

Comrades,
Work for your
Own Press!

ST. LOUIS LABOR

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

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Comrades,
Work for your
Own Party!

NO. 569.

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ST. LOUIS, MO., DECEMBER 30, 1911.

PHONES: Kinloch, Central 1577; Bell, Olive 4198

Happy New Year!

Happy New Year to our comrades and friends everywhere!

Happy New Year to the working class of St. Louis, to the working class everywhere!

Happy New Year to our opponents and enemies!

Our best wishes for all, for friends and enemies!

The modern class struggle forced upon the working class is not a war against the individual, nor is it a war waged for revenge. It is a campaign for the economic rights and justice of labor.

We like to see everybody happy. Unfortunately the economic and social conditions of to-day are such that not only those who are robbed of the results of their labor, but also those who rob them see much of their happiness destroyed.

We fully realize that even under Socialism human life will have its contrasts of happiness and misfortune, joy and sorrow.

We know, however, that to-day most of the misfortune and sorrow of the working men, women and children are caused by the capitalist system of society that has made commodities out of human beings who do the world's useful work, while the lion's share of labor's products flows into the treasuries of drones and parasites.

Our happiness depends to a great extent on the success of the Socialist and Trade Union movement.

A Happy New Year!
Indeed, 1912 may become a Happy New Year for the working class of the world.

Signs of new progress, new victories, new successes, are seen everywhere.

January 12, 1912, may be the first great day of joy for the toilers of the world. On that day the working class of Germany, under the guidance of the Socialist Party, will fight one of the most memorable political battles in the history of nations.

In November, 1912, the American proletariat will have a golden opportunity to follow the example of their German brothers and sisters.

The Trade Union movement of the world, already 10,000,000 strong, will move onward and forward.

Comrades of St. Louis, brothers, sisters, let us resolve as our Happy New Year's greeting, to put St. Louis on the map of the great International movement for Proletarian emancipation.

Let us make St. Louis one of the leading Socialist and Trade Union cities of the world!

To work with that object in view, to work energetically and sincerely, with enthusiasm and devotion, will enable all of us to enjoy A HAPPY NEW YEAR!

G. A. HOEHN.

"Direct Action" or Political Action—Which?

To the Editor:

Within the last few weeks an issue of vital importance has been brought before us.

How can we defend ourselves against the advocacy of "Sabotage" in the International Socialist Review?

We stand for political action; not "direct action." We wish to fight the enemy with the ballot; not with bullets. We do not want "Sabotage." The destruction of machinery brings nothing.

I do not wish it understood that I imagine that Haywood, Bohn, Lewis and Kerr believe in crime and dynamiting, but I will say that the teachings of these men may in many ways lead to lawlessness and bloodshed.

In the McNamara case we have a good illustration of direct action. We may be thankful that it was not the work of a Socialist. Even at that the capitalist press is laying it to the teachings of "radical Socialists."

In conclusion, let me say that unless "direct action" is kept out of Socialist propaganda, and we limit ourselves to constructive Socialism, through political action, we will merely allow one faction of our party to tear down what the other faction builds.

The issue is, Political Action vs. Direct Action. Let us thresh it out to a finish, even if it must be turned over to a referendum.

L. P. SCHUWEILER,
Stevens Point, Wis.

Where We Stand

An Address to the Comrades of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, of Missouri, and Throughout the Country:—

ST. LOUIS, MO., December 26, 1911.

Comrades:

Referendum "D," pertaining to a proposed new election of State officers of the Socialist Party, under direction of the National Executive Committee, was defeated. We take it for granted that the result of the general vote on this proposition would have been different had the comrades throughout the country been better acquainted with the party situation in St. Louis. We are convinced that the majority of the party members who voted in the negative did so on the strength of the one-sided information which had reached them, and that they had the welfare of our movement as much at heart as those who voted in the affirmative.

Comrades from various parts of the country have asked us this question: "What are the St. Louis Comrades going to do since Referendum D has been defeated?"

Our answer is frank and open and will not be misunderstood by any one who understands plain English:

We challenge the comrades anywhere and everywhere to point out to us any other big American city where the Socialist Party movement is more class-conscious, more militant, more in touch with the aims and objects of the great labor movement, more hated by the capitalist political parties, more misrepresented by the capitalist press organs, and at the same time more energetically and fearlessly moving onward in its warfare against the common enemy, than in the city of St. Louis.

The Socialist movement of St. Louis has not sprung up overnight. It stood at the cradle of the American Labor and Socialist movement, and some of the pioneers of that day are still with us, fighting in the front ranks. The St. Louis Socialist Party was in the front rank of the rebellion against De Leonism nearly two decades ago and was then suspended, but could not be prevented from continuing the great work in behalf of the working class, while the same De Leonism that attempted to make a caricature out of the entire American Socialist and Trade Union movement went down and out.

The St. Louis Socialist Party stood at the cradle of the Social Democratic and Socialist Party of America, and takes special pride in the fact that it contributed its share of the hard work necessary to make the Socialist Party of America what it is today. The present national program and platform, the present policy of the National Socialist Party is partly our work, and we have always been in the front ranks of those who defended that program, that platform and that policy.

What else can the Socialist Party of St. Louis do but what we have done in the past? To do anything else would be in violation of our local, national and international Socialist policy, which is practically one and the same. For years the powers of Capitalism have been active in this metropolis of the great Southwest to destroy, or to at least check, the onward march of our organization. We need not at this time give a history of the many serious fights we had to go through. The men and women acquainted with the St. Louis Socialist and Trade Union movement know these fights, and they also know the personnel leading the fight against us, and the powerful capitalist interests pulling the wires. We need only refer to the many years of desperate warfare against the Socialist movement under the management of the St. Louis Republic, the Jefferson Club and their agents in the local labor movement. When we had licked the Democratic machine to a standstill and shown up its corrupt work, the Republican party machine managers, seeing that we were making great headway in the Republican wards in North and South St. Louis, where the great mass of wage workers live, opened fire on the Socialist Party. To what extent the Republican machine would carry their fight and what criminal methods they would apply was best demonstrated in the municipal campaign in April, 1911, when in the Tenth Ward all the powers of political depravity were set in motion to steal the victory from the Socialists.

In every political campaign the Socialist Party of St. Louis was bitterly opposed and assailed by the two old capitalist parties. This desperate opposition on the part of the Democratic and Republican parties brushes aside the lie that our movement had entered into fusion in the Simon School Board case and in the Freeholders' election for City Charter Revision.

How much the capitalist parties like the Socialist Party of St. Louis was strikingly illustrated during the City Charter campaign in January, 1911, during the general municipal election in April 1911, during the Bridge Bond election, and at the Special Council election on November 10. In each of these

political campaigns the Socialist Party of St. Louis was the only political party in the field that defended the class interests of labor against the combined political forces of capitalism.

We were deprived of our charter. Yes, but it was not the fault of the Socialist Party of St. Louis. We shall not attempt to rehash that charter revocation by the Joplin Quorum. Suffice it to say that such an act against the largest local in the State, composed of self-sacrificing and militant comrades, might do credit to any capitalist party machine, where such methods are the rule, but for the Socialist Party it will ever remain a black spot. We shall not shed any tears about it or cry for vengeance. But we reaffirm that we shall remain true to the great Socialist movement as represented by the National Socialist Party of the United States so long as its present program, platform and policy are upheld. We shall be in the future what we have been in the past: Socialists upholding and defending the great world-wide International Social Democracy.

Our Socialist Party of St. Louis has grown to nearly 1000 dues-paying members, organized into twenty-five ward and language branches, and united through a General Committee composed of delegates from each branch. These members, to a large extent, represent the North and South St. Louis wards, where the bulk of the working class live. Nearly all of our active members are members of Organized Labor. We are to-day in possession of a publishing plant—co-operatively owned—representing a value of \$25,000, and publish two Socialist papers, St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter-Zeitung.

In spite of all the rotten work done against our movement in St. Louis by both the Democratic and Republican party machines and their hireling press, and notwithstanding the unceasing agitation against us by the Protestors' Local, the Socialist Party of St. Louis has increased its vote from less than five thousand to over sixteen thousand since its charter was revoked. On November 10 we forced the Democrats back to third place and came within three thousand votes of beating the Republicans and carrying the city.

Do we want unity and harmony in the party here in St. Louis? Yes! we certainly do. Spell the YES in capital letters. We stand ready to meet any committee or any fair proposition that will lead to that end.

We are ready to unite with those who will agree on principles and policy. We are ready to unite with those who will agree with our position on the Trade Union Question, and on the question of Immediate Demands as enunciated in our local, state and national Socialist Party platforms. No compromise with capitalist parties and no compromise on the sound program, platform and policy of our National Socialist Party has been our position in the past and it is our position to-day.

