

Workingmen of all countries, Unite!
You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

—Marx.

ST. LOUIS LABOR

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, Mo.

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

"The Emancipation of the Working Class must be achieved by the workingmen themselves."

—Marx.

OFFICE: 966 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

ST. LOUIS, MO., DECEMBER 10, 1910.

PHONES: Kinloch, Central 1577; Bell, Olive 4198.

No. 514

The Socialists' Work and Duties

Within the last three months the Socialists and Trade Unionists have had splendid opportunities to study the modern class war, both on the political and economic field.

Especially Organized Labor of St. Louis has had exceptional opportunities for valuable observations.

After a lively political campaign in which capitalist class interests played the directing role, and in which the great mass of wage workers were simply used as political tools to do the work of the master class, we had in St. Louis two of the most important labor parliaments: the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the National Building Trades Department.

In the political campaign the capitalist class, through their obedient servants who are guiding the destinies of the Democratic and Republican parties, every effort was made to keep any and all working class demands in the background. Just like made to order the Prohibitionists came along with their hobby and by getting the prohibition question to a vote of the people, succeeded in protecting the trusts and corporations from any possible attack on the part of the people. It was all prohibition, nothing but prohibition, and prohibition only, that was to save the state of Missouri from ruin and damnation.

Thus the people were worked to such a frame of mind that they would not or could not think of any other problem.

And the capitalist corporations and trusts (outside of the liquor interests) smiled complacently. Neither meat trust, nor flour trust, nor sugar trust, nor coal trust, nor any other trust had anything to fear during the political fight so long as prohibition was the sole and only issue.

Nationally the Democratic party machine got the upper hand, but we may take it for granted that the working class has very little to expect from either of the old parties.

The American Federation of Labor convention was of greater importance to the American Trade Union and Socialist movement than many of the "wise guys" and "clear cuts" will admit.

The convention was conservative, it failed to pass ringing resolutions, it failed to declare a holy war on capitalism, etc.

This is true. But what of it? Is the modern labor movement the result of this kind of work? Radical talk in most cases is not allied with radical action.

The American Federation of Labor is a working class organization. It stands for certain working class demands. In order to realize these demands for the improvement of labor's condition, organization is necessary, agitation is imperative, struggles and battles are unavoidable, defeats and victories follow as natural results.

Although known as conservative labor leaders the three leading officials of the Federation are to-day under sentence of imprisonment for terms from 6 to 12 months. All because they insisted that the civic and political rights of the working class be not trampled upon by the political and judicial hirelings of Capitalism.

The proceedings of the convention revealed the plain fact that the Trade Unions of this country are moving toward greater struggles, toward desperate battles.

The common enemy is at work everywhere—organizing, agitating, disrupting, conspiring against the labor movement. In the opinion of the Citizens' Alliance, Manufacturers' Association and similar combinations of the employing class the trade union movement should be destroyed, prohibited by law, prosecuted as a conspiracy.

On the other hand even the most conservative Trade Unions announce to the world in the millionfold voice of the working class:

"Never! We shall fight for our Unions, suffer for our Unions, if need be, die for this movement! Our Trade Unions shall live!"

What else are these diametrically opposed attitudes of the two great forces in this modern social movement but declarations of war?

On the one side the war for more profit and for the right of exploitation of labor.

On the other side the war for better conditions, for bread, for better homes, for general enlightenment, for human progress, for a higher civilization.

There are the two powerful armies lining up for battle—for the warfare that will continue so long as the capitalist system exists which produces the economic causes of this war.

The Building Trades National Convention which was in session for over one week, showed more than any other gathering of wage workers what tremendous problems the American labor movement will have to solve in the near future.

There is not merely the everlasting fight against the common enemy, but numerous internal troubles, conflicts of interests, and dissensions have to be overcome. These troubles and conflicts can not be overcome by penny-wise philosophy or patent-medicine propositions. They are battles which must be fought out.

It is easy to say that more autonomy would settle this, or industrial unionism would do away with that trouble. But autonomy or industrial unionism these internal and external troubles will continue in some form or other, because the industrial development and the never-ceasing revolution in the transformation of the means and methods of production will create new problems and new complications every day in the year. No one knows this better than the men in the building trades.

We notice in one of our Socialist exchanges that the editor was not quite pleased with the attitude of the Socialist delegates at the A. F. of L. convention. They did not even vote against Sam Gompers for president.

Too bad, indeed!

But our friend forgets that Mr. Gompers is but one little link in the great chain of organization of the labor movement. It is the movement, not Mr. Gompers, we are to help and strengthen. If our Socialist friend points to Gompers as the personification of conservatism and anti-Socialism, Gompers can with even more right point to some Socialist friends like the professor of Daily People fame, and then the question would be in order:

"Who of the two served the labor movement best?"

The Socialist who to-day will not stand shoulder to shoulder with the militant Trade Union movement as represented by the two great conventions above mentioned will work against the best interests of the working class. It is the Socialist's duty, as member of his union, to do all he can to strengthen the organization of his trade, and by doing so he will help in the building up for the general movement.

Because a trade unionist is still opposed to Socialism, or because he cannot see things as we see them, or because he may not yet be as wise as some of us imagine ourselves to be, is no reason why we should not take a leading interest in fighting the battles of Trade Unionism.

Sooner or later the rank and file of the Trade Unionists will learn from their own experience in the daily wage struggles that the Socialist Party is the political organization to which every thinking working man and woman shall belong.

The day is not far distant when to be a good Trade Unionist will mean to be a good, reliable, militant Socialist, and vice versa.

Socialists and Trade Unionists must fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy—Capitalism.

On the industrial battlefield we march under the banner of Trade Unionism as Trade Unionists.

On the political battlefield we follow the glorious banner of the Socialist Party as Socialists and class-conscious working men and women.

Warren Will Try For Habeas Corpus Writ

Appeal Editor Under Sentence Tells What It All Means to Him.

The first editorial statement of Fred D. Warren in regard to the sentence of six months in jail and a fine of \$1,500, imposed upon him by Judge Pollock, appears in the current issue of the Appeal to Reason, as follows:

"The decision of the Court of Appeals is by no means unexpected to me. Knowing something of the inside workings of the courts, as I now do, I felt quite confident there was no other end to our contest with the powers of plutocracy. Rest assured there are no tears and no regrets at this end of the line. Rather do I feel honored that I have thus been singled out as a victim of the wrath of the late Theodore Roosevelt, who, according to the Kansas City Journal, personally ordered this prosecution against me. I would not change places with the discredited boss of Oyster Bay.

Has Hung Like a Pall.

"For nearly four years I have carried this burden with me daily. It has hung like a pall over my little family. It has been with us during our waking moments and in our dreams at night. The suspense is over—nothing now remains but the sentence, and six months will see that ended, so far as myself and my wife and my three babies and dear old mother are concerned, but if I interpret aright the hundreds of telegrams and thousands of letters that are pouring into the office as I write this, the case has not ended so far as capitalism is concerned.

"Words are wholly inadequate to

express to the thousands of comrades who have telegraphed and written to me and to the other members of my family our appreciation of the spirit of comradeship and loyalty expressed in these communications. I can only say that I have enlisted in this cause for life and that so long as I am able I shall do everything in my power to make it forever impossible for a repetition of such a crime against liberty and a free press. You can place no other interpretation on the decision handed down from St. Paul confirming Pollock's sentence and endorsing the unlawful and outrageous unlawful methods employed to secure my conviction. This action was intended to bring about my humiliation and the suppression of the Appeal, but I am not humiliated nor is the Appeal suppressed.

Not a Personal Issue.

"This case was not against me as an individual. It was against me as the editor of the Appeal to Reason, the mouthpiece of the millions of muzzled men and women in the United States.

"I will not take this case to the Supreme Court of the United States. First, for the very good reason that that medieval body has itself laid down the law that in criminal cases (and my alleged offense comes under that class) the United States Court of Appeals is the court of last resort. My case could only be reviewed by the Supreme Court as a special 'favor' granted by some one of the nine corporation attorneys occupying the American throne. I would rot in hell during all eternity than ask a favor of these judicial tyrants.

"Besides this, the expense would

be considerable, and while my friends have expressed an eagerness to contribute to this end, I feel certain that it would be an absolute waste of money, as I am convinced there is but one end to this case. Should this case be hung up in the United States Supreme Court, it would perhaps be years before a decision would be reached, and, personally, I would prefer going to jail now than to wait until later one, when perhaps I would not be physically able to endure the imprisonment.

"There is, however, a way by which I can get this case to the United States Supreme Court and at once. After the United States marshal has turned me over to the sheriff of Fort Scott, I shall immediately make application for a writ of habeas corpus. I shall send my application direct from the jail at Fort Scott by registered mail, not using, as is the custom, attorneys for this purpose. If my application is granted, then I shall go to Washington and appear personally before the Supreme Court and state briefly as I can the reasons why I believe I am unjustly and illegally held and demand my freedom. The course of the Supreme Court in acting on my application for a writ of habeas corpus, which the Constitution provides, shall never be suspended, except in times of war, will be decidedly interesting, and I can assure readers of the Appeal and all those they can interest in this fight for the freedom of the press that there will be interesting doings with'n the next few months.

"Your comrade, on-his-way-to-jail,

"FRED D. WARREN."

A Fine Point.

"Tell me," said the newly-rich lady, as they were discussing points of pronunciation, "do you say 'the Rhine' or 'the Rhone'?" I hear it both ways.—The Christian Register.

St. Louis Socialist Campaign Fund.

B. Brockmeier, tickets	\$ 5.00
F. J. Kloth, tickets	8.90
J. Bitterlich, tickets	10
Collection Strickland meeting	10.50
O. Kaemmerer, tickets	50
Abraham Henz, List No. 117:	
M. Gorman	25
M. Zlatnikoff	10
Jos. Stein	50
A. Helgman	50
Jos. Max	50
Ben Sandstein	50
Sam Stern	25
Jos. Miller, List No. 118:	
T. Sokin	50
Chas. Coffman	50
Mrs. M. Kahn	50
Harry Stein	50
Jno. Mednikow, List No. 115:	
Jno. Mednikow	25
Louis Langer	25
Louis Langer, List No. 141:	
Jno. Mednikow	25
Jos. Zadow, List No. 145:	
A. Totenseyhner	15
D. Jacobs	25
M. Blumenfeld	25
C. Kaminetsky	25
H. J. Morrison, List No. 192:	
D. B. Todd	25
C. Stewart	25
M. Scherstuhl	50
K. Leonard	50
Previously reported	1,946.02
Total to December 6	\$1,978.77

The 1910 Campaign Fund.

"Nothing succeeds like success." Even the most enthusiastic comrade did not think that our campaign fund would go over \$2,000 this year. Such is the case, however, and Christmas time will show that we are well past the \$2,000 mark. The year 1910 has been an exceedingly good one for the Socialist Party in St. Louis—and 1911 promises to be still better. The big things accomplished are a guarantee of bigger things in the future.

Berger on A. F. of L. Convention.

We Must Present a Solid Front to the Enemy.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labor was in many respects a tiresome and sleepy affair—with its numerous jurisdiction squabbles that had been settled before, settled again and yet never can be settled, as long as the present structure of unionism in America remains as it is.

But on this very point the last convention proved to be almost revolutionary. It practically decided to abandon trades autonomy. This convention paved the way for a new policy—for Industrialism.

Of course, this new departure did not come in the form of a "resolution."

It came rather innocently in the form of a decision of President Gompers "on a point of order" during the discussion over the admission of the Western Federation of Miners into the American Federation of Labor.

The Western Federation of Miners, as everybody knows, is an industrial organization, which has jurisdiction over the engineers, firemen, carpenters, teamsters and machinists working in and about the mines and smelters.

This jurisdiction was contested by the general officers of the respective organizations, and especially by James O'Connell, the General President of the International Association of Machinists, and Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. He went so far as to threaten secession if the charter was granted to the Western Federation of Miners under these conditions, and quoted the trades autonomy paragraph of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of his position.

And he was right as to the Constitution. This clause would of necessity bar the Western Federation of Miners as long as they clung to their present form of organization. O'Connell made this provision of the Constitution "a point of order."

However—"what's the Constitution among friends?" said Flannigan of Texas once upon a time.

Gompers took the matter under advisement until the next day, and then decided against O'Connell—stating that if this position were adhered to, not only would the Western Federation of Miners be barred, but also the railway organizations.

And he might have added the United Mine Workers, Carpenters and Painters and several other unions which are to-day virtually industrial organizations or becoming such very rapidly.

To make a long story short, the force of economic development is rapidly changing the entire structure of our trade unions.

We Socialists have seen this for a long time. We have for years contended for an industrial form of organization. If Gompers and the majority of the Executive Council have now come to see this in the same light as we—it may be a little late, but it is surely not too late.

And we note with satisfaction that they are willing to profit by experience and to act accordingly.

This was probably the most important action of this convention.

I say "convention," because Gompers' decision was appealed from by James O'Connell, but was upheld by the convention with a tremendous majority.

As for an independent labor party—that was not even mentioned. And rightly so. An independent labor party after the English pattern might have been possible in this country five or ten years ago. It has become impossible now.

On the 8th of November of this year the Socialist Party of the United States polled over 800,000 votes in this country. That is more than an independent labor party could possibly hope to poll.

The Socialist Party—the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin—has always been the de jure labor party, and now has become the de facto labor party.

A union labor party could at best be only a makeshift—and a poor makeshift at that—in places where the working people are still afraid of the word "Socialism." And there are very few such places in this country now.

Our victory in Milwaukee last spring and our victory again this fall have settled this question for good in this country.

Besides, it is not the business of the trade union as such to go into politics.

The union has to take care of the economic field, while it is the mission of the Socialist Party of America, as in every other country, to express the demands of the working class in the political field.

The Socialist delegates at this convention refrained from putting up a ticket against Samuel Gompers and the present Executive Council. And they will continue this course as long as Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison are under sentence of imprisonment for the cause of labor. No matter how we may disagree on questions of trades or tactics, we must present a solid front against the capitalist enemy.

This was ago recognized by the pure and simple, who unanimously adopted protest resolutions in the case of Fred Warren and against the extradition of Fedorenko, a Russian revolutionist in Canada. The introduction of these resolutions required unanimous consent—they came after the regular time for the introduction of resolutions had expired. This shows that the other side also recognizes the necessity of this sort of solidarity.

Resolutions were also passed instructing the Executive Council to issue an appeal to all international, national and local federated bodies for financial aid in Los Angeles.

Since the capitalist press of St. Louis and of the country in general has tried to make it appear that the Socialists intended to capture the convention and commit it to the Socialist Party, writer gave out a statement in the name of the Socialist delegates. After referring to the various resolutions upon the attitude of the Socialists towards the trade unions passed at the national conventions of the Socialist Party in 1904, 1908 and 1910, and by the International Socialist Congress of Stuttgart in 1907, and Copenhagen in 1910, this statement continued as follows:

"The Unions and the Socialist Party have equally an important part to perform in this struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy control of its line of action.

