the National Executive Committee, seven of which are to be elected. Under the preferential balloting system now in force you must vote on each of the 27 candidates. That is, number them from 1 to 27, giving each candidate a number. If you fail to vote on a single candidate your ballot will not count; likewise, if you duplicate numbers, the ballot is not counted.

The numbers given each candidate are added together and the seven receiving the lowest sum total are declared elected. The advantage claimed for this system is that it assures a majority on the first ballot.

The Central Committee recommended at its meeting on Dec. 27 that the comrades give their lowest numbers to Victor L. Berger, Robert Hunter and A. M. Simons, and to place the high numbers against the names of those candidates that seem most objectionable. As a vicious, concerted effort is being made in certain quarters to defeat these comrades for re-election it is in order to give them a solid vote. Their past record shows that they have an intelligent conception of the party's position and its needs in the future.

## St. Louis Theatrical Brotherhood

Will give its 19th annual ball February 8 at the New Coliseum. Band of 50 pieces!

## Typographical Union No. 8

Will meet hereafter in Hibernian Hall on Finney avenue near Grand. This is the hall formerly used and seems to be popular with the members.

## Masquerade Ball of Vorwaerts Singers.

The Vorwaerts Singing Society will give its 21st annual masquerade ball Saturday, January 15, at the New Club Hall, 13th street and Chouteau avenue. There will be a comedy entitled "The Discovery of the North Pole," presented in German. Admission 25 cents a person.

## John Lennon Not Re-Elected.

Somewhat of a surprise in the ranks of Union Labor throughout the country will be the news that John Lennon was not re-elected national secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' International Union. The election took place on Dec. 13, and the victorious candidate was Bro. Bais of Cleveland, O.

## Coopers' International Union

Will settle its wage dispute by arbitration. The coopers asked for 35 cents an hour. On January 10 the joint committee on arbitration will meet in Cincinnati, where the union will be represented by Editor Frey of the Iron Molders' Journal and labor editor Rist of the Cincinnati Chronicle. Besides, the Coopers' Union will be represented at the conference by Bros. H. Hahn, Wm. Braun and J. Richardson, all of St. Louis. It is expected that an amicable settlement of the wage question will be reached.

## Mrs. Robins to Help Strikers.

Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the Woman's Trade Union League, and Miss Agnes Nestor of the Globe Workers' Union have left Chicago for Philadelphia to aid the waistmakers in conducting the strike declared against the manufacturers of that city. "I believe absolutely that this strike will last but a few days, as we have already settled with three manufacturers and many others are ready to settle," said A. Rosenberg, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who is in charge of the strike.

## Beer Bottlers' Union No. 187 of St. Louis

Elected the following officers for the ensuing term: President, Frank Frey; vice-president, Jas. Schneider; corresponding secretary and business agent, Jos. Fessner; financial secretary-treasurer, Ben Jansen; trustee, Wm. Klages; sergeant-at-arms, John Koehler; inner

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## NOTICE TO TAX PAYERS

Collector's Office—City Hall.

The month of December will be the last month in which taxes for the current year, 1909, can be paid without penalties.

Would advise those who have not paid, but desire to do so, and be promptly waited on, not to wait until the last few days, when the office is crowded.

Statements will be furnished if request is accompanied by EDWARD KOELN, Collector of the Revenue.

## FIRST GRAND RECEPTION AND BALL

GIVEN BY THE

## Brewery Workers' Joint Local Ex. Board

Under Auspices of Brewery Workers' Ass'n of Mo., Branch No. 2.

New Year's Eve., December 31, 1909

New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Ave.

Entrance on Thirteenth Street.

Tickets can be had from Members or at Brewers' Headquarters,

Broadway and Russell Avenue.

ADMISSION 25c A COUPLE.

## Twenty-First Annual Masquerade Ball

—OF THE—

## Workingmen's Singing Society "Vorwaerts"

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

Brewery Workers' Association of Missouri

Saturday, January 15th, 1910

—IN THE—

New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Av.

ADMISSION 25 CENTS.

A Comedy, "THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH POLE," Will Be Presented in German.

guard, Fred Eggemann; outer guard, John Stutzke; local executive board, John Wuerth, Frank Schamel, Arthur Stahl, Herman Gockenbach, William Klages, Jac. Schneider; joint local executive board, Louis Philippi, John Koehler, Ben Jansen, Frank Frey, Jos. Fessner; delegates to next convention, Frank Frey, Louis Philippi and Ben Jansen. JOS. FESSNER, Secretary.

## WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

Adolf F. Germer Will Address Public Meeting on "Cherry Mine Disaster."

The St. Louis Women's Trade Union League will have a public meeting at Self-Culture Hall, 1832 Carr street, Wednesday, January 5, 1910, at 8 o'clock p. m., to which the members and friends of union labor are cordially invited. Come and hear Adolf F. Germer, Secretary-Treasurer Sub-District 6 of Division 12, of United Mine Workers of America, on "Cherry Mine Disaster." Admission free. Refreshment and dancing. There will also be election of officers and Executive Board for ensuing year.

## Compliments From Printers' Home.

Colorado Springs, Colo., Dec. 20, 1909.

St. Louis Labor, St. Louis, Mo.  
On behalf of the residents of the Union Printers' Home I wish to thank you for supplying our library with a complimentary copy of St. Louis Labor during the past year and can assure you the publication has been a source of enjoyment to Home readers.

Trusting you will find it consistent to extend the same courtesy for the coming year, and sincere wishes for the continued success of St. Louis Labor, I remain, very truly yours,

CHAS. DEACON, Superintendent of Union Printers' Home.

Don't you think it is about time for the working class to listen to the voice of the Socialist Party? To the words of Karl Marx: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working people themselves!

Lena Morrow Lewis will speak at Druid's Hall, Sunday, Jan. 2, 1910, at 2 p. m. Remember time and place of meeting. Tell others about it!

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Phones: Kinloch 3056; Bell, Olive 1397-L.

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