Experience and results attest the soundness of our policy.

We shall under no consideration compromise with any anarchistic or direct-action nonsense in connection with Organized Labor, and we desire to go on record as the most bitter enemies of such policy, be it advocated by Haywood, Bohn or any other of the many confusionists who have of late been trying to sidetrack the American Socialist movement in the direction of the old-time anarchism that led to the deplorable Chicago tragedy of November 11, 1887.

Unity of action and harmony, but never at the price of sound principles and sound policies! If principles and policies as represented by our Socialist Party of St. Louis and the Socialist Party of the United States are to be sacrificed, then no such unity and action for us! Then we prefer to continue our good work without a charter, convinced that the time will come when the comrades everywhere will be with us, because we are with them to-day.

RESOLUTION.

On the basis of the foregoing statement of our position, the General Committee of the Socialist Party of St. Louis decided to elect Comrades Wm. M. Brandt, Wm. M. Holman, L. G. Pope, Otto Kaemmerer and Otto Pauls as a committee duly authorized to consider any fair and just plan to bring about unity of the Socialists of this city.

Issued by order of the
GENERAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

Wm. M. Brandt, Secretary.

Headquarters: 966 Chouteau Avenue.

THE POLITICAL WEAPON.

Los Angeles Central Labor Council Passes Strong Resolutions.

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, Cal.:

"Whereas, Notwithstanding the unfair and vicious methods used by all of the capitalistic powers of Los

Angeles during the last municipal election to defeat the working class, Organized Labor has shown that it has and will continue to stand together on the political field; and

"Whereas, We feel that notwithstanding the failure to elect the Socialist candidates, the splendid showing made at our last municipal election was in reality a victory for the

workers; therefore, be it
"Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, in regular session assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance and confidence in the Socialist Party and the Union Labor Political Club; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we recommend to all central bodies, department coun-

cils and local unions of the State of California and the nation to form like political clubs, to the end that all the workers may stand together on the political field; and, be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the press and all labor bodies of the State of California."

Mass Meeting

Of the Socialist Party Membership of St. Louis.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 7th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the Socialist Party of St. Louis will hold a mass meeting of its members at the NEW CLUB HALL, CHOUTEAU AVENUE AND THIRTEENTH STREET.

This meeting is called by the General Committee of the party for the purpose of discussing and taking action on the two proposed amendments to the Missouri State Constitution, aiming at a radical change in the system of taxation.

In view of the fact that these amendments will be submitted to the voters of Missouri at the next November election, it is of vital interest to our membership to get all possible information on this subject.

Messrs. John Z. White, Dr. Wm. Preston Hill and S. L. Moser will be the speakers at this meeting. The addresses will be followed by a general discussion.

Every Socialist Party member should attend, because it is our duty to face fairly and squarely any problem that may come up in the political struggles, discuss it intelligently, and draw the conclusions, upon which our party movement will base its attitude and action.

By order of the General Committee of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, Mo.

WM. M. BRANDT,
Secretary.

To Our Comrades

The attention of our comrades and friends is called to the announcement of the Labor Publishing Co. which appears under the caption, "IMPORTANT — ARE YOU A SHAREHOLDER IN THE LABOR PUBLISHING CO?" on page 7 in this week's ST. LOUIS LABOR.

The statement is self-explanatory. We are now on the eve of a most important national campaign, in which our Socialist Party and our Socialist Press are destined to do great work.

A great national political war, in which our press will be the rapid-firing guns directed at the powerful capitalist citadels: Political Corruption and Political Ignorance!

To make our best weapons most effective we must not lose one minute's time to strengthen and expand the foundation upon which these guns, our Socialist papers, are built.

With considerable sacrifices our comrades, brothers and sisters of the Socialist and Trade Union movement of St. Louis have succeeded in establishing the Labor Publishing Co. on a solid co-operative foundation.

The encouraging expansion and growth of our local movement during the last two years makes the expansion and extension of our printing plant imperative.

This necessary expansion and extension of the facilities of the Labor Publishing Co. depends on considerable additional expenditure of money, and since we cannot and would not expect any support from the capitalist class, the Labor Publishing Co. may rightfully expect that our comrades and friends will come to the front and respond most liberally to the appeal of the Labor Publishing Co.—which appeal is, in fact, an appeal for the success of the Socialist and Trade Union movement.

The publication of a new Socialist monthly, The People's Voice, for general propaganda work, will be another agreeable surprise for our comrades and friends.

Every dollar's worth of stock of the Labor Publishing Co. should be subscribed for within a few weeks, in order that we may be prepared for the greater work which must be done in 1912.

G. A. HOEHN.

P. S.—In next week's issue we shall publish an interesting report of the business management. The report was crowded out this week, owing to the Christmas holiday, which meant the loss of a full day's work in our printing department.

News Review and Comment

President Taft urges wool tariff revision for the purpose of pulling the wool over the people's eyes during the coming national campaign.

The "full crew" law of Indiana, regulating the size of train crews, was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in a decision rendered last week.

In Graz, Germany, the Socialists increased their members in the city council from seven to ten. All parties combined against the Socialists, but lost ground.

The United States Supreme Court, in a test case, upheld the Illinois law to indemnify the owners of property from damage occasioned by mobs or riots. This opinion was handed down last week.

The J. Pierpont Morgan Forward Religious Movement ought to bring the blush of shame to every real follower of the lowly Nazarene who participates in and becomes conscious of its hollowness, says the Miller (Mo.) Herald.

Growing in National Parliament! The final vote in the election in Switzerland for members of parliament leaves the various parties in this position: Radicals 118, Catholic Conservatives 37, Socialists 15, Liberals 12, scattering 7. The Socialist gain was eight.

The Socialists in the German principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt elected eleven out of the seventeen members of the Landtag (state legislature), which gives them an absolute majority of four. The Liberals have four and the Conservatives three members.

The Los Angeles Central Labor Council has drafted a circular letter to the various central bodies of the state asking them to engage in political activity as embodied in the Socialist Party, and recounting the excellent results obtained in Los Angeles by this method.

A radical demand comes from the Denver central body of Organized Labor. The Trades and Labor Assembly of Denver has unanimously endorsed a resolution asking the legislature to place the coal mines of the state in operation under state management and to sell the output to the people at cost.

The "trust busting" goes merrily on. The Federal Circuit Court at New York overruled the demurrer of the ocean steamship lines composing the "Atlantic conference" against the government suit for their dissolution. This means that the government will press the case against the combine as a virtual monopoly affecting the foreign commerce of the nation.

The periodical famine in Russia is reported. It is now admitted by officials of the Russian government that no less than 2,000,000 people are starving to death in the Gubernias States, where the crops were a total failure. More millions in other states are nearly out of food. So far the government has done nothing.

Wu Ting Fang, the highly educated Chinese, who is now one of the most influential revolutionists, is holding out for the Chinese republic. He insists that peace negotiations can only be successful on the recognition of the Republic of China as the basis. Wu traveled considerably in America, and is well known for his radical and progressive views on all public questions.

Socialist victories are reported from Bavaria, the second largest state of Germany. In the municipal council election in Nuremberg, just held, the Socialists secured ten seats, the Liberals seven and three scattering. The Socialists scored a great victory, every one of the seats being won from the Liberal party, and the former now controls twenty seats in a total of sixty in the council.

Comrade Victor L. Berger attacks the treaty of 1887. A capitalist press news item says: "Following the disposal of the Russian treaty of 1832, Berger, the Socialist member, brought in a resolution to terminate the extradition treaty of 1887 with Russia on the theory that the injuries of American citizens sojourning in Russia could not be relieved otherwise. He charged that Russia had repeatedly violated the later treaty by charging Russian refugees in this country with civil crimes when they were known to be engaged in political movements.

The Capitalist Fusion Scheme against the Milwaukee Socialists don't seem to work well. It was announced in the Governor's office in Madison that the request of the Milwaukee Democrats and Republicans for a special session of the legislature to allow the placing of a non-partisan ticket in the field, to defeat the Socialists, will not be granted. The last legislature, the Governor says, defeated such a law, and he will not call a special session to discuss the same question. The Republicans and Democrats are fearful that with two party tickets in the field the Socialists will again name the city administration, while the present law forbids the carrying out of any plan to merge the opposition in one ticket. A special session was suggested by Walter Schias, chairman of the Democratic County Committee.