"The Socialist Party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist or methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions and to evolve in the direction of ever closer solidarity and ever more effective action on the industrial field.

"It is the interest and duty of the Socialist Party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material social conditions."

Take it all in all, we are making good headway. There can be no doubt that the trade unionists all over the country are joining the Socialist Party and voting its tickets in larger numbers from year to year. They recognize, in spite of all the deliberate misrepresentations on the part of the capitalist press and certain church dignitaries, that, after all, the Socialist Party is not only their only hope for the emancipation of the working class, but is also the only political weapon they have in every conflict with their masters.

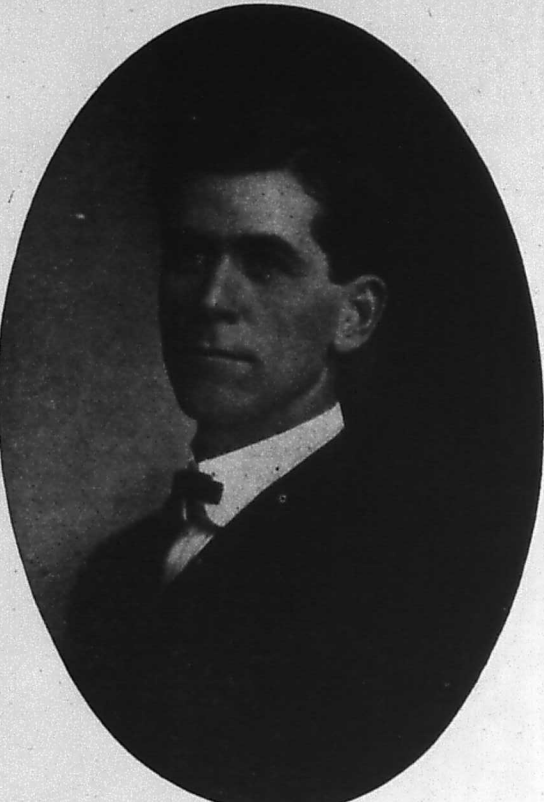
VICTOR L. BERGER.

To the Members of the Socialist Party of Missouri.

Chillicothe, Mo., December 1, 1910.

TO THE SOCIALISTS OF MISSOURI:

Comrades:—In allowing my name to stand as a candidate for State Secretary of the Socialist Party, I desire to say that I do so with reluctance, impelled rather by what I deem my duty than from choice, as it



WILLIAM L. GARVER.

means material sacrifice on my part and an apparent contest for which I have no desire.

I have been an active member of the Socialist Party for ten years, and for twenty years have held to revolutionary concepts, as far back as 1890 being a member of a Utopian Socialist Colony, known as the Topolobampo Colony, on the western coast of Mexico. I have been a delegate to three National Conventions of the Socialist Party—in 1904, 1908 and 1910—and was the candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1904 and for Governor in 1908.

In all the period of my membership I have never asked for a single vote for myself, and if I could look upon it as a personal matter, I should certainly do the same now. But I consider that a crisis exists in the party of the State, and for this reason I shall forget myself and stand for State Secretary as the representative of certain principles in regard to tactics in the party.

I affirm that under the cry of "Fusion" the organi-

zation in the State has come under the control of men who hold the views of the old "Socialist Labor Party," and they are endeavoring to convert it into a DeLeonite party, opposed to all constructive political policies and existing simply as an organization of protest against capitalism, where every immediate interest of the working class is ignored for the propagation of ultra-revolutionary principles. These men, dominated by what has come to be called "Impossibilism," have no use for our National party policy and what are known as "Immediate Demands," holding that they tend to confuse the issue and lead the minds of the workers from the final aims of Socialism. Holding as they do that the different religions are but so many props of Capitalism, they have declared war upon all religions. Holding that the modern Trade Unions tend to deceive the workers into believing that they can secure what they desire through the unions, they antagonize all Trade Unions until they agree to transform themselves in conformity with their own Utopian concepts. Believing that Socialists cannot secure Socialism until they have a majority in office, supported by a majority of voters who are all Socialists, they would not take office until this majority is obtained, absolutely ignoring all ameliorative legislation that might be forced by an aggressive minority. These men rightfully belong to the old "Socialist Labor Party"; but, in conformity with their tactics, they have come into our Socialist Party to undermine and work from within until they transform it into an S. L. P. organization. They are not in sympathy with the Socialist Party's original tactics, as agreed upon and outlined in national conventions; they simply come in to capture it for their ideas. They pursue the same tactics in the Trade Unions; they do the same in every strike. Their hearts are not with the strikers—they sneer at their ignorance—but use the period of strife to propagate their ultra-revolutionary ideas.

As opposed to these ideas, which inevitably lead to anarchistic tactics, I am in favor of a constructive political policy as is in practice in Germany and Milwaukee; not for a moment losing sight of the final aims of Socialism and the Co-Operative Commonwealth, but believing that everything we can gain to-day without compromise will aid in the attainment of our ultimate demands. I would not at any time cease to work for the complete abolition of the competitive wage and profit system and every form of exploitation, but I am in favor of entering Congress and the Legislatures as a minority and working for such measures as a well-organized, aggressive Socialist minority may be able to get.

If the tactics of the Impossibilist faction now in control of the State office continues, the Socialist organization in the State will degenerate into a narrow, dogmatic sect for the discussion of academic phrases. The attitude of the supporters of this narrow, unsocialistic policy is well exemplified by the utterances of such men

as Thompson of Kansas City, who has repeatedly declared in speeches that the Milwaukee Socialist Party is not a Socialist Party and of great danger to the Socialist Party of America.

The Secretary of the Kansas City Local, Mrs. Thompson, publicly declared that if she had her way she would fire Victor L. Berger from the party, and also Robert Hunter and A. M. Simons. She also declared that Stanley J. Clark has turned conservative in order to hold his job as National Organizer. Weber of the same faction in Kansas City, in a public speech, November 27th, said that Simons and Unterman were dishonest, and had become opportunists in order to draw salaries from the party. This same attitude of mind dominates those in power in the organization in Joplin, and the membership of the State has permitted men like these and their appointees to expel from the party or force into the background all the workers who believe in a broad, really Socialist and constructive movement on political lines.

It is time for the membership of the State to become informed upon these two schools of policy and tactics in the Socialist Party; they are not peculiar to Missouri alone, for they exist in all the States, and the State office should at all times do what it can to see that any member get into possession of full information upon any policy of the party.

The State office in the last year has done nothing to uphold the Socialist organization in the State. From the very beginning of its reign, last January, it has fooled the membership with Referendum after Referendum, upon which they were asked to vote without information. And while these Referendums, according to the Constitution, shall be submitted without comment, the State Secretary has not hesitated to use his official position to influence the vote by personal letters, which, owing to the prestige of his office, carried weight with new Locals. Such letters were written to James Crabb, Local Secretary at Eldorado Springs, and to John Sproul, Secretary at Rich Hill. He also returned unaccounted fifteen votes of Local Nevada, simply because the actual ballots, signed by the different members, were sent in instead of a total made up by the Socialist Secretary, and because these votes were opposed to his desire in the matter.

Instead of securing Referendums by intelligent discussions in advance, he and his Quorum has circularized new Locals, and certain Locals dominated by their partisans, to call for such Referendums. In the very midst of a political campaign, when every working Socialist was in the field, he had his partisans spring a lot of amendments to the State Party Constitution without any discussion, said amendments in many respects centralizing additional power in the State Secretary, with the inevitable dangers of abuse.

I further charge that in order to force all opposition to his will he refused to pay four duly elected dele-

gates to the State Convention their fares and expenses, after the same had been promised and the expense incurred upon such assurance, and all because these delegates were constrained by the laws of the State to recognize the credentials of certain St. Louis delegates, who had lost standing in the organization through the abuse originating from Joplin, when, if these delegates had acted otherwise, and turned the convention over to so-called delegates—not elected according to the laws of the State—the State authorities could have refused to recognize such a convention and party, and the Socialist Party would have had no ticket, the right of the name Socialist then passing to the so-called Socialist Labor Party, as the friends of that party desire.

As the accusation will no doubt be made that, if I am elected, the expelled Socialist Local in St. Louis will be recognized, I want to emphatically state that I do not believe in Czars and will not practice Czarism, but I do believe in full and impartial knowledge on such important issues as those involved in the St. Louis question, and shall certainly use my efforts to enlighten the whole party membership upon the facts in the case.

While deprecating the necessity of reference to these factional matters, I am confident that I am doing this for the best interests of the party. The Socialist Party is a growing organization, and these are the growing pains. They will awaken the rank and file of the membership to their obligations, and I have complete confidence in this magnificent body of workers once they become fully informed. In 1908 I went all over the State speaking for Socialism, leaving my professional work as an architect lie idle, thus realizing the munificent wage of \$1.50 per day from the collections along the way. This fall I again left my professional work and spoke for three months for \$2.50 per day, raised by the comrades. I have, however, enjoyed the enthusiasm that comes from the work and the acquaintances I have made among the comrades, who are as noble and true a body of men and women as ever gathered under the banner of human freedom. Already twenty thousand voters in Missouri have joined with them, and hundreds of thousands are at the point of turning. Let us awaken to the opportunities now before us and join hands for a truly democratically conducted organization, where the full majority of all members rule, and not a small plurality of a one-third minority.

Yours for Socialism and the Socialist Party,

W. L. GARVER.

P. S.—As the present State Secretary is a candidate, and he and his Quorum will count the vote, I request that each Secretary mail me a duplicate of the vote of his Local at the same time he mails it to Secretary Ristine.

W. L. GARVER,

Independence, Mo.

R. F. D. No. 4, Box 3-E.

UNDER SOCIALISM

Comrade Eugene V. Debs addressed a rousing meeting at the Grand Opera House in Great Falls. The following remarks are quoted from his eloquent address:

"Each year the vast wealth of this country is being centralized more and more. As time goes on and centralization increases, so will our organization increase, and when the proper time comes Socialism will, by the natural evolution of things, be the result.

"Among other things which Socialism will do will be to take 2,000,000 little children out of dungeons and send them into the play grounds—take them out of sweatshops and send them into the light and air.

"Under Socialism every man will work fewer hours and have more time for study, social pleasures and rest. He will be able to develop himself along the lines which appeal to him, and for which he is best adapted, instead of being compelled to do the bidding of others and oftentimes working at certain kinds of labor which are repulsive to him.

"Under Socialism there will be no war. I want to ask you why the producing classes of two countries should shoulder guns and kill each other in order to protect the property of those who produce nothing and who do not go to war.

"Can there be a more repulsive, more terrible or more heart-touching scene than that of a battle ground? In the early morning a green field greets the eye. The birds are singing, the sun is shining, and the sweet perfume of nature's most beautiful flowers is in the air. And then the battle. Property is destroyed, human flesh is torn into shreds by cannon and rifle ball, and the dead and dying are piled in heaps. Oh, the horror of war! Not alone the horrors of the battlefield, but the agony which comes to the mothers who sent their boys to the front, and the agony of all the dear ones left behind. And all for what?

"When Rockefeller was on the witness stand during the \$29,000,000 joke trial, he said that he didn't know anything about the Standard Oil Company's business during the past seven years, as he had had nothing to do with it. But he also admitted that he had received hundreds of millions of dollars in profits from the same company during that time.

"If all the owners of railroads left the United States you wouldn't know about it unless you read the announcement in the newspapers. The roads would run just the same, as the 2,000,000 employes, working co-operatively, would conduct things in the same manner as though the owners were here. Why, then, should you not have the full product of your earnings if you run the roads and produce the wealth?

If Guggenheim had to work in a mine for a week, there would be no more mine explosions. If Rockefeller had to clean sewers for a day, there would be sewer cleaning machinery to do all the work in the future.

"There are nine judges on the Supreme Court bench. No one of them was placed there by the people. All were appointed for life. Those nine judges represent nine corporation attorneys. And still you wonder why decisions favorable to the corporations are handed down from time to time. Won't you ever wake up, won't you stop a moment and think?

"But times are changing. As proof of this I point to the attitude toward Socialism to-day and the attitude of a few years ago. Recently President Taft said: 'Socialism to-day is the greatest question which the American people have to deal with.' They are beginning to realize that Socialism 'must' be dealt with. They are beginning to know that it is coming and coming rapidly. And well they may, for you can no more stop the onward rush of this truthful product of evolution than you can stop the rush of water in the river.

"This being the case, you cannot afford to put off the study of Socialism. You should study it to-day, and to-morrow, and keep studying it. The man who scoffs at it, or the man who ignores it, is going to be compelled to recognize Socialism in the near future.

"I wish, also, to advise you to follow no one man. Do not take any man's ideas or doctrines. Study for yourself. Read and think, but do not ignore Socialism without reading and thinking."

Frances Willard

BY WINFIELD GAYLORD,
Socialist State Senator of Wisconsin.

I hold in my hand the picture of Frances Willard. Many of you know her. I want to read you something from Frances Willard, who for years was the leader of this great temperance movement, and whose personality I venture to say has furnished lasting impetus to the temperance movement and inspiration to those who have been fighting a hard battle for the cause they believe to be right. I want to read something she said at the national convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1897. It was the last meeting before her death. She said:

What Frances Willard Said:

"Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it for discerning eyes the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hand. But is it not the cruellest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steadily at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

"I would not take by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the 400 years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable; indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

"I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the day of universal brotherhood.

"Oh! that I were young again, and it should have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

Absolute Facts.

Sub-Local Union No. 1, I. B. of E. W., desires to state that we have not been absorbed by Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. E. E., that we are still in the operating field, that we have increased our membership to twice its original number, all competent men who have passed a rigid examination, and whom we can highly recommend as superior mechanics in the moving picture line. We wish to state further that we do not now, or never have, considered a consolidation of Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. E. E., and Sub-Local Union No. 1, I. B. of E. W. Therefore we emphatically deny that there is any truth in the statements issued by Local Union No. 143, I. A. T. E. E., both by letter and advertising in the Post-Dispatch of Sunday, October 23rd. Our headquarters are not in a "club," but in a respectable hotel, the Wellington, 715 Pine street, and we can be found there at any hour.

Thanking you for past favors and hoping that you will not pay any attention to unfounded reports circulated by other organizations, we beg to remain sincerely yours,

SUB-LOCAL UNION NO. 1, I. B. of E. W.
A. Shading President.
E. D. James, Vice-President.
H. T. Koch, Financial Secretary.
W. L. Jackson, Rec. Secretary.
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Fred. Warren's Crime

Warren's "crime" apparently consisted in this, that he tried to do, or to cause others to do, that which the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced to be perfectly legal when it was done.

The actual kidnaping, in the dead of night, of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from the state of Colorado to the state of Idaho was declared by the United States Supreme Court to have been a perfectly proper and legal act. But the attempt, or the offer of a reward for the attempt, to kidnap ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky and to deliver him to the judicial authorities in his own state has been adjudged a crime punishable by heavy fine and imprisonment.

Whence this difference? Why is a mere attempt a crime, and the accomplished act no crime whatever?

Can it be that the accomplished act was right and proper for the reason that the sufferers and the victims were labor leaders, while the unsuccessful attempt was a crime for the reason that the person against whom the attempt was aimed was a prominent capitalist politician?

Perish the thought! The equality of all citizens before the law is a sacred principle of American jurisprudence, which it were almost blasphemy to doubt. Particularly when we consider that the offer of a reward for the arrest of fugitives from "justice" is quite an ordinary practice resorted to by constituted authorities everywhere. Warren's "crime" must be deeper and blacker than any overt act or attempt for which he was compelled to appear in court. And if this "crime" does not consist in being a Socialist, we do not know what it does consist in.

In Warren's case, moreover, this crime assumed a particularly offensive and flagrant aspect, for Warren is the editor of a Socialist paper with a large circulation. A crime so unusual certainly merits exemplary punishment.

And yet this revolting crime was not mentioned in course of either trial of the case.—The Call.

What the Warren Sentence Means

The decision of the Federal Court of Appeals in the Warren case is perfectly consistent with capitalist class rule in the United States.

Warren goes to jail for offering a reward for a capitalist politician under indictment for crime; while the same court sanctions and legalizes the kidnaping of innocent workmen by corporation brigands, and to reach this capitalistic conclusion required four long years and thousands of dollars of costs, the net result of which is that kidnaping is legal if the law under capitalist misrule in the United States.

Warren knew the end from the beginning, but was determined to make the capitalist court show its hand that the people might see the confidence game it is playing.

The court of Appeals waited, just as we predicted, until after the election before handing down its decision.

Now the doom of Warren is solemnly pronounced and the prison doors close upon him.

Hail to Warren, the champion of the working class, whose loyalty is attested in his prison cell!

The capitalist courts have crowned him!
All the world will honor him!

Other hands will grasp the revolutionary banner Warren has upheld and other Comrades will step into the place made vacant by his absence. What he has said about the capitalist courts we reiterate.

What he has done to bring down their wrath upon him we approve and stand ready to go to jail for, or to the gallows.

We take back not one word and we apologize for nothing.

The capitalist courts we look upon as whitened sepulchers filled with dead workmen's bones. We hold them in horror and contempt.

They can arrest us all, but they cannot arrest the Social Revolution.

Warren's imprisonment will arouse the working class, inspire the revolutionary host, and hasten the overthrow of capitalist despotism, the triumph of truth and the reign of rights.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Tolstoi Against Capital Punishment

St. Petersburg, November 30.—The Associated Press received early to-day from Vladimir Tschertkoff, literary agent for the late Count Tolstoi, the last article written by the Count. It is entitled: "Effective Means."

It was written by Tolstoi in the Optina Monastery, in November, shortly after he began his self-imposed exile from home.

The article was given the Associated Press by M. Tschertkoff at the express wish of Count Tolstoi for dissemination to mankind. It says:

"I am naturally anxious to do all I can against evil, which tortures the best spirits of our time.

"I think the present effective war against capital punishment does not need forcing; there is no need for an expression of indignation against its immorality, cruelty and absurdity; every sincere, thinking person, everybody knowing from youth the Sixth Commandment, needs no explanation of its absurdity and immorality; there is no need for descriptions of the horrors of executions, as they only affect hangman, so men will more unwillingly become executioners and governments will be obliged to compensate them more dearly for their services.

"Therefore, I think that neither the expression or indignation against the murder of our fellow-men, nor the suggestion of its horror is mainly needed; but something totally different.

"As Kant well says, there are delusions which cannot be disproved, and we must communicate to the deluded mind knowledge which will enlighten, and then the delusions will vanish by themselves.

"What knowledge need we communicate to the deluded human mind regarding the indispensableness, usefulness or justice of capital punishment in order that said delusion may destroy itself?"

"Such knowledge in my opinion is this: The knowledge of what is man, what his surrounding world, what his destiny; hence what man can and must do, and principally what he cannot and must not do.

"Therefore, we should oppose capital punishment by inculcating this knowledge to all men, especially to hangmen's managers and sympathizers who wrongfully think they are maintaining their position, thanks only to capital punishment.

"I know that it is not an easy task. The employers and approvers of hangmen, with the instinct of self-preservation, feel that this knowledge will make impossible the maintenance of the position which they occupy; hence not only will they themselves not adopt it, but by all means in their power, by violence, deceit, lies, and cruelty, they will try to hide from the people the knowledge, distorting it and exposing its disseminators to all kinds of privations and suffering.

"Therefore, if we readily wish to destroy the delusion of capital punishment, and if we possess the knowledge which destroys this delusion, let us, in spite of all menaces, deprivations and sufferings, teach the people this knowledge, because it is solely the effective means in the fight.

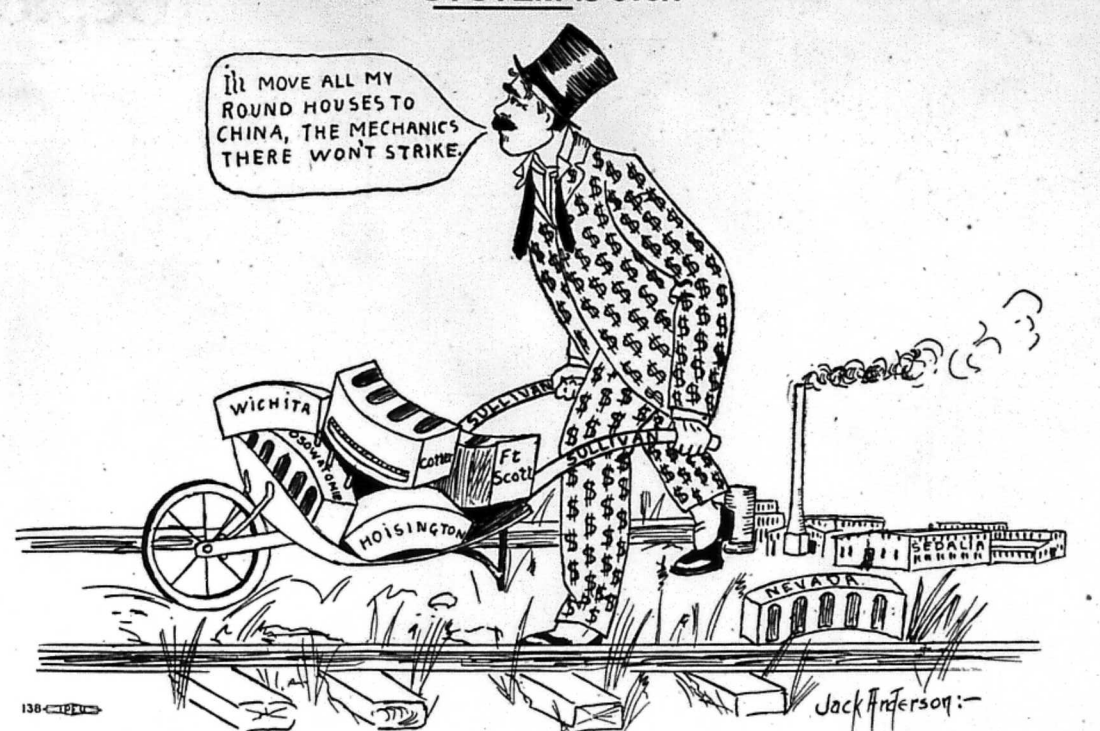
"Leo Tolstoi, Optina Monastery, November 11."

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CZARISM IN CALIFORNIA.

Labor Meeting in San Diego Germania Hall Prevented by Police and Men Arrested for Distributing Announcements.

CAPITALIST ANARCHY REIGNS SUPREME IN SAN DIEGO.

The following report appeared in the San Diego (Cal.) Daily Sun. It portrays the capitalist political anarchy reigning supreme not only in Los Angeles, but also in San Diego and other California cities. The San Diego Sun reports:

"The meeting of the Industrial Workers of the World, scheduled to be held at Germania Hall Sunday night, at which the Haymarket riot was to have been commemorated, was prevented by the local police when the members of the union endeavored to open the hall.

"Charles Hopkins and Francisco Martinez, members of the union, who were passing out cards to advertise the meeting, were taken in custody by the police and held at police headquarters. The men were photographed and measured in the police identification bureau, like criminals, although warrants were issued for their arrest, and absolutely no incriminating evidence was obtained against them.

"Members of the I. W. W. at once went to police headquarters to get information in regard to the charges against Hopkins and Martinez, but say they could get no information. The men were released after being detained for some time. A number of the issues of the official I. W. W. organ and song books or the order were taken from them when they were searched.

"When it was discovered that the police would not allow a meeting at Germania Hall, the I. W. W. made a strong protest, declaring that their right of free speech in a hired hall was being infringed upon by the police. They also say they are being persecuted by the authorities when their members are held without evidence against them. Concerning the meeting, a member of the order declared Monday:

"The meeting was to have been held at Germania Hall and was to have been for the purpose of industrial unionism and the I. W. W. Incidentally, we were to comment upon the hanging of five innocent workmen in Chicago on November 11, 1887, on a charge made up by the interests opposed to Socialism. The day is past when the capitalist class can do anything like that again, but, nevertheless, we see the police still kidnaping the workers and branding them as criminals in the interests of the exploiters."

"We stopped the meeting," said Chief Wilson to a Sun reporter Monday. "Two of the men were held, although they were not placed under arrest. If you want any laws on the subject, the district attorney should be able to quote them."

"The chief said he was of the opinion held in San Diego as long as the object of the meeting is advertised as being in commemoration of such incidents as the Haymarket riot."

Editorially the San Diego Sun has this to say on the police anarchy:

"STOPPING FREE SPEECH. "The Sun has always given Chief of Police Wilson credit for being a good and fearless police officer, with good judgment. For that reason it is hard to see what caused him to order a meeting of the I. W. W. stopped Sunday at Germania Hall.

"The members of the I. W. W. make the sad mistake of going around in the attitude of the boy with the chip on his shoulder and inviting trouble, but, even if they are more or less troublesome, and even if perhaps most San Diegans would be glad to have them quiet down, they have as much right to live and speak, as long as they behave themselves, as Dr. Guild, Dr. Thorpe, Austin Adams, D. C. Collier or any other public speaker or public man. The Sun knows of no reason under the constitution of the nited States why the I. W. W. should not be allowed to start a meeting in any hall in this city to commemorate the Haymarket riots, or any other riots, as long as the members do about it in a peaceable and quiet way. If, after the meeting started, any speaker was guilty of riot-inciting talk or seditious exclamation, the police ought

to stop him and stop the meeting, but not until then.

"It is the fundamental presumption of law that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty, and it is certainly fair to presume that he is innocent until he commits some overt act.

"Chief Wilson was wrong in preventing that meeting, and made another mistake in arresting two of the men who were interested in it. As a result, they now have a mighty good civil case against the city and a lot of unnecessary trouble has been stirred up. And San Diego has been put in the position of denying to a man the constitutional right of free speech."

Our Milwaukee Letter

By E. A. Thomas.

What the Capitalists Would Like to Do to the Socialists in the Next Municipal Election.

A FUSION TICKET PROPOSED.

The anti-Socialists of Milwaukee are certainly in a panicky frame of mind. Just how to beat the Socialists a year from next spring is already the object of their anxious thought. Although the next city election will not take place for eighteen months, they have already formed a plan. They intend to fuse the Republicans and Democrats together in order to beat the Socialists. They are very frank in explaining this purpose and make no secret of how they are going to carry it out.

Already two candidates are named, either one of whom, the anti-Socialists imagine, could beat Mayor Seidel in 1912 on a fusion ticket. One of these candidates is the Democratic candidate for Governor, who has just been so badly defeated in Wisconsin. But as there is very little left of the once powerful Democratic party of Milwaukee, this plan does not seem very feasible. The other candidate is a big employer of labor, who is now bringing

suit against the Social-Democratic Herald and its directors for saying just what they thought of his methods as an employer. His nomination would absolutely solidify the working class of Milwaukee and bring out the last workingman to vote the Socialist ticket.

These nominations cannot, therefore, be praised for their wisdom. But certainly the anti-Socialists of Milwaukee can be commended for their forethought. It is much to be hoped that they will actually succeed in getting together the remnants of the Republican and Democratic machines. Such a fusion would line up things on just the right lines—a Socialist Party and an Anti-Socialist party.

Perhaps this state of things all over the country is coming much sooner than we expect. It is a significant fact that the Republicans and Democrats propose to fuse even in the judicial election, which till now has always been a non-partisan election. And they openly give their reason for this fusion, "Anything to beat the Socialists!"

All of which shows how rapidly Socialism is becoming the issue in America generally and in Milwaukee in particular.

E. H. THOMAS, State Secretary.

Milwaukee, Wis.

DEBS WILL STEP IN.

Announcement that He Will Keep the Fires Burning While Warren's Hand Is Stopped.

Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 28.—It was announced to-day that Eugene V. Debs, former Socialist candidate for President, would go to Girard, Kan., to become editor of the Appeal to Reason while Fred D. Warren serves his jail sentence.

Warren was sentenced for distributing through the mails certain printed matter held to be inflammatory. The sentence was unstayed by the Appellate Court a week ago, and Warren was left the choice of going to jail or appealing to the Supreme Court.

Debs sent word to "pass the Supreme Court and go to jail."

Probably Insane.

"A man on our side of the river," remarked the Ohio man, "recently emptied a pint bottle of whisky at a single drink, and died from the effects."

"That man, suh," rejoined the Kentucky Colonel, "must have been crazy. Any sane man, suh, ought to know there is at least two drinks in a pint bottle of whisky."—Chicago News.

Laugh and the world laughs with you; snore and you sleep alone.

Pat's Challenge.

Judge—You are privileged to challenge any member of the jury now being empaneled."

"Well, then, yer honor, O'll foight the schmall mon wid wan eye in the corner there ferninst yez."—London Idler.

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1837 KENNETT PLACE.

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WHAT ABOUT THE NEW CITY CHARTER?

In the opinion of the progressive citizens of St. Louis, it is about high time for the Board of Freeholders to let the public know something about their work. There has been altogether too much secrecy about the business of the Freeholders and too many "assurances" that the new charter would be the best document of this kind ever brought to light. Our honorable Freeholders are hiding behind the mysterious clouds of divine legislation, like old man Moses on the mountain of Sinai. We hope that the reappearance of the "Thirteen Apostles" in the light of day will not be accompanied by the roars of thunder and the spectacle of lightning, else the people of St. Louis will be almost scared to death, like the Children of Israel when Moses descended from the cloudy atmosphere of Mount Sinai. By the way: Will Taft permit Mr. Lehmann to "grant" St. Louis an up-to-date city charter? Was it not Taft who tried to undo the Oklahoma Constitution? God knows!

TAFT TO PROTECT TRUSTS.