Roosevelt and Burns! All that Roosevelt saw in the denouement of the McNamara case when the confession was announced was the greatness and glory of Burns, the sleuth, and the immortality of the victory achieved in the cause of humanity, from the Roosevelt point of view, says the Appeal to Reason. There is something peculiarly fitting in this exchange of congratulations which passed between these two hunters and killers of men and monkeys. They are both of the same type, and the instincts of either are a perfect match for the other.

Pierpont Morgan and Kaiser Wilhelm do not only shake hands en passant, but they remember each other on Christmas Day. A press dispatch, dated New York, December 23, says: "A handsome marble bust of the German emperor, the gift of Emperor William, was presented to-day to J. P. Morgan at Mr. Morgan's private library in East Thirty-sixth street. The presentation was made by Dr. Kurt Ziegler, the German vice consul, representing Rudolph Frankson, the consul general, who is ill." The bust should bear the inscription: "From the Emperor of the Germans to the Emperor of America."

The dam owners of Condersport, Pa., who were responsible for the loss of over 100 lives, have been indicted. A dispatch dated December 21 says: "The Potter county grand jury to-day returned indictments against Geo. C. Bayless, president, and Fred M. Hamlin, superintendent, of the Bayless Pulp and Paper Co., of Austin, charging involuntary manslaughter because of the Austin dam disaster September 30 last. The grand jury failed to return a true bill in the case of Michael C. Bailey, the caretaker of the dam, who was held to the grand jury by a justice of the peace. It is said Bailey will be called as a witness when Bayless and Hamlin go to trial at the March term of court."

Here is another hypocritical method of labor exploitation by one of the big trusts. Capitalist papers circulate this item of Christmas news: "Directors of the American Sugar Refining Company announce plans to be submitted to stockholders for the signing of the 7500 officers and employees of the company. An appropriation of \$300,000 is suggested as a nucleus for the proposed fund, and the pensions will run from \$20 a week to \$5000 a year for high officials. Men will be retired after thirty years of service or at the age of 65, and women after twenty-five years, or at the age of 50. The pension will be 1 per cent of the average annual earning of the person concerned during the last ten years before retirement.

Five Thousand Carmen Get Wage Increase, says a press dispatch from Wilkesbarre, Pa., which reads: "Fifteen hundred carmen of the Wilkesbarre Traction Company, who threatened to strike on the first of the year, accepted a compromise from the company and decided to sign a three-year contract. The men get an increase in wages, being paid at the rate of 24 cents per hour instead of \$2 per day flat. The carmen demanded 26 cents an hour some time ago and the company offered 23 cents. This was turned down, and at a meeting to-day it was decided to accept the counter proposition of 24 cents per hour. A new clause in the agreement gives old men preference in the future; the rule of seniority will be used in distributing the choice jobs with the company.

Reverend John Haynes Holmes, in speaking at the Church of the Messiah, in New York on the McNamara case, said: "With all due respect to the ex-President of the United States, it is not true that 'murder is always murder,' and the McNamara brothers are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word. Rather they are unselfish soldiers of a cause. What circumstances made these men think that they were justified in committing that crime? The whole power of the Steel Trust vested in the Erectors' Association was turned against the Structural Iron Workers' Union, the only one which had been left uncrushed; simply because it was a union. Then the association acted in the same way as a union does which employs strike and boycott methods. Human nature being human nature, dynamite was inevitable; for what channels of protest have we placed before the workingman except violence? There are no laws for them and no court to enforce any laws there might be. The press understands them and the church is reluctant to receive them. Violence cannot be justified from the standpoint of absolute ethics, for America is not yet Russia, even as regards the steel industry; but neither can it be denounced until the denouncers have removed all provocation and opened up a way of protest for the workingman. Violence, the strike, the boycott are war measures, for the laborer is not dealing with his friends. If you object to them, you object to the Boston Tea Party and the Battle of Bunker Hill. Do not blame the laborer for his acts, but blame the capitalists as you should blame the men who first fired on Fort Sumter instead of Sherman, who made that disgraceful march through Georgia."

Horrible Conditions of Child Slavery! The taking of testimony by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, preparatory to the drafting of a bill for the legislature concerning factory and factory labor regulation has ended. The commission heard more about child labor, a good deal concerning tuberculosis among Italian immigrants, and the details of a new plan of Henry Bruere, the head of the Bureau of Municipal Research, regarding the respective powers of the Tenement House Department and the Department of Buildings. George A. Hall of the Child Labor Committee told the commission that there were more than 40,000 children working in New York tenement houses and earning \$3 a week, and that many foreigners sent abroad for children under 14; thinking they can be put to work as soon as they land. "In 1896," he added, "there were 21,220 children with working papers. This number increased in 1910 to 36,351."

Where is Sleuth Burns? Here is a real live dynamite case, reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of December 21: "Reno, Nev., Dec. 18.—The new county courthouse at Yerington, Lyon county, which was nearly ready for occupancy, was almost completely destroyed by dynamiters at 1 o'clock this morning. There were two mighty detonations that followed each other at about a minute interval. The second story of the building was wrecked and torn asunder from the other floor, which was badly damaged. All of the electric and plumbing fixtures were utterly ruined. The loss to the contractors will be in the neighborhood of \$50,000, and late reports state that the whole building will have to be razed. The bond issue gave the county \$50,000 to build the edifice. There was a fight when the county seat was removed from Dayton, and proceedings were instituted to stop the removal by injunction, leaving ill feeling among the factions. When the bids were let the contractors of the county denounced the county commissioner for awarding the contract to a Reno firm, and many in Yerington are saying that the war is between the contractors. The commissioners have offered a reward of \$1000 for the arrest and conviction of the dynamiters, but no clew has been obtained.

Speaking of the now celebrated McDermott-Farrington case before Judge Withrow, Louis Post writes in The Public: "The jury in that St. Louis case, by refusing to find the verdict the judge ordered, and by returning one on their own conscience and according to their own judgment, have performed a badly needed and most useful service. It now remains now for some equally sensible and brave jury or juror to resent in open court the next instance of a common practice—some judge's insolence in rebuking a jury in open court for finding a verdict their way instead of him. Jurors in a panel are as truly officers of the court as is a judge on the bench; their function of finding verdicts is as high as his in interpreting law; and a rebuke in open court by him to them for finding a verdict he disagrees with is as truly of the nature of contempt of court as if they could punish it. If the judge who is guilty of it won't punish himself, as a judge with any sense of humor who had blundered into exhorting a jury for its verdict would do, the jury ought to go at least as far as to protest in the name of American citizenship and the law of the land. A judge may indeed denounce a jury when he gets into his private room. That would be only a variation of every defeated lawyer's right to go 'into the tavern woodshed and cuss the court.' But what we are contending for is the right of every jury which returns its own verdict of its own members to be free from any insolence from the judicial bench for having done so. If the jury system is bad or worn out, let's get rid of it by law, and not by judicial usurpation."

THE BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT.
Convention Held at Atlanta, Ga.
Takes Definite Action on Numerous Matters and Adopts A. F. of L. Recommendations.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 26.—The convention of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., was held immediately subsequent to the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention.

The report of the secretary-treasurer showed that the average membership for 1911 was 294,345. The receipts for 1911 were \$18,492.49, with expenditures of \$19,086.09—leaving a balance in the treasury of \$3,235.96, there having been a surplus last year of approximately \$3,800. There are 20 organizations in full affiliation. During the year 13 local council charters were granted and two were reissued, with 11 charters suspended.

The American Federation of Labor convention took definite steps to amalgamate the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, and in this action the Building Trades Department concurred, rescinding its former action and inviting the United Brotherhood of Carpenters to again

The Moneyed Class Notices It.

Editorial in The Memphis Press.

The "Smart Set" of smart New York is becoming aroused "by the gravity gravity of the situation between capital and labor" as disclosed by the McNamara matter. Mrs. Belmont, Mrs. Alexander, Pierpont Morgan's daughter and others of the so-called moneyed class have held meetings and listened to resolutions of this tenor:

"That our country is in danger of becoming a house divided against itself."

Suppose that what Detective Burns, the exiled district attorney at Los Angeles and Indianapolis and the vengeful heads of labor-crushing organizations announce in respect of a nation-wide conspiracy of dynamiters is true. Suppose that, as these parties claim, there is an organization, supported by money of thousands of wage-earners, for the purpose of blowing up shops and their workmen.

What does it mean? Does it mean merely an organization of criminals willing to risk hanging simply to gratify blood-lust? If it does not mean this, what else can it mean than the beginning of a revolution, A WAR OF CLASS AGAINST CLASS, a condition that the houses of Morgan, Belmont, Alexander, Gould and Vanderbilt, the privileged moneyed class, may well deprecate? Maybe some of the mesdames of this moneyed class have read about that time, 120 years ago, when the moneyless tore off the heads of gentlemen, with their naked hands, in the streets of Paris, merely because the victims were aristocrats.

become affiliated. In the matter of the Steamfitters, the action of the A. F. of L. convention was also concurred in.