President Taft sent a 30,000-word message to Congress. It is a remarkable document. The President says he cannot recommend any amendment to the anti-Trust law. "In other words," so he says, "it seems to me that the existing legislation with reference to the regulation of corporations and the restraint of their business has reached a point where we can stop for a while and witness the effect of the vigorous execution of the laws on the statute books in restraining the abuses which certainly does exist and which roused the public to demand reform. If this test develops a need for further legislation, well and good, but until then let us execute what we have. Due to the reform movements of the present decade, there has undoubtedly been a great improvement in business methods and standards. The great body of business men of this country, those who are responsible for its commercial development, now have an earnest desire to obey the law and to square their conduct of business to its requirements and limitations."

What fools these mortals be!

How could they ever attempt to injure the trusts and corporations? The "business interests" have an earnest desire to be good, and fair, and just, and honest. So President Taft says. And who will doubt his word? He, the chief executive, who is so intimately acquainted with the leading trust magnates and corporation kings—he knows what he is talking about.

Indeed, Hon. Taft is the capitalists' best President that ever put a foot in the White House. And he takes good care of the capitalist interests, too.

THE PLOT DIDN'T MATERIALIZE.

The plot to destroy railroad property by the striking metal mechanics, alleged to have been discovered by company officials, and which was published broadcast in the daily press, and, as announced, would involve the "highest officials" in the union, had failed to materialize.

These allegations are based upon a confession alleged to have been made by two boys, employed at the Missouri Pacific shops at Kansas City. From the best information obtainable no confession, as reported in the papers, was made.

The reported confession was sent out broadcast to prejudice the public against the strikers. These boys, it appears, were arrested in violation of every known process at law. They were held without a warrant; were beaten almost into insensibility in order to force them to confess to something they were not guilty of.

After having been brutally beaten until they had become nearly unconscious a paper was handed them to sign, with the statement that unless they did sign they would be given another "dose." The boys, no doubt, were too dazed to even read the contents of the paper, and signed it for fear of further brutal treatment.

An attorney from Washington, D. C., is now on the ground, who has charge of the case, and before he gets through there will be some "highest officials" playing checkers with their nose, and these "highest officials" won't be from the unions.

The day when men, much less mere boys, can be made the victims of cruel torture in order to wring from them a confession, whether they be guilty or innocent or wrongdoing, has gone by, never to return. And those who attempt these inhuman, brutal tactics will be held accountable to an indignant, humane public for their fell actions.—THE LIBERATOR, SEDALIA, MO.

WHOLESALE FRAUD CHARGED.

The Democrats of Missouri, in all their political purity and unquestionable honesty, served notice of contest on Republican candidates for State offices. Wholesale fraud in St. Louis at the last November elections is charged; also intimidation and false returns, etc. It is claimed that in St. Louis city and county over 20,000 people voted on November 8 who were not entitled to do so. The same old story:

When thieves fall out,
Honest people, etc., etc.

IN MEMORIAM.

The Memory of Hannah Hennessy Honored by Organized Labor.

At the last regular meeting of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, Delegate Charles Goodman submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted by a rising unanimous vote:

"Whereas, Our friend and fellow-worker, Hannah Hennessy, has, in accordance with the solemn law which governs all members of the human family, passed away from her earthly relation to us, her loving sisters, be it
"Resolved, That we do earnestly and warmly put upon record our appreciation of her long and devoted service to the cause of Trade Unionism, covering the full period of her industrial life; and be it further
"Resolved, That we gratefully acknowledge, as women, our debt to her service and faithful efforts during the last years of her life in extending among women workers the best principles and methods of organized labor; and be it still further
"Resolved, That we express as fully as may be our own sorrow at the loss of our comrade and our deep sympathy with her bereaved family."

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

SESSION OF DECEMBER 1.

Committees in Session Have Lively Times.

"This is the fourth day of the convention and we have not yet been able to open the regular business," said Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department on Thursday. "But there are exciting times in the committees," continued Mr. Spencer, "and the big fights on jurisdiction questions they have in these committees seem to be brought into the convention, too." This morning the convention was in session but for a short while and then adjourned, because none of the committees had yet succeeded in agreeing on important questions and submit reports.

SESSION OF DECEMBER 2.

Machinists Admitted to Membership in Department.

SHEET METAL WORKERS, CARPENTERS, STEAM FITTERS, PLUMBERS AND LATHERS HAVE LIVELY JURISDICTION FIGHTS.

Several important questions were up before the Building Trades Department convention Friday. The convention, after a two hours' debate, decided that no question of importance, such as involving the revocation of charters or unseating of factions of international unions in local councils, shall not be definitely settled by the department so long as the same disputes are still pending before the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council. This decision is far-reaching, in so far as it affects some of the worst disputes in the American labor movement, like the factional fight among the Electrical Workers.

President Kirby, in his annual report, had recommended that the Reid faction of Electrical Workers be unseated in all the local Building Trade Council. Friday's action of the convention actually prevents the department from carrying out the President's recommendation.

It was decided to have the next annual convention on the fourth Monday in November of next year in Atlanta, Ga.

After a fight lasting nearly two hours, the convention decided in favor of admitting the International Association of Machinists to membership in the department. Delegate Ryan of the Structural Iron Workers led the fight against the Machinists' affiliation, insisting that they were interfering with the work of his international's membership, especially in the erection of elevators, etc.

Tvietmore of the Cement Workers and Duncan of the Granite Cutters favored granting the charter.

James O'Connell was granted the floor, and in behalf of the Machinists stated that over ten thousand machinists, all members of the International, were to-day engaged in building work, and in view of the fact that some unions affiliated with the department had as low as five hundred members only, he could see no valid reason why a charter should not be granted. The Carpenters and Steamfitters also objected, but the Machinists won out by a vote of forty-three for admission and only fourteen against.

A resolution was adopted instructing the Executive Board to establish relations with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with the trouble between the International Plumbers' and the Steamfitters' organizations the convention decided that the Executive Board co-operate with the A. F. of L. Executive Council, and if the Plumbers will not abide by the rulings of the department that its charter shall be revoked and the entire trade of plumbers and steamfitters be reorganized into one international under the American Federation of Labor.

A most bitter fight developed between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers. The Carpenters were charged with having broken the rulings of the Tampa convention, which was to the effect that certain specified work belonged to the Sheet Metal Workers. During the debate it was claimed that only small unions were made to abide by the laws of the department, while big organizations, like the Carpenters, could do as they pleased; that the Carpenters' delegate at the Tampa convention had openly defied the department by stating that the convention decision would not bind the Carpenters to hand that work over to the Sheet Metal Workers.

The committee's report favored the Carpenters, while the Executive Committee has insisted on upholding the Tampa decision. Before a vote could be taken the whole question became tied up in a parliamentary wrangle, with appeals from the decisions of the chair, until the matter had to be laid over for a final vote till Saturday morning.

The next jurisdictional fight on the floor of the convention was that between the Metal Lathers and the Structural Iron Workers, which became bitter at times and somewhat personal, too. The Lathers protested against a decision of the Department Council whereby certain lathing or frame work in connection with floor construction was given to the Structural Iron Workers. The committee recommended endorsement of the action of the Executive Board, and after an hour's fight the committee's report was concurred in by the convention, which means defeat for the Metal Lathers.

(Session of December 3.)

SUSPENDED FROM DEPARTMENT

Brotherhood of Carpenters and International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters.

HAVE CHARTERS REVOKED.

To-day's session of the Building Trades Department Convention came to a rather dramatic climax. The discussion, started yesterday, on the jurisdiction fights between the Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Plumbers and Steamfitters, was reopened this morning and continued until noon. The result is the suspension of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and of the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters. The revocation of the charters of these two international organizations caused quite a surprise, because it was thought that the Carpenters, with their strong delegation, and with one of their members presiding in the convention, would be able to control the situation.

One feature of the jurisdiction fight on the floor of the convention was the remarkable parliamentary skill of Delegate Ryan of the Structural Iron Workers, who at yesterday's session moved that the Carpenters' case and that of the Steam Fitters, being so much alike in most of the details, be taken up together and acted upon in one motion. The object of Ryan in doing this was to inseparably link the case of the Carpenters' Brotherhood with the Steamfitters' trouble, and thus proceed on the lines that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Ryan, shortly before the vote was taken, openly told the delegates on the floor that the reason he made the combination motion was to prevent the killing of the Steamfitters, with their smaller organization, and then turn the other way and let the United Brotherhood of Carpenters go unpunished for the same offense.

James Duncan of the Granite Cutters, President Kirby, MacFarlane of the Carpenters and others tried hard to have the Ryan resolution divided, but failed.

When the vote was announced it was found that thirty-one delegates had voted for and twenty-two against expelling the Carpenters' Brotherhood and the Steamfitters. The Carpenters' delegates, in a body, left the convention hall, except President Kirby, who declared that it was his official business as presiding officer that prevented him from joining his delegation in filing out of the hall.

The Carpenters' trouble and their suspension from the Department is the direct result of the jurisdiction fight with the Sheet Metal Workers. The Tampa convention had decided in favor of the Metal Workers, and the Executive Board reaffirmed the action last June.

At the Tampa convention, held in October of last year, a resolution was passed conceding to the Sheet Metal Workers the manufacture and erection of all nollow metal trimmings. To this Secretary Duffy of the Carpenters, under date of February 10, 1910, replied that the Brotherhood Executive Council decided that that class of work rightfully belongs to the Carpenters, and that the employers in New York City who are doing this work were also recognizing the Carpenters and not the Sheet Metal Workers for this special work.

The Brotherhood of Carpenters refused to abide by the decision of the Department, and the revocation of the charter is the result. What effect this decision will have, especially on the Building Trades in New York, the near future may tell.

(Session of December 5.)

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Building Trades Department Convention Adjourns.

LABOR PRESS HONORED BY CONVENTION.

At 3 o'clock this afternoon the third annual convention of the National Building Trades Department adjourned sine die, after the following officers had been elected:

President—James A. Short of Chicago.

First Vice-President—George F. Hedrick of Lafayette, Ind.

Second Vice-President—Frank M. Ryan of Indianapolis.

Third Vice-President—O. A. Tviemore of San Francisco.

Fourth Vice-President—M. O. Sullivan of Kansas City.

Fifth Vice-President—F. J. McNulty of Springfield, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer—William M. Spencer of Washington, D. C.

In addressing the convention, ex-President James Kirby expressed regret that the relations between his Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Department were disturbed by the revocation of the charter at last Saturday's session. He hoped, however, that the differences existing may soon be straightened out and the Carpenters be again brought back into the fold of the Building Trades Department. Mr. Kirby assured the delegates that he would continue to work for the good of the department, although his union has been temporarily put on the outside.

A motion was unanimously adopted that the National Building Trades Department shall recognize only those Unions affiliated with the Department.

During the morning session most of the minor jurisdiction cases were referred to the incoming Executive Board.

At last Saturday's session the labor press was honored by the convention. As the result of willful and malicious misrepresentation by the daily capitalist papers, the reporters of said organs were excluded from the convention hall and the sergeant-at-arms was even instructed not to permit the reporters to enter the ante-rooms. The representative of ST. LOUIS LABOR was the only newspaper man permitted in the convention during the last two days' sessions.

Aged Women Toilers

(Chicago Tribune Editorial.)

"The steady increase in the number of women engaged in industrial occupations is forcing upon our notice a serious problem. It is: What shall those among them who have not taken refuge in marriage do after they have got into the 40s? When they have reached that age they are not so useful and acceptable in shop, mill, or factory as they were in their fresh youth. They cannot keep up, save in exceptional cases, with the girls who enter the ranks of labor. Here and there an employer, mindful of past faithful service, will keep them on for a time, although self-interest urges them not to do so, but usually they are laid off.

"When women are forced out of the factory in which they have spent a large part of their lives there is no other kind of skilled labor for them to take up. Shopkeepers do not care to hire them. They have not the culinary knowledge which would make them acceptable in the kitchen. If they have no relatives to fall back on they have to depend on whatever rough and ill-paid work they can get.

"The establishment of a pension fund to which each worker should contribute weekly or monthly has been suggested. Perhaps some practical plan will be evolved, but the difficulties are great."

Commenting upon the foregoing Tribune editorial, the Chicago Daily Socialist says:

"This is the capitalistic viewpoint, plain, frank, unequivocal, brutal.

"The world is made for the capitalist. He owns the land, the shops, mills and factories. He buys girls 'in their fresh youth,' and 'after they get into the 40s' and can no longer 'keep up' with new purchases of 'fresh girls' they are laid off, because 'self-interest' urges the employer to do so. 'Shopkeepers don't want them.' They, too, buy 'fresh girls' in the labor market, who are sprier and more comely. They cannot cook. It is only 'rough and ill-paid work' they can get—or go to the poorhouse or a pauper's grave.

"The Tribune suggests a 'pension fund to which each worker should contribute weekly or monthly.' Certainly the workers should support the cripples, the old, stiff, ugly and stu-

pid of their class, who have become so in the service of their employers. "It would never do to compel the employer to take care of the women who have grown old and helpless in his service.

"The slaveholder of the South took care of the 'old negro mummies,' but, then, he was a gentleman and chattel slave owner, while the employer is only a capitalist.

"The employer bought only the 'labor power' of his employes in the open market. He did not buy them. Oh, no; he doesn't believe in chattel slavery. Why should he concern himself any more about Jennie, the woman who has worked for him twenty-five years and is now past 40, than for Jenny, the crippled mule. To the bone yard with both, as far as he is concerned.

"This is capitalism stated in somewhat different words than the Tribune editorial stated it. Practically it comes to the same thing.

"The Tribune is consistent.

"If human labor is a commodity—like mules—to be bought and sold like mules; if it is subject to the 'laws of supply and demand,' like hogs and turkeys; if a class is to own the earth, the mills and factories, the banks and credits, and is to buy from another class the only thing that other class has to sell—their bodies, their flesh and blood, their brain and brawn, their minds and their virtue, then beware! Such a civilization is tottering to its fall.

"There is another way: Socialism. These women produced much more than they received in wages. The balance of their products went to their employers and to the owning class, in the form of rent, interest and profits.

"Socialism would abolish these tribute rights imposed by the owning class, upon the working class and would so arrange things that every worker got the full product of his or her efforts. Material poverty would disappear and the 'old women' would enter into a life of joy and peace.

"Enforced idleness of old men and women, idle mills and shops, closed factories and shut-down mines in the face of want, hunger and nakedness condemn capitalism as a bitter failure. The growing intelligence of man demands the establishment of an industrial system that shall meet the requirements of every normal physical want and satisfy the highest impulses of the heart.

New Subscribers

Have been reported by the following comrades and friends:

D. Houwink	1
J. Doerner	1
C. Hirschenhofer	1
Aug. Knoetzel	2
M. Brosin	1
W. E. E.	1
Otto Pauls	1
F. J. Kloth	3
Henry Schwarz	3
J. C. S.	10
Max Stopp	1
John Miller	1
Henry Siroky	1
W. F. Crouch	1
J. J. Leuenberger	6
Anton Klaus	1

POST FOUND GUILTY.

Battle Creek Union-Hater Sentenced to Pay \$50,000 for Libel.

Union men will read with much interest what happened to their "good old friend," Post of Battle Creek, Mich., i. e., to the great leader of the Citizens' Alliance and Manufacturers' Association. Here is the latest:

New York, Dec. 3.—Robert J. Collier, proprietor of Collier's Weekly, to-day recovered a verdict for \$50,000 damages against the Postum Cereal Company for libel.

Collier claimed that he refused to insert the advertisement of the defendant company in his magazine on the ground that they were of the patent medicine description, and that they then published statements throughout the state in which he was characterized as a "yellow dog," an "extortioner" and a "blackmailer."

CEMENT WORKERS' BANQUET

In Honor of Building Trades Convention Delegates.

Monday, November 28, Cement Workers' District Council of St. Louis gave a successful banquet at Concordia Turner Hall in honor of the delegates to the National Building Trades convention. Practically every craft of the building industry was represented and all had a fine time. The affair was in the hands of a committee consisting of James Mulhearn (toastmaster), Milford Tarter, Fred Schulz, Henry Reidler and General President J. A. Murray.

The Meaning of Socialist Victory.

(From the Baltimore Evening Sun.)

For the first time in the history of the United States a Socialist has been elected to Congress. He is Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, and his election must be accepted as an impressive demonstration, not only of the spread of the Socialist theory among us, but also of the success of Socialism in actual practice, for Milwaukee has had a Socialist Mayor and City Council since last spring, and it is only upon the assumption that their management of the city's affairs has been satisfactory to the citizens that we can account for Berger's victory. In brief, Socialism seems to have proved itself. The people of Milwaukee, having tried the new cure, are satisfied with the result and cry aloud for a larger dose. So Berger goes to Congress and thirteen Socialists go to Madison to represent the city in the Wisconsin Legislature.

Milwaukee is now as thoroughly Socialistic as Atlanta is Democratic or Philadelphia Republican. It has a Socialist Mayor, twenty-one Socialist Councilmen, eleven Socialists on the Board of Supervisors and two Socialist Judges. The twenty-one Socialist Councilmen completely dominate the Council, the total membership of which is but thirty-five, and the eleven Socialist Supervisors likewise control the board, which has but sixteen members in all.

A Full County Ticket Elected.

In addition, a full Socialist county ticket, including candidates for the shrievalty, the court clerkships, and so on, has just been elected; the city delegation in the State Legislature has been made Socialistic by the election of a Socialist Senator and twelve Socialistic Assemblymen, and of the two city members in the lower house of the next Congress one will be a Socialist. Needless to say, all appointive offices of any consideration are already in the hands of faithful Marxists.

Victor Berger, the new Congressman, has been head and front of the Socialist movement in Wisconsin for a dozen years, and under his shrewd leadership each year has seen it gain adherents. In 1898, when the Socialists first put forward a candidate for the mayoralty, they polled but 2414 votes, and two years later they polled but a few hundred more. But in 1902 their vote jumped to nearly 8500, in 1904 to 15,000, in 1906 to nearly 17,000, in 1908 to 20,887, and in the spring of the present year to 27,622—and victory. Emil Seidel, the winning candidate, was Berger's chief aid in the long battle. Berger himself had been the candidate in 1904, when the vote nearly doubled, and in other years he had run for Congress or for other office. He is now a Milwaukee City Councilman.

Education Won Victory.

Berger ascribes Tuesday's victory to the campaign of education begun back in the nineties. He said on Wednesday:

"The working classes of Milwaukee have been educated by a literature propaganda extending over many years. They have been patiently taught the cardinal truths of Socialism, which is nothing more or less than the political economy of the working class. Economic conditions, the trusts and trust prices did the rest. These things furnished examples of the theory we expounded."

The New York Call, the principal Socialist organ, hails Berger's election to Congress as the most notable victory ever gained by Socialism in the western hemisphere. It said yesterday:

"His entrance into Congress will mark the beginning of a new and more hopeful era. His words and acts will attract attention to the grand historic movement of which he is a representative. His responsibility will be great, but no one who knows Victor Berger doubts his ability to discharge it with credit to himself and the movement. Finally, his appearance at Washington will place the United States abreast of other civilized nations, in which Socialism has for decades past been recognized as the only great force working for national regeneration and international peace and brotherhood."

Socialists Surprised Their Opponents.

Here is enthusiasm, indeed, but Tuesday's returns offer plenty of excuses for it. Not only in Milwaukee did the Socialists surprise their opponents and themselves. In the State of New York they piled up a vote larger than that of the Hearst Independence League, and thus jumped to the top of the list of so-called third parties. In Connecticut their candidate for Governor, Robert Hunter, the muckraker, polled nearly 11,000 votes. In Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts they elected members of the State Legislature—thirty-five in all. In San Francisco one of their candidates for Congress scored a plurality of 8000—only to see it overcome in that part of his district lying beyond the city line. In one of the great New York City districts a Socialist fell but 643 votes short of unseating Julius Goldfogle, the sitting Democrat. This candidate, London by name, polled 3,322 votes, or 1,487 more than the Republican candidate. In the 12th district of Ohio Bachman, a Socialist, polled 10,927 votes. In another Ohio district another Socialist came even near to victory. In towns as widely scattered as Indianapolis, Elizabeth, N. J., Helena, Mon., Allentown, Pa., and Syracuse, N. Y., the Socialist vote was doubled. Altogether, the disciples of Marx rejoice to-day, and with excellent excuse, and some of them claim that the complete returns will show that they polled 850,000 votes in the United States on Tuesday.

"Mazzini and Other Essays."

By HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD.

This work is published by G. P. Putnam Sons, New York. It is a collection of Mr. Lloyd's writings which appeared in some of the leading magazines at a time when the author was in the prime of his life. A second essay in this work is "A Day with William Morris." Lloyd's writings are popular and instructive and no student of social economy will fail to secure this latest collection of the author's best literary contributions on life subjects. The price of this volume is \$1.50 and may be ordered through the Labor Book Department, 966 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Comrade Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee

addressed a well attended public meeting at the New Club Hall last Wednesday evening. His subject was "What the Socialists are doing in Milwaukee." His lecture was certainly appreciated and enjoyed by the audience and we hope that we may soon have another opportunity to hear the Milwaukee City Clerk in St. Louis.

They will Not Forget

By Charles Edward Russell.

As I am dispatching these pages to the printer I receive the news that, election day having passed, the court has found its decision and Fred D. Warren is on his way to prison.

Of the principles involved in this celebrated case I shall have time and space to comment more fully hereafter, but at present other feelings are overshadowed by admiration for the man that goes bravely and calmly to the stigma of a jail sentence in defense of what he believes to be a fundamental right.

There is no fun in going to jail. Especially to a man of Mr. Warren's temperament, inclinations and training the hardship involved is very great and very real. The more honor, therefore, to him for taking upon himself the task of vindicating the principle here at stake.

I think that the people of the United States now generally understand the merits of the Warren case. They have never been informed

thereof by the capitalist press or any part of it, but the lecture tours of Eugene V. Debs, of Warren, and of Alexander Irvine must have spread far and wide news of an issue assiduously suppressed everywhere except by radical publications. As to the verdict of the people that know the facts no one can entertain the slightest doubt. If the decision had been made known before instead of after the election it would have been worth another quarter of a million votes to the Socialists. The great question is now whether before another election day people will have forgotten this most extraordinary story. As to that, also, I think there may be entertained with confidence a decided opinion. Within two years people had not forgotten the decision in the Dred-Scot case, but the comments thereon had only increased in volume.

Does any one revert here to the fact that the press is now largely owned by the capitalist interests? Not any more than in the old days it was owned by the slave-holding interests. If the essential spirit of justice rose in the American people

then, still more surely we may count upon it now.

For my part, I look upon the Warren case as one of the landmarks in Socialist history in America. Hereafter it will be read of with the same feeling of wonder that we now read of the fugitive slave law or the story of Elijah P. Lovejoy. At this stage in radical progress it was necessary that the fundamental right of free speech with which we defend and maintain all other rights should be vindicated. Mr. Warren has taken upon himself that great and necessary work. I do not believe that either this or succeeding generations will forget the fact.

STEAMFITTERS' SMOKER.

Lemp's Park Hall the Scene of a Fine Entertainment.

The I. A. Journeymen Steamfitters' and Helpers' Local Union No. 29 gave a "Merry Smoker" at Lemp's Park Hall Thursday, December 1, at which all the delegates to the Building Trades convention attended. Outside of the members of the Union, there were many representatives of other organizations present. Songs, music, recitations, etc., were on the program, and it is superfluous to add that there was plenty of "nourishment" for all. It was after 2 o'clock Friday morning when the last guests "escorted themselves" out of the hall.

HUNGARIAN SOCIALISTS

Leave DeLeon's S. L. P.

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, with about eighty locals, and over 2000 members, has declared its full independence of the Socialist Labor Party, of which it was a very important and by far the most numerous language organization. It owns a strong semi-weekly paper. This step was taken on account of the refusal of the English-speaking S. L. P. to grant proportionate representation to the language federations, who were given the alternative of either transferring the title of their press and property to the S. L. P. and paying dues directly to the mother party or severing all connections. The Hungarians demanded proportional representation in exchange for the expected sacrifices, but this was denied by the N. E. C. of the S. L. P., presumably for fear that the numerical strength of the growing Hungarian Federation would soon prevail and gain control. The Hungarians declared in their press that the S. L. P. wanted to use their growing income to help out The People, but without any recompensation. As an immediate result of this action it is expected that both the Hungarian S. P. and the former S. L. P. Federation will reunite into a strong, efficient body, like the Finns, who have built up a fine organization of almost 6000 members and a strong, self-supporting press.

OTTO ROBINEAU.

James J. Hill Predicts Trouble

Railroad King Says World Is to Reap Harvest of Its Extravagances.

MANY WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS.

TAFT IS A GOOD FELLOW, HE AVERS, "BUT HAS MADE LOTS OF MISTAKES."

St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 27.—That the United States—and the world, in fact—are about to harvest the fruits grown of extravagance, J. J. Hill is absolutely positive.

It is too late to warn the hour is now near, he says.

"Why, when I told President Taft a few days ago," said Mr. Hill, "that there would be many thousands of men thrown into idleness next year, he was almost incredulous of my sincerity, but I am not making a guess; it will be a fact."

Here Mr. Hill paused for a few reflections upon the chief executive, parenthetically declaring that the President is "a good fellow," that he means well, but added that he had made lots of mistakes.

"The trouble with Mr. Taft is," he continued, "that he lives in a political atmosphere. He cannot get away from it. It pervades Washington, and the President's views of conditions are limited in a large measure by those who surround him."

"Why not get a business man to accept office?" repeated Mr. Hill. "That would be altogether impossible. A business man could not remain in the position. His election could come about only through the efforts of those supporting them, which would mean a besieging horde of office-seekers."

Mr. Hill declared that the American people were too complacent. They spend too freely and are greatly inclined to take a rosy view of things entirely unwarranted by circumstances.

Extravagance Greatest Fault.

"Extravagance has been our great fault," he said. "We have been wasting entirely too much in non-productive undertakings. As a rule, we have been given too much to adornments. We have become obsessed with 'city beautiful' in municipal affairs. We have followed like policies in the state and national governments."

"Battleships, not only in this country, but also abroad, are illustrations of the extravagance in which the world has been plunged the past two decades. The money for the construction of these has been withdrawn from commercial circles and almost as good as squandered, so far as there can be any tangible returns observed."

"We have gone to considerable expense to dig the Panama canal. I presume now we will have to fortify it. It's all very well to make appropriations for such purposes—but it is easy to contract debts—but the real difficulty arises when we come to get the money with which to make the payments."

"In four years, from 1892 to 1896, our federal expenditures were \$1,500,000. For a similar period from 1904 to 1908 we spent about \$3,600,000,000. Yet we pay our taxes and harp upon the high cost of living, and even in doing this we linger upon the brilliant prospect we think the future holds in store for us."

Idle Land Withdraws Wealth.

"If a man buys a farm and cultivates it he contributes to the material wealth of society. If he permits the land to lie idle he has subtracted from the general wealth by withdrawing his money from commerce and investing in a nonproductive enterprise."

"The latter illustration serves best to indicate our trend in all departments of the government."

Disclaiming any intention of posing as a calamity prophet, Mr. Hill insisted, however, that it was not a guess, but an absolute certainty, as to what awaits the country tomorrow or the next year when business activities become dormant.

He pointed out that at present there is very little projected, which means a suspension of activities.

"Do you hear of any generally systematic plans for improvement during the next year?" he was asked.

"There are none, factories and such other enterprises which are productive in their nature and which contribute to wealth are not contemplated by those who have the money to invest. This means that those who have nothing to sell but their time will be without employment."

Activities Will Shut Down.

"There will have to be a shutting down of the mines because iron and coal and other minerals that go in the production of commercial articles will not be in demand. The same might be said of timber and other forms of activity. As a result of all this there will be many thousands of people without employment."

"In preparing our Great Northern orders for next year we find that we are going to need very few supplies. This is because we are making no extensions. Last year we ordered 245,000 tons of rails and had no surplus. For the next year we will need only about 70,000 tons."

"I might repeat such illustrations in our business. Last year we had to have 11,000 new freight cars. This year we shall need but 3000. Last year we were compelled to equip a large number of passenger coaches; this year we shall need none. We ordered over 300 engines last year. Twenty new ones will be an abundance for next season."

"Other business interests? Well, I happen to know they are making no further provisions looking toward improvements or extensions than we are. It is not because they have not the money, but because there are no inducements, considering public sentiment and business outlook, for them to invest in."

"What will happen, I say, therefore, is a matter of certainty. Enterprises in all lines will come to a standstill. There will be no progress. Many people will have to change their occupations and habits of living."

TWENTY-FIRST WARD SOCIALIST CLUB.

Twenty-first Ward Socialist Club meets every second and fourth Thursday at 4444 Penrose street. Every Socialist working man and woman is invited.

CHAS. BUTLER, Sec'y,
3935 Sherman Place.

WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY "FORWARD"

Meets every second Thursday at Labor Hall, 966 Chouteau avenue. All friends of the co-operative idea are welcome to attend and join the organization. Every member will be pleased to give information regarding the aims and plans of the society. Payments on shares are accepted in any business meeting.

PETER KIEFER, Secretary,
5116 Cologne Avenue.

"Practical Socialism"

Suggestions by a Well-Meaning Correspondent and Reply by the Editor.

The growth of Socialism in America is far more rapid than the vote cast for the Socialist ticket indicates. On November 8, 1908, Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, received 403,338 votes. But votes cast for the Nationalist party, the labor party and the Populist party were just as true an index of the growth of Socialism as was the vote for Debs. All this taken together, however, gave but a slight indication of the tremendous growth of Socialism in America at that time.