The Committee on President's Report, in the matter of dual organizations, adopted the report of the committee, wherein it was recommended that "members of dual organizations be treated as non-union men, and that local councils be instructed to take proper action in the premises consistent with trades union principles wherever possible."

The Department convention also closely followed the recommendation of the Adjustment Committee of the A. F. of L. convention when it declared "one craft one organization." However, the Building Trades Department, in order to more clearly specify what was meant, changed the declaration to read, "One trade, one organization."

The Adjustment Committee, in its final report, introduced a resolution the import of which is to eliminate strikes occurring on construction work over jurisdictional questions. It provides a plan of arbitration to settle these differences without cessation of work. The committee's report was adopted with only minor changes.

The election of officers resulted as follows: James Short, Journeymen Stone Cutters, president; George F. Hedrick, Brotherhood of Painters, first vice-president; Frank M. Ryan, Structural Iron Workers, second vice-president; O. A. Tveitmo, Cement Workers, third vice-president; M. O'Sullivan, Sheet Metal Workers, fourth vice-president; Frank J. McNulty, Electrical Workers, first vice-president; William J. Spencer, Plumbers, secretary-treasurer. The next convention will be held next year in Rochester, N. Y., just subsequent to the annual convention of the A. F. of L.

DATA OF THE BRITISH COMPENSATION ACT.
Government Issues Blue Book Containing Statistical and Other Valuable Information.

London, Dec. 16.—The government has just issued a blue book giving the statistics of compensation and of proceedings under the workmen's compensation act of 1906 and the employers' liability act of 1880, during the year 1910. The returns have been gathered from the seven great groups of industries—mines, quarries, railways, factories, harbors and docks, constructional work and shipping. These industries in 1910, according to the blue book, embraced 134,820 employers and more than 7,000,000 employees who came within the provisions of the workmen's compensation act of 1906. Compensation was paid in these industries in 1910 to 3,510 cases of death and 378,340 cases of disablement. The average payment when death resulted was \$744, and in cases of disablement, \$27. Taking the industries enumerated together, the annual charge for compensation averaged \$1.86 for each person employed. It was lowest (\$1.03 for each person) for persons working in factories and highest for those employed in mines (\$4.90 for each person) and in docks (\$4.93 for the individual). In the coal mining industry the annual charge for compensation worked out

Note the attitude of government and society while the house seems to be dividing against itself. Grand juries assembling at a dozen points, prosecutors threatening indictments by the newspaper pageful, good citizens interviewed right and left to denounce the confessedly guilty. And not a word as to the underlying cause. No lesson in it all to those who greedily grab the loot of special advantage.

If thousands of employed workmen are donating money to dynamiting, there is the house already divided against itself and, sooner or later, one part of it must go down. In our glorious country and age, the division should come, if at all, bloodlessly, humanely, intelligently, for, more powerful and thorough than bomb, pistol or torch, there is to every man, and soon must be to every woman, the ballot.

Bloody revolution cannot come in our republic until the people have lost confidence in the ballot. For this reason, we look upon that deal with the McNamaras on the eve of election, and for the purpose of influencing the election, as a high crime against the life of the republic. It was the Morgan-Gould-Vanderbilt-Rockefeller-Carnegie-Harriman class using murderers to defeat an intelligent, passionate expression of the popular will. It was assassination of all motives of patriotism and justice, and only cowardice and the most dangerous apathy prevent its universal denunciation as such.

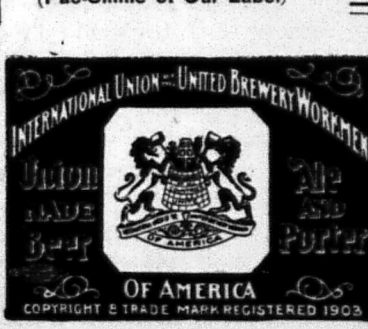
Class consciousness! Well may the moneyed class get together and pass deprecatory resolutions!

at about 18 cents per ton of coal raised. The compensation paid in the industries enumerated in 1910 aggregated \$13,141,131, as compared with \$11,067,579 in the preceding year. When the cost of management and other expenses are included, the total charge or expense cast upon the seven industries enumerated in the report aggregated, it is estimated, about \$19,466,000. In these figures are included, in addition to accidents, cases of the various industrial diseases, now 24 in number, included under the workmen's compensation act. Compensation was paid in 1910 in 36 cases of death from disease and in 4,438 cases of disablement. Of the cases originating in industrial diseases, 85.2 occurred in the mining industry, and were due principally to nystagmus, beat hand, beat knee and beat elbow. Of the remaining cases 519 were attributable to lead poisoning. So general now are the claims made under the workmen's compensation act of 1906 that in 1910 there were only 217 cases which the courts were called to pass upon under the employers' liability act of 1880.

HAYES DENIES FOOLISH RUMOR.

Washington, Dec. 23.—Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, in a statement before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Atlanta, positively and emphatically denied the rumor that the miners were considering withdrawing from the A. F. of L. He stated that the miners had always been loyal to the trade union movement and would continue so in the future. In spite of this, there are one or two publications that persist in repeating the rumor. Undoubtedly Vice President Hayes voiced the sentiments of the rank and file of the coal miners when he made his statement, and certainly he is more familiar with the attitude of the miners than any other individual outside of the organization.

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Shall Poisoning Continue

Match Workers' Fate Depends On Esch Bill.

One of the first bills the present Congress will be asked to consider is the Esch bill, which was referred to the Ways and Means Committee last year.

The Esch bill provides for a prohibitive tax on white phosphorous matches. The use of this poison causes phosphorous necrosis or "phossy jaw." Every year 65 per cent of all the match workers in this country are exposed to it. Among these are many women and children. Infection takes place through the mouth, and the teeth decay and fall out and the jawbone literally rots away. The jaw has to be cut out, and in many cases a bandage worn. A liquid diet must be used for the rest of life, and indistinct mumbling takes the place of words. Sometimes the mind is affected.

Phossy Jaw Now an American Disease.

The United States is behind almost every civilized country in the world in regard to legislative prevention of "phossy jaw," which is now called an American disease. Great Britain and Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Finland, Italy, Madagascar, Spain, many of the countries in Africa, even the Fiji Islands, supposedly most uncivilized of places, have laws protecting match workers from phosphorous poisoning. This legislation in some places was enacted over forty years ago.

France, taking over the production of matches as a government industry, found that all revenue was used up in damages which, under the workmen's compensation law of France, had to be paid annually to sufferers from "phossy jaw." Every sanitary measure known was rigidly enforced in an effort to stop the disease. When these were found unsuccessful, the French government conducted investigations, which resulted in finding a substitute for the poisonous white phosphorous. This sesquioxide of phosphorous is now used all over the world. The passage of the Esch bill, by prohibiting the poisonous phosphorous, would make its use general here.

Prohibitive Law Necessary.

When the American Association for Labor Legislation started a campaign for the Esch bill, it was pointed out that the right to use this substitute in the United States was held by the Diamond Match Company, and that independent manufacturers might be put out of business by the passage of the bill.

Cancelled Patent Not Sufficient.

Upon the personal request of President Taft, the Trust has cancelled this patent and the substitute is now available to all other factories.

But until a law is passed prohibiting the making of matches with the poison it will continue to be used. For, even if all the present factories in the country should enter into an agreement against it, as matches so made are a little cheaper, new factories using the poison would at once spring up.

The annual increase in the cost of matches without the poison has been estimated at one cent to every match user.

Workers' Fate Depends on Esch Bill.

While the manufacturers are willing that the Esch bill be passed, the workers are terribly anxious for it. Upon its fate depends their future. With the awful examples before them of fellow-workers who have been afflicted, they are never free of the fear that their turn may be next. One of the dreaded effects is disfigurement, which makes hideous caricatures of human beings, drawing face and mouth out of shape and sometimes distorting it into a horrible grimace. To hide the loss of his jaw and the holes in his face caused by the phosphorous abscesses, a man often lets his beard grow and, owing to the condition of his face, this gives the terrible grotesque effect of a person swallowing a beard. Women who are the worst disfigured refuse to be photographed, and the outside world never knows what a horrible creature a poor woman may be made to look by this "phossy jaw."

What "Phossy Jaw" Means.

A young widow, Rose ———, who went to work in a match factory in Ohio, was affected by phosphorous poisoning. It made her teeth drop out and developed ulcers which opened into her mouth. With two small children to support, she could not give up until it was necessary for her to go to a hospital and have her jaw, or rather what was left of it, taken out. While helpless in her suffering, she had to have money for her hospital expenses, and the company gave her \$400 upon her signing a paper relieving them from all obligation.

When she came out of the hospital, she tried desperately hard to get other work to do to support her two children. She was only 35 years old, but the poison had so devalitized her that she looked sixty. She can never eat any solid food and she cannot speak. The roof of her mouth rests on her tongue.

How It Disfigures.

The injurious effects of this poison are perhaps more horrible than that of any other known occupational disease. The disfigurement, odor, humiliation and permanent disability are even worse than the acute agony, which is usually a matter of a few years.

One Wisconsin woman, however, has been sick for the past nine years, and the bones of her mouth are still breaking up with the dread necrosis. They pass away in the form of pus, which keeps her in a state of nausea, and requires constant sanitary attention in order to keep it from dripping into her throat.

Science, government and private research, precedent in other countries, both the employes and the employers are on the side of the Esch bill. It is an amazing array of arguments.

What Can Labor Hope?

If, in the face of all this, legislation cannot be secured in regard to this awful menace to health, what hope has Labor that its good is ever to be considered by Congress?

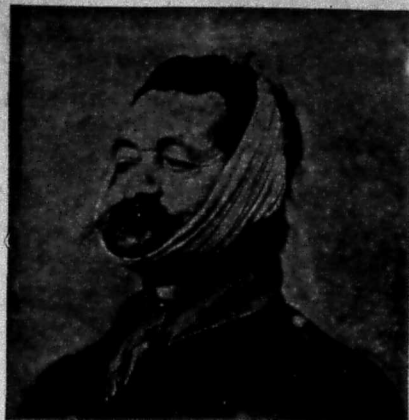
Commenting on the failure of the last Congress to pass this bill, the New York Times said, editorially, December 5, 1911:

"No more senseless and harmful action than this, by a Republican Congress, could have been taken against the best interests of the public. Will the Democratic Congress, in which Mr. Esch's bill will be reintroduced, refuse, in its turn, to impose an internal revenue tax so high that no manufacturer can use the pernicious and only slightly cheaper process?"

The American Association for Labor Legislation is planning to take some "phossy jaw" victims to Washington when the Esch bill comes up for a hearing. Only those near Washington can come, however, as the odor from the disease, even with the greatest personal attention to cleanliness, is so unspeakable that transportation by railroad is out of the question.

How to Help Pass this Bill.

The American Association for Labor Legislation asks that citizens write to their Representatives in Congress and to the Ways and Means Committee of the House, Representative Underwood, chairman, urging the passage of the Esch bill.



JOHN WERNER.

A Typical Case of Phosphorous Poisoning. Photographed November, 1911.

The Rights of Half A Nation.

By Joseph E. Cohen.

Suppose that some were to suggest that half the voters of this nation should be disfranchised. Might not such an act bring about a civil war as terrible as that of 1861?

Yet as wild as such an idea is, it is no wilder than the idea that the women of our country, or of any other country, are to remain permanently disfranchised.

For women are one-half of this and every other nation. And as true as it is that no land can endure part slave and part free, it is true that woman must be given the title to every political and social right possessed by man.

So long as woman's seat was at the fireside such a question could not arise. So long as the circle of her needs and wants centered in her own home such a problem could not present itself. So long as woman was only a silent partner in her husband's concerns, woman remained on the edge of the current of political and social struggles.

But all his changed when the throbbing of the gigantic machine became the dynamo of progress; it all changed when the bleak, sinister factory wall cast its lengthening shadow over the family hearth.

When woman became a factor in industry, then she became a factor in political and social matters.

When certain trades came to be set apart as "woman's trades" then woman became a part of trade and a part of industry.

When there sprang up "she" towns, where men are relatively as few as are women in the lumber and mining camps of the "he" towns, then woman became an important item in all industrial, political and social questions.

When the point was reached that millions of women in America must regard wage-labor, instead of the care of the home and the rearing of a household, as their means of subsistence, then woman became one-half of the social problem.

When the sex-cancer of olden times became the established institution of our own day; when woman's very soul was reduced to terms of barter and price, then the position of woman and child, even more so than that of man, became the aching heart of the social problem.

And when woman became bonded to wage-labor for life then there was born in her the knowledge that her lot, in a larger sense than ever she had dreamt of, is riveted to that of man's.

Then her vision broadened and her mother love became part of that fraternity and solidarity which is the basis of working-class consciousness.

And as time advanced, woman, especially woman in industry, realized that governments are the agencies whereby the bread and butter of life is portioned out, and that those who control the government divide the portions.

Then came the movement for woman suffrage, the right of woman to self-expression, the right to have voice and vote in regulating the affairs that concern her, the right to help build the civilization of equality and comradeship that is to be.

Nor can the importance of securing suffrage for women be overestimated.

All struggle of any consequence, industrial and social, expresses itself in political quantities. No class ever rose except by political power. No class can ever free itself and free society except by becoming the government.

And the fight for woman's suffrage is as much man's work as it is woman's work. For man cannot be free himself until woman shares that freedom with him.

To free half the nation who are politically inferior is to elevate the whole nation to a high place such as it has never occupied.

Let us make the rights of woman the rights of half a nation, the concern of the whole nation!

Missouri Pure Food Laws.

MEAT DISPLAY ON SIDEWALK IS FORBIDDEN — DOOR AND WINDOW SCREENS COMPULSORY.

CLEANLINESS PROVIDED FOR.

Prosecuting Attorney Must Act When Called upon by Food and Drug Commissioner—Penalty is Either Fine or Jail Sentence or Both.

Section 1. To what places act applies.—Every building, room, basement or cellar occupied or used as a bakery, confectionery, cannery, packing house, slaughter house, restaurant, hotel, dining car, grocery, meat market, dairy, creamery, butter factory, cheese factory, or other place or apartment used for the preparation for sale, manufacture, packing, storage, sale or distribution of any food, shall be properly lighted, drained, plumbed and ventilated and conducted with strict regard to the influence of such condition upon the health of the operatives, employes, clerks or other persons therein employed, and the purity and wholesomeness of the food therein produced; and for the purpose of this act the term "food," as used herein, shall include all articles used for food, drink, confectionery, condiment, whether simple, mixed or compound, and all substances or ingredients used in the preparation thereof.

Sec. 2. Contents of places, and utensils used must be protected.—The floors, sidewalks, ceilings, lockers, closets, furniture, receptacles, implements and machinery of every establishment or place where food is manufactured, packed, stored, sold or distributed, and all cars, trucks and vehicles used in the transportation of food products, shall at no time be kept in an unclean, unhealthy or unsanitary condition, and for the purpose of this act, unclean, unhealthy and unsanitary conditions shall be deemed to exist if food in the process of manufacture, preparation, packing, storing, sale, distribution or transportation is not securely protected from flies, dust, dirt and, as far as may be necessary, by all reasonable means from all other foreign or injurious contamination; and if the refuse, dirt and waste products, subject to decomposition and fermentation, incident to the manufacture, preparation, packing, storing, selling, distributing and transporting of food, are not removed daily; and if all trucks, trays, boxes, baskets, buckets, and other receptacles, chutes, platforms, racks, tables,

troughs, shelves and all knives, saws, cleavers and other utensils and machinery used in moving, handling, cutting, chopping, mixing, canning and all other processes are not thoroughly cleaned daily; and if the clothing of operatives, employes, clerks or other persons therein employed is unclean. The placing of vinegar or other liquors, used as food or drink, in open vessels without covering the same is forbidden. The use of second-hand bottles for vinegar or other liquids, used for food or drink, is forbidden unless the same are first sterilized with live steam. The sidewalk display of food products is prohibited unless such products are enclosed in a show case or similar device, which will protect the same from flies, dust or other contamination: Provided, that food products that necessarily have to be peeled, pared or cooked before they are fit for consumption may be displayed on the sidewalk. Provided, that in such display the bottom of the container be at least eighteen inches above the surface of the sidewalk; but the sidewalk display of meat or meat products is prohibited.

Sec. 3. Further sanitary requirements.—The ceilings of every bakery, confectionery, hotel and restaurant kitchen shall be well plastered, wainscoted or ceiled with metal or lumber, and shall be oil painted or kept well lime-washed, and all interior woodwork in every bakery, confectionery, hotel, dining car and restaurant kitchen shall be kept well oiled or painted with oil paints, and be kept washed clean with soap and water; and every building, room, basement or cellar, occupied or used for the preparation, manufacture, packing, storage, sale or distribution of food, shall have an impermeable floor made of cement or tile laid in cement, brick, wood or other suitable non-absorbent material which can be flushed and washed clean with water.