Fifteen years ago I heard a Thanksgiving address given by a Presbyterian minister on the unrest of the most civilized people of the earth. The lecturer easily succeeded in convincing his hearers that the unusual spirit of unrest was taking possession of the civilized world but he frankly acknowledged himself unable to explain either its cause or tendency. About three years later, while making a study of the economic and industrial development of the nineteenth century, it became evident to me that this universal unrest was an embryonic struggle, indicating the approaching birth of a great social readjustment—Socialism.

During the twenty-five years just prior to that time the world had been suddenly flooded with a tremendous wave of industrial progress, bringing with it undreamed-of and seemingly impossible improvements in all forms of production and transportation. But with this increased production there had not come any social readjustment. The great mass of new wealth created, instead of being equally or equitably distributed, had fallen into the hands of a few. Though the volume of production had increased many-fold, the already great army of the unemployed and underpaid had not been wiped out, as such a wave of prosperity should have done, but had grown much larger. Even the well-to-do seemed poorer, in comparison with the immensely rich. There was suffering, disappointment, a feeling that something was wrong with the new order of things.

All human efforts grow out of human feeling. First come the blind feelings, growing out of deprivation or desire. The first efforts at readjustment are apt to be largely unconscious. Then comes a period of much thinking and discussion, followed by clearly defined plans and organized, systematic effort.

The civilized world has now been swept into entirely new conditions by forty years of tremendous industrial development. The new conditions have imposed upon the masses of the people many deprivations and aroused many new desires. The blind struggles of anarchy and communism are dying out. The more clearly defined and successful labor union, social settlement, co-operative industry and government control and ownership of large industries have succeeded them, and the period of clearer thinking and better and more successful organization seems to be developing rapidly.

The purpose of this new movement, briefly stated, is to readjust social and economic conditions so as to make them harmonize better with our present industrial development, thereby to relieve the maximum of human deprivation and satisfy the maximum of human desire.

All who sympathize with this great purpose should be gathered into a great Socialist Party, and in any community where this party is not strong enough to elect its own representative, all members of the party should vote for those men and those policies that seem to be moving, however slowly, toward the desired social and economic readjustment.

The Socialist club should be organized everywhere, and the creed should be simple, clear and conservative. The membership could soon be made many times larger than the Socialist vote polled on November 8, 1910.

Two great parties are about to be born. One will be a progressive party, drawn from Democrats and Republicans alike, and the other a conservative or reactionary party. The progressive party will seek to promote the common welfare; the other will continue to serve private interest.

All Socialists and semi-Socialists

should support only progressive men and measures, and should cast their votes at each election where they will be most apt to further the one great purpose of social and industrial readjustment.

W. W.

Editor's Remarks:—Our correspondent means well, but he is yet a good way off from getting the correct conception of the aim and mission of the modern Socialist and Labor movement. The modern class struggle on the industrial and political fields is a struggle for material class interests, and it is only by separate and independent organization that the working class will get in a position to properly and successfully protect the interests of the workers and bring about the economic and social reconstruction advocated by the Socialist Party.

The Socialists, as represented by the Socialist Party, realize that this modern conflict between Capitalist society and the wage-working proletariat means social warfare and, like in every war, organization and discipline is the main factor upon which success depends. For this reason the wage-workers organize industrially into unions, politically into the Socialist Party, and by means of the power and influence of this independent organization they force concessions from the capitalist class and prepare the way for the greater struggle for the economic and social emancipation of labor. The advice of "getting everybody together" for the good of a great and noble cause like Socialism sounds good theoretically, but in practice it is an impossibility.

There are very few people who will set aside their material interests for the sake of a great principle and a great movement.

Every improvement in the condition of the working class has been brought about by the organization of the wage-workers—as a rule not without hard struggles.

The Socialist Party is organized to lead in these struggles on the political field, not for the benefit of everybody, but for the benefit of the wage-working proletariat.

The Socialist Party does not exclude from membership the non-proletarian, but whoever joins our ranks must understand that our platform is the working-class platform, that the Socialist Party is fighting the working-class battles, that the ultimate aim of Socialism is to emancipate labor from the chains of wage slavery and to establish a system of production and distribution which will assure all human beings of the fruits of their labor.

"Practical Socialism" can not be brought about by fusion with capitalist political parties, because such action means suicide for any radical movement.

Let us build up a powerful movement on the sound Socialist working-class program, independent and free of all entangling alliances, and the results will be most gratifying and encouraging.

EDITOR ST. LOUIS LABOR.

For a Good Time.

The Tenth Ward Club entertainment this Saturday evening promises to be an enjoyable time. A nice program has been arranged, and all comrades and friends are invited to take part in the jollification. Tickets are \$1.00 per family.

Stung.

A good story went through Germany about a Schusterbub, or cobbler's boy, who waited outside the palace to see the emperor come forth for his afternoon airing. Finding the delay tedious, he suddenly exclaimed, "The booby isn't coming! I shall go." A policeman at once caught him by the collar, and shouted, "Whom do you mean by 'the booby,' sirrah?" "Why, my friend Michel!" whined the boy. "He was to have met me here, but he hasn't come." The policeman, of course, accepted the explanation, and let him go, whereupon the boy retreated twenty paces, struck a derisive attitude, and yelled, "And whom did you mean by 'the booby'?"—The Christian Register.

His Whim.

English Waiter—Which side of the table do you wish to sit on, sir? American Guest—I prefer to sit on a chair.—Tit-Bits.

Bartenders' Union Local 51

Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card



and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button

Union Haters' Finish

S. B. LYND BUYS PRINTING PLANT
Cashier of Citizens' National Bank Pays \$15,500 for Nunemacher's.
JOHNSON APPOINTED TRUSTEE.

From the announcement of a Louisville (Ky.) bankruptcy sale we quote the following:

"The Frank C. Nunemacher printing plant was sold at auction sale in the court of Referee in Bankruptcy R. G. Kinkead to S. B. Lynd, cashier of the Citizens' National Bank.

"Jacob L. Smyser, the largest of the bondholders, was the only bidder against Mr. Lynd. After the latter's sealed bid had been rejected, on motion of the general creditors and bondholders, the question of readvertising again for sealed bids, a public or private auction sale of the plant as a whole or piecemeal was being considered, when it was suggested that an auction sale be conducted in the court of the referee in bankruptcy at once.

"Of the \$39,000 in bonds more than \$25,000 was represented at the meeting, and the bondholders gave unanimous consent to this action. The general creditors concurred through their attorney, J. R. Duffin.

"The proceeding is very unusual," said Referee Kinkead, "but with this consent it is legal, and the court will at once resolve itself into an auctioneer. It will require, however, that the written consent of every bondholder be given before the sale is finally confirmed." Referee Kinkead then proceeded to wield the hammer.

Johnson Selected as Trustee.

"Claude W. Johnson was named for trustee over B. H. Courtney. The latter withdrew when it became evident that Johnson would be elected. The meeting was a continuation of a first meeting Wednesday, when they were unable to agree on a trustee. Attorney J. L. Duffin announced at the first meeting that the general creditors he represented will bring suit to set aside the \$39,000 mortgage on the plant held by the bondholders, but that they were willing that the plant should be sold and the proceeds held pending final adjudication in the proceeding."

Nunemacher was one of the leading opponents of Trade Unionism and next to Parry, Post & Co. in their efforts to crush the entire labor movement.

And thus ends the mission of these worthy gentlemen!

A MUNICIPAL STONE QUARRY.

Shortening the Hours of Labor.

By Carl D. Thompson.

The Commissioner of Public Works in Milwaukee has finally succeeded in securing an option on a site for a municipal stone quarry.

The city of Milwaukee uses thousands of cubic yards of crushed stone each year in its various public works. The present administration has already greatly reduced the cost of this crushed stone by means of greater care in purchasing. The saving in this respect has amounted to \$8,000 per year.

But the administration is not satisfied with this saving, realizing that if the city owned its own quarry, and in addition its own sand pit and street construction machinery, it could still further reduce the expense of construction in public works. Hence the effort to secure a municipal quarry, which now seems to be assured.

The Superintendent of Street Construction, Mr. Mullen, has drawn careful estimates upon the basis of a municipal quarry, sand pit, etc., in which it appears that hereafter the pavement that cost the city \$2.30 per yard to lay will cost not much more than \$1.30.

There are in Milwaukee a great many bridge tenders employed by the city on the numerous bridges that span the rivers. Heretofore these men had been on duty long, consecutive hours, with short periods of rest. The administration, realizing the need of improvement, has revised their schedule of hours. Heretofore they were on duty seventy-two consecutive hours, with twenty-four hours off. Thus they were compelled to spend all the seventy-two hours in and about their little shacks on or near the bridges. The new schedule permits them twelve hours on duty and twelve hours off, thus permitting them to go to their homes.

Disappointment.

"Why are you disgusted, Denis. I just heard man man called a liar said the other man would have to apologize or there would be a fight."

"And why should that make you look so sad?"
 "The other man apologized."—Tit-Bits.

Tolstoi Mighty Huntsmen

By Robert L. Hunter.

It would be difficult to believe that the world has known another such man.

Tolstoi stood out among the great of the world of to-day like a lone peak of surpassing height and grandeur.

And his greatness was not alone that of the prophet, or of the artist, or of the pure intellectual, or of the noble. It was the greatness of all, incarnated in the rough and rugged form of the Russian peasant.

We saw the blouse, the high boots and the face of the Russian serf amidst his fields.

Y! this was, perhaps, our most learned man. He knew the literature of all ages and of all countries.

He had drunk at the fountain of the ancients—the Asiatic, the Simite, the Greek, the Roman—and from there he had followed the main current down through the ages.

He knew the religions of all time and loved to unite himself with the spirit of those who, in all ages, have sought the divine.

And from literature and religion he turned to politics, studied economics, watched the development of sociology, metaphysics and philosophy, art and music, agriculture and science.

If "to know the best that has been said and thought in the world" is culture, as Matthew Arnold has said, then Tolstoi was the most cultured man of our age.

And he knew men. He made them live, sounded the depths of their profoundest passions, interpreted the inner and secret thoughts of saint and sinner, of tyrant and slave, of sportsman and toiler, of the sweet fresh girl and the abandoned woman.

Tolstoi saw, felt and portrayed vice, disease, death, the degradation of man, woman and child, the hideous brutality of the Russian jureaucracy.

In his acquisition of knowledge, in his participation in the religious passions of the world, in his interpretation of men's souls and in the joy of his creative art, his life was but partially expressed.

His own innermost personal struggles and passions, his own sins and trials, his doubts and agonies, were like a world-drama seen by all mankind.

For decades he lived in spiritual torment, torn first by doubt and questioning and then prostrated by a deadly pessimism.

With other sensitive Russians he suffered from a morbid conscience. He fought with confusion, doubt and pessimism as a god fights with devils.

Yet, depressed as he was with that mental malady which has destroyed so many men of genius in his sad country, he saved himself from mysticism and spiritual death.

With a soul given to introspection, ever ready to laugh at its own sensations, to scorn or approve its own acts; with a heart of good ever battling with a heart of evil, this man of mental and spiritual turmoil fought his way, Titan-like.

Tolstoi was a vain man who loved to humble himself; a good man who maligned himself; a great artist who dispised his art; a learned man who was contemptuous of learning; a nobleman who aspired to be a peasant; a refined man, loving perfumes and fine linen, who yet condemned himself to work in the dung of stables.

He was a man who, inheriting power through land, voluntarily became landless; a soldier of promise who became a non-resident; an artist of mastery power who had only for his work as a common laborer.

To know Tolstoi's life, to review all its contradictions, to scale its great heights and to descend into its abyssal depths, is to journey once again by proxy through Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise.

His spiritual struggles for forty years recall the trials and temptations of the forty days in the desert.

His pilgrimage from deadly sins and bestial gods recalls the Exodus.

His revolt against authority reminds one the Greek Prometheus.

His glorification of the soul of the peasant calls to mind that dim, almost vanished, medieval, Piers, the Plowman.

His battles with the church revive memories of the great struggles of Wickliffe.

His struggles against the artificial and the feudal remind one of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

He was modern and ancient, incarnating in his varied, contradictory life, the struggles of a multitude of great souls and the battles of ages.

Crushing News.

"What are you doing with that crutch?"

"Taking it home for my little boy."

"What happened to him?"

"While he was bringing home the mail a Sunday paper fell on his leg."

—Youngstown Telegram.

A few weeks ago the czar came to Germany, and the kaiser, in order to entertain his royal guest, ordered a hunt organized. With royalty hunting is a very simple and easy thing. Gamekeepers and foresters protect the animals in certain carefully-inclosed parks, and because of this care the animals become almost semi-domesticated. But when the time for the hunt comes the gamekeepers and beaters start out and drive the animals past a platform on which the fearless royal hunters stand. These fearless royal hunters, with machine guns, with loaders standing ready to hand them other guns, fire into the herd. Such is their royal skill that they can usually bring down one of a herd of twenty if the animals are not more than a few yards away. It is all as exhilarating and dangerous as it would be to stand at a window and fire at a drove of oxen on the street.

But anything that royalty does is impressive. So preliminary accounts of the hunting were cabled to this country. Now the full accounts, with lots and lots of pictures, are arriving. Those concerns whose business it is to sell to newspapers and magazines pictures for reproduction thought so well of this late mighty game killing that they had scores of pictures taken, and no doubt for the next few years magazines and newspapers in this country will be republishing them. The royal personages engaged in killing semitame cattle thought it so impressive a spectacle that they permitted moving pictures to be taken so the common people could see and be edified. Possibly before many months they will be shown in our own five-cent places of popular amusement.

From the sample photographs already in, that hunting or slaughter was certainly a corcker. But it is a beautiful example of what power can accomplish. Thrown out on their own resources and dependent on their own might as hunters, both the czar and kaiser would probably starve in short order if they had to chase their meals through any but a game preserve. But we are supposed to stand awe-struck at their prowess when they shoot in a preserve.

Yet it is all as easy and simple as modern financiering. Morgan, Ryan, and the other big financiers, have their beaters rounding up the cash of the little fellows. Economic conditions help round it up, and the cash of the little fellows is sent in the direction of the big capitalists. Like the kaiser and the czar on the hunting platforms, all the financiers in the banks have to do is get the money. Yet a gullible public is supposed to stand in awe and wonder over their wonderful financial achievements.

The financial world to-day is a close preserve. Sometimes a poacher does get in and make a killing. But when he is caught, look at what happened to him! Think of the fate that befell Charles Morse, financial poacher. Finance and, through finance, industry are the divine prerogatives of a few big financiers, just as the royal game close is the divine right of those two mighty hunters, the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar.—The Call.

Rifle Practice in Public Schools.

St. Louis, Nov. 22, 1910.

To the Editor of T. LOUIS LABOR:

My Dear Sir—It is not my desire to rush into print all the time, and I would thank you to take this view of my present complaint.