Sec. 4. Fly screens required.—The doors, windows and other openings of every food producing or distributing establishments, during the fly season, shall be fitted with self-closing screen doors and wire window screens of not coarser than 14-mesh wire gauze.

Sec. 5. Toilet rooms provided.—Every building, room, basement or cellar, occupied or used for the preparation, manufacture, packing, canning, sale or distribution of food, shall have convenient toilet or toilet rooms, separate and apart from the room or rooms where the process of production, manufacture, packing, canning, selling or distributing is conducted. The floors of such toilet rooms shall be of cement, tile, wood, brick or other non-absorbent material, and shall be furnished with separate ventilating flush or pipes, discharging into soil pipes, or on outside of the building in which they are situated. Lavatories and wash rooms shall be adjacent to toilet rooms, and shall be supplied with soap, running water and towels, and shall be maintained in a sanitary condition. Operatives, employes, clerks the material from which food is prepared, or the finished product, before beginning work after visiting toilets, shall wash their hands and arms thoroughly with soap and clean water.

Sec. 6. Cuspidors furnished.—Cuspidors for the use of operatives, employes, clerks or other persons shall be provided wherever necessary, and each cuspidor shall be thoroughly emptied and washed out daily with disinfectant solution and five ounces of such solution shall be left in each cuspidor while it is in use. No operative, employe or other person shall expectorate on the floor or sidewalks of any building, room, basement or cellar where the production, manufacture, packing, storing, preparation or sale of any food is conducted.

Sec. 7. Not used for sleeping purposes.—No person or persons shall be allowed to live or sleep in any room of a bake shop, kitchen, dining room, confectionery or place where food is prepared, served or sold.

Sec. 8. Diseases enumerated.—No employer shall require, permit or suffer any person to work, nor shall any person work in a building, room, basement, cellar or vehicle occupied or used for the production, preparation, manufacture, packing, storage, sale, distribution and transportation of food, who is affected with any venereal disease, smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, yellow fever, tuberculosis or consumption, bubonic plague, Asiatic cholera, eczema or other skin diseases, leprosy, eye disease, typhoid fever (epidemic), epidemic dysentery, measles, mumps, German measles (Rothein), whooping cough, chicken pox or any other infectious disease.

Sec. 9. Food and drug commissioner may abate violations.—The state food and drug commissioner and his assistants or agents by him appointed, the state, county, city and town health officers shall have full power at any time to enter and inspect every building, room, basement or cellar, occupied or used, or suspected of being used, for the production for sale, manufacture for sale, storage, sale, distribution or transportation of food and all utensils, fixtures, furniture and machinery used as aforesaid, and if upon inspection any food producing or distributing establishment, conveyance, employer, operative, employe, clerk, driver or other person is found to be violating any of the provisions of this act, or if the production, cooking, preparation, manufacture, packing, storing, sale, distribution or transportation of food is being conducted in a manner detrimental to the health of the employes and operatives and the character or quality of food therein being produced, manufactured, packed, stored, sold, distributed or conveyed, the officer or inspector, making the examination or inspection, shall furnish evidence of said violation to the prosecuting attorney of the county in which the violation occurs, and it shall be the duty of all prosecuting attorneys to represent and prosecute, in behalf of the people, when called upon by the food and drug commissioner to do so, all such cases of offense(s) arising under the provision of this act. When complaint is made by the said food and drug commissioner, security for costs shall not be required of the complainant in any case at any time of the prosecution or trial.

Sec. 10. Penalty.—Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished for the first offense by a fine of not less than ten (10) dollars nor more than one hundred (100) dollars, or be imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding thirty days, or both, in the discretion of the court. (Laws, 1911.)

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MAGNIFICENT WORK.

Journeyman Stone Cutters' Association Making Progress that is a Glowing Tribute to Its Executive Officers.

Washington, Dec. 23.—The Journeyman Stone Cutters' Association during the past year has made most remarkable progress. General Secretary-Treasurer James F. McHugh, in speaking of the wonderful advance made, has this to say of the general membership:

"They brought it about without the slightest friction between themselves and their employers. Intelligent committees were appointed, who discussed the proposition with the bosses, man-fashion, and gave and took as the case deserved. They did not demand the keys to the safe or turning over the employer's business to them, but went about it just like good, square union men, making their wants known, showing why they deserved what they asked for. Their arguments were sensible and just."

There were 66 branches receiving an increase last year, ranging from 10 cents to \$1.00 per day. The total increase aggregates in additional wages paid to the men approximately \$250,000 a year. In addition to this there have been added to the association 24 new branches. In nearly all of which an increase of wages was secured as the result of organization. In 9 cities the Saturday half-holiday has been secured. In 15 cities where there have been men outside of the union, as a result of the activity of the general union and the local unions, all men employed in the trade have been induced to make common cause with the union men, thus making them solidly organized.

The dual organization which has been contesting the supremacy of the Journeyman Stonecutters' Association is in a sorry plight, with a rapidly dwindling number of adherents.

The general executive officers and the membership of the organization are to be congratulated upon the splendid ability and spirit which is made manifest by this great advance during the past year.

Send us the name and address of your friends and we will mail them sample copies of ST. LOUIS LABOR.

MEETING DIRECTORY

Standing Announcements in this column will be \$5.00 per year, payable in advance.

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PETER KIEFER, Secretary, 5116 Cologne Avenue.

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HOT AIR DEMOCRACY

Don Quixote Horatio is still fighting the proverbial windmill in the editorial columns of the St. Louis Republic.

Last Monday his "leader" was captioned, "Socialism of Two Kinds." Among other nonsensical assertions the Democratic Don Quixote de la Mancha said:

Socialism is primarily a movement by a class for the benefit of a class at the expense of another class. Socialism, therefore, rests upon class consciousness. We never had any class consciousness in this country and we never had any legislation in the interest of a class, aside from that favoring slavery, until the Republican party brought forward its policy of discriminating tariff taxation—not for revenue and not for reasonable protection to American industries, but for flagrant extortion and plunder.

That Socialism is primarily a movement by the working class for the benefit of the working class we frankly and proudly admit.

That Socialism is a movement of one class at the expense of another class, we most emphatically deny.

Socialism teaches the working class that Labor produces all values, all social wealth; that the working class, that performs all labor and produces all values, shall by right be in possession and enjoyment of that wealth.

The working class, taking possession of all the wealth which they have created, owe nothing to the capitalist nor any other class; hence the wealth-producers enjoy no benefit or privilege at the expense of another class, as Horatio seems to figure out.

Wonder what the Don Quixote means by class consciousness! Perhaps he thinks class consciousness is a by-product of capitalist boodle politics.

Socialism is not based upon class consciousness, as he seems to imagine.

Socialism and the Socialist movement are based on economic and social conditions; they are the result of these conditions.

The same economic forces that produced modern capitalism called forth Socialism and the modern labor movement.

Class consciousness, as we Socialists understand and apply it, simply means to be conscious of the fact that the history of society is a long chain of class struggles, a continuous fight for class interests, which is to-day plainly demonstrated by the social warfare between the working class and the capitalist class.

Class consciousness frees the workingman's mind of those metaphysical hallucinations taught by capitalist pharisees of the Don Quixote Horatio kind. According to capitalist conception, every great political and social revolution was due to supernatural powers or to the performance of great men. Socialism tells us that all political and social revolutions are the results of the economic revolutions preceding them.

Horatio's nonsense about the Socialism of the Republican party is unworthy of any serious consideration. His assertions that Socialism would destroy citizenship, bring about injustice, check free government, etc., are explosions of hot-air Democracy.

Here is the secret! Horatio lets the cat out of the bag! He says:

"The Democratic party is, nevertheless, the only organization that can rescue this country from Socialism!"

Horatio wants the capitalists to put up the big campaign fund for fighting Socialism. Plain, indeed.

We happen to know who the owners and publishers of the St. Louis Republic are. The Dave Francis, Rolla Wells, Jim Campbell and Festus J. Wade crowd are too well known to the people of St. Louis, and any attempt of these Big Cinchers and their organ to fight Socialism will fall flat.

We are ready to meet the Big Cinch crowd again. We shall teach them additional political lessons in the coming national campaign.

The Hot-Air Democracy of St. Louis is down and out.

G. A. Hoehn

UNION WATER-MARKED PAPER.

We are in receipt of the following letter from a reader in Michigan:

"Kalamazoo, Mich.,

"Dec. 24, 1911.

"To the Editor:

"Dear Sir—I am sending you 50 cents for an extension on my subscription, that expired with No. 565. Will you please send issue of December 23, as I do not wish to miss a copy?"