It is unfortunate that in a community of ordinary intelligence every man must be alert, for fear that something will slip into our government that will be a menace to the peace of the community.

Here we have an advance agent of a rifle factory, enjoying the confidence of our Board of Education, introducing a measure to use our high school system for military purposes. That this measure should have been favored by Mr. Moore, former president of the board, can be excused on account of his abilities as an engineer. Mr. Taussig advocated the measure because of his bridge arbitrary, which may require protection of a nature that the police power cannot insure. It is due to the vigilance of Dr. Emil Simon that the measure was not passed at its first reading, and I hope that the various school patrons' associations of this city will take immediate action in condemning such debasing educational measures, bad enough in themselves, but far worse coming from a supposed source of intelligence. The Pope School Patrons' Association passed this resolution:

"Resolved, That the members of the Board of Education be and are hereby instructed not to lend their moral support to the resolution pending before said board permitting the use of the high school children for military education or the schools for military purposes."

If the higher branches are to be used for debasing education, what need we spend the enormous sums in primary education? An ignorant boy of twelve can throw a bomb straighter and with more deadly effect than a high school rifle, handicapped by epaulets and brass buttons, can shoot. Then, why the expense of education if we are tending to militarism? Thanks for calling attention to this fact in a previous cartoon.

Poor Blewett, poor education.
 JOHN P. HERRMANN.

DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

By Rev. Charles Stelzle.

Organized labor, in its present form, had no existence prior to the eighteenth century, although previous to that time there were uprisings among workmen in protest against unjust economic conditions. In ancient times there were a number of uprisings among the great mass of toilers, but most of the workers were slaves. Long lists of so-called labor unions are given in ancient documents, and stories are told of rebellions and social wars which, in almost every case, turned out disastrously to the strikers, who were crucified by the thousands. It is said that Crassus and Pompey alone crucified over 6,000 workmen on the Appian Way "as examples of the awful blood-wreaking to be expected from Roman military justice. Twenty thousand were similarly massa-

cred at Enna and Tauromanion. The organization of labor under these conditions was manifestly impossible, and this situation prevailed for many centuries. Spasmodic efforts were made from time to time during these years to form some kind of an organization among the toilers, but the records of these movements are unsatisfactory and very meager. Occasionally the curtain lifts enough to give us a glimpse into the lives of the working people as they were lated to the matter of co-operation and union, but, on the whole, few writers to-day care to speak with positiveness on this question. In the fourteenth century incipient "trades unions" were formed by workmen, which strongly resembled those of the present day. In 1387 the serving men of the London cordwainers rebelled against the "overseers of the trade," and later the servingmen of the saddlers and the tailors took similar action. In 1538 it was reported to Cromwell that twenty-one journeymen shoemakers of Wisbeck had assembled on a hill without the town and send three of their number to summon all the master shoemakers to meet them, in order to insist upon an advance in their wages, threatening that "there shall none come into the town to serve for that wages within a twelvemonth and a day, but we will have an harme or a leg of hym, except they will take an othe as we have doon."

In 1741 there appeared an essay in which it was remarked that the wool-combers had "for a number of years past erected themselves into a sort of corporation (though without a charter). The first pretense was to take care of their poor brethren that should fall sick or out of work; and this was done by meeting once or twice a week, and each of them contributing two pence or three pence towards the box to make a bank, and when the became a little formidable they gave laws to their masters, and also to themselves, viz.: that no man should comb wool under two shillings per dozen; that no master should employ any comber who was not of their club; if he did, they agreed one and all not to work for

him; and if he employed twenty, they all of them turned out, and oftentimes were not satisfied with that, but would abuse the honest may that would labor, and in a riotous manner beat him, break his comb-posts and destroy his working tools. They further supported one another, in so much that they are become one society throughout the kingdom."

A Life-like Tale.

Mother—Johnny, you said you'd ben to Sunday school.

Johnny, with a far-away look—Yes, mamma.

Mother—How does it happen that your hands smell of fish?

Johnny—I carried home the Sunday school paper, an' the outside page is all about Jonah and the whale.

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The Growth of Socialism

For the Study of Those Who Consider the Growth a National Peril.

(Philadelphia North American, Rep.)

When the passage of the years to come has provided perspective for proper view of the happenings between 1890 and 1910, one of the jokes of history will be the fact that thousands of supposedly sane Americans sincerely assailed the advocates of economic and political progress and reform as Socialists.

It is not our purpose to enter upon an endless dispute by undertaking to define the manifold varieties of Socialism, nor to censure or approve any of its phases, from the militant, atheistic, Marxian apostles of "direct action" to the mild Fabianism of the American Christian Socialists.

We purpose simply to expose in plain figures the preposterous absurdity of accusing the progressive leaders in both the Republican and Democratic parties of being promoters, not of evolution, but of the revolution which the Socialist creed demands in that pland of the national platform which declares that "no amount of government regulation or or publicity or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development."

For example, we find in the editorial columns of one of the New York newspapers which for months have been virulently denouncing Theodore Roosevelt as "the man who would be king," the denunciation of him for having "built up the party of Debs," and the news that "after Mr. Roosevelt's avowal of Socialist doctrines the Socialist vote is nearly doubled."

The historical truth is that the men whom the Socialists have to thank more than any others for the Americanization and spread of their propaganda are Mark Hanna in politics and John D. Rockefeller and J. Pierpont Morgan in business.

Only fifteen years ago Socialism was a negligible, ill-understood, alien doctrine. Only a small minority of the best-informed students of world thought differentiated the doctrines expounded by a handful of foreign-born men from the bomb-throwing anarchy of Herr Most and his frowsy disciples.

In 1896 the entire vote of the Socialists in the nation was only 37,274.

Then followed the period of the unrestricted rule of wealth, of the vast illegal flotations, of complete domination of industry by trusts that set themselves above the law—the reign of the triumvirate of Hanna, Rockefeller and Morgan.

The American people began to despair of American institutions. They saw the wrongs. They suffered. But they lacked leaders. And they lost hope. No other chance to cast off the tyranny of concentrated Big Business being offered, they hearkened readily to the theory of the Socialists that all present forms of government must be overthrown in order to abolish the wage system; that free government and individual opportunity could be regained only by destroying capitalism as feudalism was destroyed.

It was the harvest time for the Socialist leaders of real ability, the scientific Marxians of the type of Hilquitt and Berger and Ben Hanford. Men as keen-minded as these knew their friends. They realized fully that the trust makers and their political agents were not only fostering the growth of Socialism among the people, but were creating the machinery, into possession of which the Socialists could enter as soon as sufficiently prolonged and aggravated oppression had aroused the nation to accept desperate remedies for a desperate disease.

The result was the increase of the national Socialist vote from 36,274 in 1896 to 127,553 in 1900.

During Roosevelt's first three years in the White House there was but scant indication of espousal of Progressive theories by the party in complete power. Consequently, the Socialist propaganda continued to thrive. And in 1904 the country was startled by the count of 426,376 Socialist ballots.

But in the next four years came the awakening of the public conscience; came the leadership that instilled the long-deferred hope; came the birth and growth as national policies of regulation and restriction of corporations, equitable liability in industrial accidents, arbitration of labor disputes, conservation of the nation's possessions for the general good and the demand that a fairer burden of taxation be borne by wealth.

lishing the rights of humanity as superior to those of property.

There always had been much that was good and true and desirable in the Socialist creed. There is much truth in their indignant complaints that Progressive Republicans and Democrats turned their own weapons against them by appropriating a few of the good Socialistic government theories.

But when 1908 came around none in any party dreamed of the check to Socialistic advance that those previous four years had wrought. The Socialists confidently predicted a vote of 1,250,000 in the nation. Conservative estimates conceded them at least 750,000. But when the vote was counted it was found that the vote for Debs was only 448,453.

Small wonder that Roosevelt, denounced by the forces of privilege as Socialistic, is hated by the Socialists as their arch-enemy.

But after that four years' standstill of Socialism there have followed twenty months of reaction, of Cannonism and Aldrichism and administration subservience to Wall street and Big Business, identical with the old Hannaism. And, while final figures are not yet obtainable, the Socialist leaders assert that less than two years of Taft gave them on election day 700,000 votes in the nation.

Their vote in New York was doubled. The first Socialist Congressman goes to Washington and thirteen Socialists will sit in the legislature of a single state. Here in Pennsylvania a Reading Socialist will share in making the laws at Harrisburg, and the total party vote will probably exceed that of the Prohibitionists.

Chagrined and almost despairing in 1908, the Socialists are now exulting in the thoughts thus expressed by Charles Edward Russell, their candidate for Governor in New York:

"Just contemplate the tremendous meaning of the nearly 100 per cent increase of our vote in New York state. Tabulation of the returns from seventeen other states shows that the percentage of increase in every one of them was approximately what it was here. The people's minds are being freed of ghosts and hobgoblins. They are becoming educated to the real meaning and potentiality of Socialism. They are no longer associating it with the red flag and the bomb. It has taken years to give us a start, but that we are started no thoughtful man can doubt. The man would have been called a fool who five years ago would have predicted that we would roll up a vote of 700,000 in the nation this year, and that in the State of New York, one of the world's great citadels of capitalism, we would poll 65,000 votes."

Such exultation is natural. But for those who consider this growth of Socialism a national peril we counsel a fair study of the election statistics before they stultify themselves by fixing the blame upon the men and the policies that have done most to check that spread.

Convicting the Courts

By A. M. Simmons.

It was not Fred Warren who was convicted in that trial at Fort Scott and St. Paul. He has committed no crime for which there should be a conviction.

Do you doubt this? Let us take the facts as they are admitted by both sides.

Warren did what thousands of capture of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky. The Governor was under indictment for murder. To be sure, he went into the court room and swore he was not so indicted, but a certified copy of that indictment is in the office of the Appeal to Reason. It is a crime when they are doing it. Kentucky courts. Its existence cannot be denied without perjury.

Warren did what thousands of officials, municipal, state and national, have done. Nobody ever claimed it was a crime for them. Nobody claims it is a crime when they are doing it to-day. Nobody will claim it is a crime when they will continue to do it for years to come. But by this publication of this notice Warren proved the existence of class justice in this country.

His subsequent conviction gave official certification to this proof.

Therefore, I say again, it is not Warren who has been convicted by this trial. It is the federal judiciary that stands convicted by the records of its own proceedings.

By this conviction the courts are convicted of the charge of being instruments in the hands of a class. They are convicted of being citadels of injustice instead of justice. They are convicted of being obstacles to progress, the bulwarks of reaction, corruption and exploitation.

This great case of Warren vs. the courts is now on trial.

The record of the case with its per-

jured witnesses, its prejudiced judges and its class-crazed hatred of the workers, is the first exhibit of the prosecution.

The verdict in this case is to be rendered by a jury and a court beyond the reach of the plutocratic powers that have already plead guilty by their actions in this case.

That jury is the American working class. That verdict will be rendered at a hundred thousand ballot boxes in the years immediately before us.

This case has proven once more that what is needed in America at this instant, above everything else, is a widespread, determined contempt for the courts. This case will arouse that contempt.

This case, when it is finished, and the final verdict of the great jury of the American people is written into legislation, will mean the downfall of a corruptly controlled and irresponsible judiciary in America.—Coming Nation.

RECIPROCITY.

She sewed a button on my coat,

For I was far from mother.

"'Tis such a thing," she said to me,

"As I'd do for my brother."

She looked so pretty, sitting there,

I quickly stooped and kissed her.

"'Tis such a thing," I said to her,

"As I'd do to my sister!"

—Olive Balfour in Smart Set.

THE ST. LOUIS SOCIETY OF ARTISTS' FALL EXHIBITION

Is being held at Heilig's art gallery, No. 10 South Broadway. Each exhibition of the society is an advance in excellence and interest.

One noticeable feature is the increased number of pictures having a human interest. There are more figure pictures, heads and portraits than in any previous St. Louis exhibition. This is a notable advance and adds diversity and interest to the society's exhibitions. It would be well if our picture buyers would note the fact that all this work belong to the "Made in St. Louis" class, and their civic pride should cause them to encourage St. Louis art and artists. A number of these works were in the society's exhibitions in Chicago and Milwaukee, and were just as well received in those cities by the press and public as the work of their own or Eastern artists. The stigma of "local work" only attaches to their work in our own town. All this should be changed. Our artists are clever, thoughtful, well-trained men and women, and they are winning a national recognition for themselves and for our city also. They are doing much more for us than we are doing for them.

They are bringing St. Louis to the front as a city of culture and refinement and in a dignified, serious manner. And it is time for some organization to do this, as we have the reputation of killing off all the artists who are unable to escape beyond our borders.

The St. Louis Society of Artists are an aggressive organization. They do things. A visit to the gallery will repay all our readers. There are many beautiful and interesting pictures, and most all of our artists are represented by their best work.

The exhibition is superior in quality to the one the society sent East, and you will find it a delightful place to spend an hour or two.

We will not give a detailed account of the pictures. We save that for you. Don't miss seeing the exhibition. It is open every week day from November 16th to December 8th.

While speaking on the subject of art, we would like to call attention to the fact that a good number of our own artists were exhibitors at the Municipal Art Museum at Forest Park this fall. This is a step in the right direction—but only a step. In vitations should be sent to all St. Louis artists. The names are easily obtained. Let it be understood that the city art museum is friendly to St. Louis. When it is understood that the city is an art dealer on a large scale and that the pictures in its exhibitions are on sale, so the public, the glaring injustice of closing its sales to St. Louis art workers is at once apparent. We think our former notes on this subject were the entering wedge. Now throw the doors wide open.

Municipalize the city museum.

The Curse of Genius.

The somber, long-haired, seedy-looking man was speaking in a voice of rolling thunder.

"A million times a million fateful curses sit balefully athwart his hateful head of tow! Through the gloomy eons may his black soul fit homeless forever!"

"Off his balance, I suppose?" observed the stranger.

"Oh, no," said Smith "that's Rimer, the well-known poet, swearing at the editor who rejected his verses."—Puck.

The Ghastly Newark Horrors

Thirty-two working girls lost their lives in a factory fire in Newark, N. J., last week. The New York Call, editorially, has this to say on the Newark horror:

"The ghastly horrors enacted last Saturday at Newark, N. J., are not an accident.

"They are part of a system.

"They are part of a system that grinds the lives of workingmen and women into profits for the capitalists.

"They are part of the capitalist system. And in particular, of the capitalist system in its specific American form.

"The capitalist system treats the lives, the bodies and capacities of working men and women only as tools and instruments for the production of profits.

"This is true of capitalism everywhere.

"But in the countries of Europe, where there is an enlightened labor movement, where there are powerful Socialist parties, and where the industrial and the political wings of the labor movement work in concert and harmony for the advancement of the cause of labor and humanity—in the countries of Europe an effective restraint has been imposed upon the insatiable greed of capitalism for profits.