"Is there any truth in the statement made in the Papermakers' Journal of this month, that Berger's speech made in Congress, and sent broadcast over the country in pamphlet form, was printed on non-union paper and did not bear the printer's label? I remain yours truly,

"JOHN TURNER."

The Papermakers' Journal for December is not a credit to the union papermakers. If its editor would have reflected a moment, he would have remembered that the "pamphlet" of Berger, which he says was printed on non-union paper and without the union printers' label, was the product of the government print shop at Washington, which is run by Democrats and Republicans, and for whose administration the Papermakers' editor is responsible, because he has always voted those tickets.

If he will take the trouble to look up city printing in Milwaukee, he will find the printers' label on all of it. If he don't, it will be because Democratic and Republican politicians, acting in the capacity of judges, have enjoined the use of the union label. If he can jog his memory, he may be able to think of the Miller case in the government print-

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Most of the Old Officers Re-Elected for Ensuing Term.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE REPORTS ON PLASTER GRAFT IN MUNICIPAL COURTS BUILDING.

THE GRAND LEADER UNFAIR!

Outrageous Work Done by Firm Against Union Girls.

Schwab Clothing Co. Declared Under Boycott by United Garment Workers.

OTHER IMPORTANT BUSINESS.

Von Hoffmann of the Bell Telephone Directory Co. in Role of a Jumping-Jack.

POSES AS UNIONIST AND SOCIALIST.

The meetings of the C. T. & L. U. are getting longer from month to month. The last meeting, held on Christmas Eve, lasted from 2 till 4 p. m.

This was due to several long speeches on vital issues, and partly to the election of officers, or rather of trustees and Legislative Committee.

Election of Officers.

At 3 o'clock the election of officers was taken up.

President Louis Philippi and Secretary Dave Kreyling, being the only nominees, were unanimously re-elected.

The balloting for vice-president was accompanied by some factional feelings, which may be traced to the recent jurisdiction controversy between the Machinists' International Association and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in connection with certain work at the Anheuser-Busch brewery. Brothers Ben F. Lamb of the Machinists and John Riegert of the Steamfitters were nominated. Of the 236 votes cast Riegert had 145 and Lamb 91, and on motion of Lamb, Riegert's election was made unanimous.

The other officers elected were: Financial Secretary—F. A. Heller. Treasurer—Peter Beisel. Trustees—Ruhle, Stahl and Murphy.

Sergeant-at-Arms—A. J. McCoy. Legislative Committee—McDonough, Gleason, Kaemmerer, Fannie Sellins and Stone.

The Bell Telephone Directory Fight.

Considerable time was taken up with the question of unionizing the Bell Telephone Directory work, which is now done by the Donnelly & Son Printing Co. in Chicago, a non-union concern.

Mr. Albert von Hoffmann, president of the Bell Telephone Directory Co. (of which Donnelly is treasurer), was present, and in accordance with the action taken at the previous meeting was granted the floor to explain his side of the controversy.

Mr. Hoffmann repeated the old story that no St. Louis firm was equipped to do the work of the Bell Telephone Co., and for that reason he had offered a 10 per cent bonus over all outside bidders.

Hot Under the Collar.

Mr. von Hoffmann, a man of small stature, enjoys the God-given

ery at Washington, D. C., upon which a Republican president named Roosevelt based his open-shop clamor.

We promise the Papermakers' editor that when he and his like quit voting the old party tickets and send a Socialist Congress to Washington that the speeches of Congressmen and all other printing will not only bear the union label, but all the paper will be union-made, even if a government paper mill has to be erected to get it. As conditions for getting union paper are to-day, it is almost impossible for job printers to furnish it.

The Co-operative Printery, 966 Chouteau avenue, this city, will furnish it on orders, and always has some in stock, though it has been compelled to send to the Eastern mills for it. There is not a pound of union paper to be bought in the St. Louis market. We have but two sources of supply; one is an Indiana paper mill and the other an agent at Albany, N. Y. And we must take what they have on hand. For example, when we gave an order for book paper recently, we were informed that only coated stock was on hand and this in a size not suitable. Well, we wired back to rush it, any way, but it was three weeks on the road. But, in spite of all this handicap, we will do our share to push the union papermakers' product, and trust the editor of their Journal may in the future be fair in his allusions to good union men like Congressman Berger.

bleeding of a first-class talking apparatus. As he proceeded to convince the delegates of the alleged injustice done by Typographical Union No. 8 to his firm he became red-hot under the collar and for a while played the jumping-jack act.

Hertenstein Replies.

Delegate Hertenstein rose to refute the statements made by Mr. von Hoffmann and offered him this proposition:

"That the equipment the company thinks necessary to expedite the work will be made.

"That a bond in any amount for the faithful performance of the work will be furnished.

"That the work will be printed at the same price now being paid for it in the non-union house in Chicago."

Shanessy Used the Club.

Delegate Shanessy was the first one to go after Mr. von Hoffmann rough-shod and minced no words to prove that the gentleman was a loud-mouthed bluffer.

A motion to declare the Bell Telephone Co. unfair, in case of refusal to accept Hertenstein's offer, was discussed at length, but finally declared out of order on the ground that the central body had no constitutional right to declare a boycott, but could only endorse the same on request of an affiliated union.

A motion was then made and adopted that the entire subject matter be referred to the secrecy, with instructions to act in conjunction with the representatives of the Typographical Union No. 8, and that the C. T. & L. U. recommends that the proposition offered by Delegate Hertenstein be recognized as the basis for settlement.

The Grand Leader Fighting Organized Labor.

In a communication, President Lena McLean and Secretary Minnie Boundy of Waitresses' Union No. 249 informed the delegates of the outrageous work done against members of Organized Labor by the management of the Grand Leader department store.

Union men and women connected with the boycott committee are being brutally insulted by members of the firm and pushed off the sidewalk like dogs.

Complaints have been made to the police department, but seemingly without any effect, because the same old rowdy work against Union people goes merrily on.

The Legislative Committee was instructed to take the matter up and give the striking girls of the Grand Leader firm all possible assistance.

Boycott Against Schwab Clothing Co. In a communication from the Garment Workers' District Council the information was conveyed to the delegates that the boycott has been placed on the Schwab Clothing Co. On motion, and after a talk by Delegate Seegers, the boycott was endorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Union, with the proviso that the matter be first investigated by the secretary.

Legislative Committee Submits Important Report.

The Legislative Committee, through Chairman McDonough, submitted a lengthy report, which caused some discussion. We give the report in full:

Report of Legislative Committee.

"St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 24, 1911.

"After waiting for a considerable length of time, the Municipal Kangaroo Court rendered its decision in the case of the Plasterers' Union vs. the Board of Public Improvements, charging said board with gross neglect of their duties in failing to enforce the specifications for the plastering of the New Municipal Courts building.

The Plaster Graft.

"Judge Reber, presiding judge of said kangaroo court, rendered the decision for the court, finding that the Plasterers' charges were facts and that substitution of material was done without the consent of the B. P. I. (who should have known it, as it is their duty to know what materials are being used on all public work), and when inferior material is used on a public contract the B. P. I. are responsible for its use, and no white-wash excuses will for a minute fool the people.

Kangaroo Court.

"The decision is a choice lot of bunk and such as was expected to be the decision. Judge Reber, being the judge of the kangaroo court, is also the President of the Board of Public Improvements, which was on trial for this violation of the specifications on this work. And it does not require a microscope to see why such a decision was rendered in this case. And it must have been a bitter pill for the court to swallow when they found the charges of the Plasterers' Union were facts and that the C. T. & L. U. and Plasterers' Union would not have to crawl into any hole the B. P. I. may have on hand at this time.

Why Those D—d Liars?

"The Municipal Courts building is only a sample of what was going on under the very eyes of the Board of Public Improvements and their inspectors. We have affidavits that in the plaster work done on the Sanitarium contract the specifications were

ignored to a greater extent than they were on the Courts building. There are miles of junk plaster on the Sanitarium buildings, and when the sworn affidavits were shown to Hon. Judge Reber, why the persons making the affidavits were d—d liars. Every citizen who may differ with this moral gentleman is either a cur, a whelp or a d—d liar.

Time to Act.

"Now, is it not about time the citizens of this city demanded of this man that he resign as President of the Board of Public Improvements and make way for a man who will know what is being done on public work that is being paid for by the taxpayers of this city?"

It is high time the rantings of this or any other man against all honest citizens who may try and prevent the city from losing its money through neglect of the B. P. I., or their inspectors, was ended by removing him or them from office, and in the meantime we ask Brother Reber to refrain from swearing, or Santa Claus might put a lemon in his stocking.