"In the countries of Europe the combined pressure of the economic and the political organizations of labor has forced the capitalist governments to enact and enforce factory laws for the protection of the lives, the limbs and health of the workers. These laws are made to apply to the whole country. The national governments are held responsible for their enforcement and execution. And because there is one government that is held responsible for the enforcement of these laws, and because the economic and political organizations of labor are ever on the alert, therefore these laws are also generally enforced.

"But in America it is quite different.

"Here the economic organizations of labor are conservative, striving to be on good terms with the employers, their organizations, and their governments. And this conservative policy has weakened not only the economic organizations themselves, but also the Socialist Party, which, although a growing force, cannot begin to compare with the powerful Socialist parties of the great countries of Europe.

"Here, also, the factory and other labor laws, such as they are, have been passed in haphazard fashion. They have been obtained, not through the combined pressure of a united working class, but through independent, scattered movements, whether of labor organizations or of philanthropic organizations, in the various states of the Union.

"The laws have been passed without plan, without system, without coherency. What is prohibited in one state is permitted in another state. There are as many responsible authorities as there are states. And even in the same state and in the same factory one part of the regulations falls under the cognizance of the factory inspectors, another part under the local health department, and still another part under the fire department.

"The inevitable result of this division of authority and responsibility, both in the making of the laws and in their enforcement, is that the laws themselves are grossly inadequate, and that, inadequate as they are, they are not enforced.

"It is to this lack of a national system of labor legislation, enforceable by national authority, that most of the innumerable horrors of our mines, mills, factories and railroads are due.

"The horrors of the Newark factory fire are the direct results of this peculiar American system, or lack of system.

"The fire-trap building, half a century old, its floors saturated with oil, its rooms overcrowded with working people, its only two fire escapes blocked and useless, the charred bodies, the broken and charred bodies, the impaled bodies—all these are an inevitable result of our peculiar capitalism, a joint result of capitalism and our American system of legislation.

"It is not without good cause that the American plutocracy rose as one man against Roosevelt's attack on the courts and the 'New Nationalism.' It is not without good cause that on the day after the last election it crowded triumphantly over the preservation of the 'sacred inviolability' of the courts and of the 'Old Nationalism.' For the 'sacred inviolability' of the courts—that is to say, the supremacy of the judicial over the legislative branch of the government—and the 'Old Nationalism' mean the denial of authority to the national government to curb the predatory activities of the plutocracy and to pass and enforce factory laws, and

other labor laws, applicable to the whole country. The preservation of the supremacy of the judiciary and of the 'Old Nationalism' mean the crippling of the labor movement, the neutralizing and annulling of all its efforts to obtain remedial legislation for the working people. The supremacy of the judiciary and the 'Old Nationalism' mean such horrors as the Newark fire, the Cherry mine disaster, the killing and maiming and destroying the health of hundreds of thousands of working men, women and children every year, and the complete exemption from punishment of the capitalists for their gigantic crimes.

"Foreign observers of our country have again and again commented on the apparent inability of the American people to grapple effectively with evils that have been overcome or at least confined within bounds in the countries of Europe. But all these foreign critics have failed to discern and to point out the cause underlying all our apparent impotence. That cause is the 'Old Nationalism,' or state authority over affairs that concern the entire nation, and its twin institution, the supremacy of the judiciary over the legislative representatives of the people. And so long as this fundamental cause of our impotence remains, so long shall we remain impotent in the face of a greedy, grasping, brutal and murderous plutocracy, so long shall we remain in the rear instead of marching abreast of other civilized nations, so long shall we remain helpless witnesses to an ever accumulating list of gigantic crimes and ghastly horrors, so long will our working people be killed and maimed by the tens of thousands, and so long will the victims of their surviving relatives be deprived of all just compensation for death and injury.

"The Newark horrors, and the painful tragedies that flow from them, are not an accident. They are an integral part of our American capitalist system."

The Osborne Decision.

The influence of the Osborne decision in England, under the provisions of which it is illegal for labor unions to use their funds for political purposes, according to a late report of the head office of the Labor Party, has spread from the Railway Employees' Union, against whom the decision was first granted, until it now embraces more than a dozen other organizations of labor in the kingdom, and affects no less than twenty members of parliament. With the Osborne judgment as a precedent, all kinds of petty magistrates, have issued injunctions galore, practically abolishing the possibility of political activity on the part of any trade body.

A vigorous and effective campaign has been carried on throughout the country for the purpose of turning the people against the judgment, and thousands of copies of a leaflet prepared for the purpose have been distributed, explaining the situation, and appealing to vote for the reversal of the decision. If the decision were sustained it would necessitate a complete change in the tactics of the British labor forces.

HOW MILLIONAIRES SUFFER.

Wealthy Convicted Land Robbers Make Themselves Comfortable in Jail.

The following Associated Press dispatch may interest our readers: Omaha, Neb., Nov. 30.—W. G. Comstock, Bartley R. Richards, Chas. Jamison and Aquila Triplett, millionaire cattlemen of Nebraska, convicted in the Federal court of fencing government lands and sentenced to one year in the county jail, after spending a month visiting various county jails in the state, departed last night for Hastings. There they will become inmates of the Adams county jail.

The four men are not to be treated like ordinary prisoners. With them they took a Japanese chef, who will do their cooking. This week they ordered expensive furniture and carpets sent to the Hastings jail as furnishings for their rooms. In addition they purchased and sent out a large and well-selected library. They have subscribed for a number of daily papers and many of the leading magazines.

The windows of their cells have been hung with expensive lace curtains. The floors are carpeted.

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DO NOT BE MISLED
By Retailers who say "This shoe does not bear the stamp, but be made under UNION CONDITIONS."
THIS IS FALSE. No shoe is union unless it bears the Union Stamp.

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Congratulations From Europe.

CONGRATULATIONS FROM Europe

International Socialist Bureau.
Brussels, Belgium, Nov. 22, 1910.
"J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago:
"Dear Comrade—Our Executive Committee, assembled to-day, directed me to forward to your party our best congratulations for the splendid results of your last election.
"We would be grateful if you had the kindness to transmit our felicitations to our stalwart comrades, and we hope your success will continue. Fraternal yours,
(Signed) "CAMILLE HUYSMANS."

Socialist Party of France.
National Council.
Paris, Nov. 15, 1910.
"Secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States:
"Dear Citizen Barnes—The Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.) has been informed of the electoral victory gained by our Comrade Berger in Milwaukee, and has instructed me to write to you on this occasion to tell you how glad we are to see a member of the Socialist Party penetrate for the first time into the House of Representatives of the United States. This is a great event, in which we rejoice with you.
"We ask you to be so kind as to transmit our congratulations to Citizen Berger, who is personally known to many of us. Fraternal yours,
(Signed) "LOUIS DUBREUILH,
"Secretary."

Good Medicine for Scab "Comrades"
Comrade Bostrom, State Secretary of Washington, reports the following:
"Henry Larsen, who has been found guilty of scabbing, was expelled on November 25th by Local Bellingham, Washington. Larsen has been notoriously unfair and has taxed the patience of the local for a long time back. Spite, revenge and maliciousness, and not need furnished his motive for scabbing. Being exceedingly averse, he has been of great damage to the local, as well as to every other organization that has harbored him.
"This same local also publicly repudiated a former member, J. A. Sells, who has twice been elected Councilman on our ticket. Sells having used the position to ingratiate himself with the "citizens," felt himself strong enough to abandon hypocrisy and come out on his merits as an official. The primary law gave him a chance to file as a Socialist and an injunction would have been necessary to get him off the ticket. The local is to be congratulated for the housecleaning."

Good Medicine for Scab "Comrades"

BINDERY WOMEN'S UNION NO. 55.
By Miss Nellie A. Quick.
There can be no doubt that every reader will vote "yes" on the question, "Was the November issue of the Printing Trades Magazine a success?" It surely was. There was indeed some good reading in this issue. It was a very encouraging tribute and a tribute that none could fail to appreciate.
Organization is the motto of No. 55. Organization comes first and then other trade improvements will follow.
Let us first have a solid rank and file; then plan for improvement. Another help to organization is the use of the Bookbinders' Union Label. We are not in need of money to boom our label, but we do need agitation and assistance. And if we could have the assistance from every union it would be but a short time until every printing house in St. Louis would be using it. The following St. Louis firms are now using the label: Geo. F. Moritz Blank Book Co., Kampmeyer-Wagoner, H. J. Reuter Printing Co., Croissant-Bowman Stationery Co., Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., Skinner-Kennedy Printing Co., High Art Ruling Co., Banner Bindery Co., St. Louis Bindery and Hannauer Oelkers.
The constant demand for our Blank Book Label will mean agitation and it will bring better and more prosperous conditions in our work. May we hope that you will request that the label be placed on all books that you use and thus be assured that the book was produced under fair and sanitary conditions by men and women who were paid a living wage for their work?

AN Umbrella for Christmas

is a very useful article, and they can be had to suit any purse from the large assortment of H. J. Jost, 1424 South Broadway. You will find his

ad. in every issue of ST. LOUIS LABOR. Kindly name the LABOR when you purchase goods from merchants advertising in its columns; it helps your paper and is the surest means of increasing its revenue from the advertising columns, without which the paper would be printed at a loss. You will find every variety of goods advertised in ST. LOUIS LABOR by reliable merchants. Patronize them and ask your friends to try them. Tell them you saw their ad. in LABOR.

From Staunton, Ill.
Last Sunday evening Comrade G. A. Hoehn delivered a lecture at the Staunton Labor Lyceum on the subject: "Morality and Socialism." The meeting was well attended.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.
Friday, December 9, a concert will be given at the Souldard Library, Seventh and Souldard streets. There will be music, songs and addresses. Concert opens at 8 o'clock.

Sunday, December 11, at o'clock p. m., the Women's Trade Union League will have a memorial celebration in honor of the memory of Hannah Hennessey and Anna Egan at 3535 Pine street. Members of the League and other representatives of Organized Labor will deliver memorial addresses.

Looking Backward.
The beginning of 1910 found the Socialist Party of St. Louis without anything more tangible than two weekly papers that eked out a precarious existence from month to month, battling against heavy odds. Now, eleven months later, we have our own complete establishment for both job and newspaper work. Our papers are printed on our own machinery entirely and are housed in our own building, owned by the workers of St. Louis. In addition to the establishment of this fine new printing plant, we have nearly doubled the Socialist vote in St. Louis.

That is a record we can be proud of! No one has a better right to celebrate Christmas than the devoted comrades who made that record an accomplished fact.

Let us rejoice, for the future is ours.

Strickland's Lecture.
No comrade who heard Fred G. Strickland last Sunday night at Bowman's Hall can forget the masterly manner in which he discussed "Socialism and the Home." His address was replete with instructive information and the ripened conclusions of deep study.
The audience filled the hall to the last chair and listened with a rapt attention that bore testimony to Comrade Strickland's ability as a lecturer. May we have many more such lectures in the years to come.
It is possible that the lecture will be published in these columns in the near future.

SLUGGER GOES FREE.

Discharged for Slugging Two Union Men.
E. F. Kerwin of the E. F. Kerwin Ornamental Glass Manufacturing Company on October 27th slugged Thomas Burrows and Houwink, two members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' Union, who were doing picket duty. Kerwin was arrested and his trial came up in Judge Polard's court.

Kerwin was found guilty of slugging these union men and fined \$200 and costs. He asked if he could pay the fine with a check, and was told that he could not.
One Andy O'Conner urged Kerwin to appeal his case and went Kerwin's bond. His trial was set for November 17, when Kerwin asked for a continuance till December 1, which was granted. He, of course, needed this time to drill his witnesses, who, to hold a job, had to come out and defeat the truth. Kerwin and his combined force, composed of two scabs and two negroes, to defeat justice, swore that Houwink was drunk and that when crossing the street fell down and struck his head on the pavement. Burrows' wound did not amount to much, so neither Kerwin nor his "men" knew anything about how he got hurt.
The facts are that E. F. Kerwin, manufacturer of ornamental glass, beveling, silvering, etc., whose factory is located at No. 921 North Sixth street, and a member of the United Glass Manufacturing Association, did on the 27th of October slug two union pickets with a club for trying to persuade two non-union men from E. F. Kerwin's employ.

Regardless of the testimony of Kerwin, the two scabs and two negroes as to his character, Mr. Houwink is a gentleman with as pure a character and as clean a reputation as any man in St. Louis. But what

does Kerwin care for the character or reputation of a laboring man when it comes to preserving his own?
STRIKING GLASS WORKER.

A New Local in St. Louis County.

With Comrade Marmont acting as organizer, the Midland Socialists have formed a new local in St. Louis county. They have six charter members to start with.

Miners' Convention Not in St. Louis

Business Men's Windbaggers Cannot Even Offer a Convention Hall.

The United Mine Workers' Journal contains the following announcement:

MINERS' CONVENTION—WHERE?

International Executive Board Members to Name Meeting Place.
The question of what city shall have the convention next January of the United Mine Workers of America has not been decided. T. L. Lewis, president of the miners' organization, said to-day that the convention would not be held in St. Louis, as it had been found that a hall for the convention could not be obtained in that city at the time the convention is to meet. At the last regular convention of the organization a cordial invitation had been received from St. Louis to hold the convention next January in that city. Cincinnati, Ohio, and Indianapolis were also in the race, but the miners voted in favor of meeting in St. Louis. As the meeting cannot be held in the latter city, President Lewis has referred the matter to the International Executive Board members, by letter, but it is not yet known just what city will be decided upon by these board members.

"Captain" Ross Dead.

Word has been received that Comrade C. C. Ross died in Little Rock, Ark., October 17th. Comrade Ross was known by many as "Captain" Ross, he having served in the Confederate army. This fact secured for him a patient hearing in the advocacy of Socialism in many Southern communities. For a number of years Comrade Ross was active in the movement in the South and Southwest, frequently as a free lance in unorganized territory, speaking and distributing literature, and, again, as State Organizer. He was a delegate from Oklahoma to the National Convention of 1908.

On a Bear Market.

"Did Mrs. Brown take her husband's failure in the right spirit?"
"Oh, yes. Just as soon as she knew he was going to fail she went out and bought a winter outfit."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Modest Pride.

"How ridiculous the doctor's wife is! She is always fussing with her little flower-pots and talking about botany; while, bless my soul, I have more flowers on my hat that she has in her whole conservatory."—Fliegende Blaetter.

The Reason Why.

Young Bride—I didn't accept Harry the first time he proposed.
Miss Rival—No, dear, you weren't there.—Boston Transcript.

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IS YOUR SWEETHEART OR HUSBAND OR BROTHER A UNION MAN?

If so—Do you know he will be delighted to receive a Fancy Dress Shirt, Necktie, pair of Silk Suspenders, Box of Collars, Cuff Buttons, Fancy Vest, or a pair of Dress Gloves with the UNION LABEL for a CHRISTMAS PRESENT? To be had only at

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PHONES: Kinloch, Central 5076; Bell, Olive 2123

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PER CAPITA TAX OF AFFILIATED UNIONS IS 5 CENTS PER MEMBER PER QUARTER.

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