"A resolution was introduced in the House of Delegates on December 15th demanding of the B. P. I. to see that the eight-hour law on public work was not violated, and on December 19th the House of Delegates reversed an opinion ten years old, or dated in 1901, to the effect that the eight-hour law was void, in face of a decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1907 that the eight-hour law on public work was valid and good law.

Another Con Game?

"This decision of 1901 must have been canned for special use in a case of this kind. Why was the decision of the court of 1907 not forwarded to the House of Delegates for their information? Was this another of the con games usually handed the labor movement? We demand the House of Delegates to investigate this action on the part of the person or persons to mislead the House on this very important matter, and to further investigate why the contractors on public work do not observe all city ordinances, and we think they will find some very interesting conditions existing relating to public work.

Credit Where Credit is Due.

The Plasterers' Union deserves great credit for their determined insistence on an investigation of the violations of the plastering, which they have proven to be facts, and the tax-paying public no doubt do appreciate the good work done by the Plasterers' Union in showing up the use of inferior materials on public work, and we recommend that the C. T. and L. U. tender a vote of thanks to the Plasterers' Union for the courageous fight made by the Plasterers' Union for and in behalf of all the citizens of St. Louis.

"J. P. McDONOUGH,

"Chairman.

"MRS. SADIE SPRAGGON,

"OTTO KAEMMERER,

"GEO. STALEY,

"J. C. SHANESSY, Sec'y."

Other Important Items.

Secretary Kreyling reported that J. V. O'Connell's cigar shop has been unionized and the label of the Cigar-makers' International Union will again be used by said firm.

Prospects that the Astor Theater troubles will soon be adjusted.

Boilermakers' grievance against the Goetz Boiler Co. was satisfactorily settled, Mr. Lemp assisting the committee.

Delmar Garden management was ordered by court in Clayton to pay \$500 to the Central Trades and Labor Union and Building Trades Council for McNamara protest meeting of July 4.

Charters have been granted the Stenographers' Union and Laundry Drivers.

Chauffeurs' strike is still on and employers are using all means to defeat the union.

Cannot Penalize Union.

The controversy between the Bar-Tenders and Waiters against the Musicians' Union was taken up by the Executive Board. It was found that said board had no right to penalize any affiliated union in the manner asked in the charges. The Executive Committee recommended, however, that in the future all affiliated unions, when entering into contracts with any and all parties, insist on a clause being inserted in the contracts that will reserve the right for the union to take any action they may see fit in behalf of any other affiliated union that may become involved in a dispute with the employer during the life of said contract.

Notes.

Molders are on a strike at Meardt's Patent Pulley Works, that furnish some of their products to the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Co.

Wehrenberg's butcher shop is still handling unfair products of the Independent Packing Co.

Secretary Kreyling was instructed to consider boycott against the Angelica Jacket Co.; also against the Excelsior Theater.

Intercollegiate Socialist Society

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OPENED.

Room 902, 105 W. 40th St., New York City.

The third annual convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was held last Thursday and Friday in New York City. Among the well-known speakers were Mayor-elect George R. Lunn of Schenectady, Congressman Victor L. Berger, New York Assemblyman-elect Herbert M. Merrill, John Spargo, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Morris Hillquit and others. In the past year the society, whose headquarters is at 105 West Fortieth street, New York City, has increased its chapters from 12 to 41.

The first session was held Thursday at 2:30 p. m. at the studio of Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, 99 Grove street. J. G. Phelps Stokes, president of the society, delivered an address of welcome. This was followed by the reports of delegates from the thirty-eight undergraduates and three graduate chapters of the society.

On Thursday evening the New York Alumni Chapter, now numbering over 200, gave a reception to the delegates and friends of the society at the Finch School, 61 East 77th street. Short talks were given by John Spargo, Herbert M. Merrill, Mrs. Jessica G. Finch, Ellis O. Jones and others.

Friday morning, at Miss Stokes' studio, methods of organization and of reaching the college body were discussed. And in the afternoon Morris Hillquit and J. G. Phelps Stokes answered questions on various phases of the Socialist philosophy and tactics.

The final convention event was the dinner, Friday evening, at Kall's restaurant, 16 Park place. "The Forces That Make for Socialism" was treated by Victor L. Berger, George R. Lunn and Vida D. Scudder. Morris Hillquit presided.

Chapters are already organized in: (New England States) Harvard, Brown, Amherst, Clark, Wesleyan, Springfield Training School, Connecticut Agricultural College; (Middle Atlantic States) Columbia, Barnard, Princeton, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Rochester, New York University, College of the City of New York, College, Union Theological, New York Dental, Meadville Theological; (Western States) Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, Ohio State, Oberlin, Oklahoma, Washington (Mo.), DePauw, Baker, Marietta, American School of Osteopathy, Morris Pratt; (Pacific States) California, Stanford, Washington.

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Local Labor Field

BY OTTO PAULS

TAXI MEN STILL OUT—
PRESS REPORTS WRONG.

Daily press reports to the effect that the strike of the taxicab men had been declared off are false and misleading. These reports were circulated during the temporary absence of L. T. McArthur, who is in charge of the strike.

Organizer McArthur states that the situation is very favorable to the men and that the strike is in better shape now than ever before. He expects to stay in the city for several months, looking after the interests of the Teamsters' Union.

To stop the discrimination of hotel managers against union taxicab men, a bill will be introduced in the House of Delegates that will provide equal rights to all drivers to the curb space in front of hotels and business places.

SCHWAB CONCERN
DRAWS FIRE OF
GARMENT WORKERS.

The Garment Workers' District Council is preparing for a vigorous boycott campaign against the Schwab Clothing Company.

President Otto Kaemmerer says: "This firm has given the garment workers in their employ such unbearable conditions in the past seven years that they were compelled to take up the gauntlet thrown down to them. This firm has made such wholesale reductions in wages that to-day they are paying our cutters 30 per cent less than was paid ten years ago; this in spite of the increased cost of living to-day. They practice the holding back of a certain share of the meager wage of \$4.00 a week from women and girl workers. Instances have been cited where they have failed to return such sums. To stop these and numerous other abuses the employees organized a union. Of these many have been discriminated against and blacklisted through the action of Mr. Schwab, who is at this time president of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

"We did our best to adjust the matter peaceably with the firm, but they would not listen to reason or fair play. Consequently we are duty bound to push the fight until we get justice for the members of our trade who were blacklisted and discriminated against by this greedy corporation.

"Our motto will henceforth be: Push the fight vigorously until victory and justice is won!

"The Central Trades and Labor Union has taken up the matter, and at its meeting Sunday Secretary Kreyling was instructed to see the firm and make one more effort to adjust the matter, if possible."

LOCAL UNION OFFICIALS
RECENTLY ELECTED.

Painters No. 137.

President—Arthur Hope.
Vice-President—Ed Drum.
Conductor—Phil Bartholo.
Warden—Gus Schneider.
Business Agent—Chas. Lammert.
Trustee—Walter Bickel.
D. C. Delegates—F. Leslie, Chas. Lammert, A. Stoppelkamp, G. V. Mueller.
C. T. & L. U. Delegates—W. Bickel, C. Hirschenhofer, C. Lammert, C. L. Lewis.

Painters No. 115.

President—R. M. Baker.
Vice-President—P. J. Grimes.
Recording Secretary—Theo. Bierdeman.
Treasurer—Henry Geltz.
Business Agent—Wm. Kemp.
Trustees—J. P. Jennings, J. J. Joyce, R. M. Baker.
D. C. Delegates—J. P. Jennings, W. Kemp, J. Franklin, W. H. Conway, P. J. Grimes, J. J. Joyce, J. L. Carter, L. Mays.

Carpenters No. 5.

President—Frank Rascher.
Vice-President—Wm. Haake.
Recording Secretary—F. C. Horstman.
Financial Secretary—H. Joern.
Treasurer—Ernst John.
Conductor—Chas. Siebert.
Warden—Chas. Schwartz.

Carpenters No. 257.

President—W. W. Miles.
Vice-President—A. Alsop.
Recording Secretary—C. H. Chamberlain.
Financial Secretary—W. E. Miller.
Treasurer—H. Mittendorf.

Carpenters No. 73.

President—W. M. Davis.
Financial Secretary—Jas. Crangle.
Recording Secretary—P. DeLille.
C. T. & L. U. Delegates—W. M. Davis, Geo. Newman, C. C. Douglas, W. T. Web, Sam Randall.

Beer Drivers No. 48.

President—J. G. Haus.
Vice-President—Fred Helfrich.
Secretary—Wm. Frech.
Financial Secretary—C. Ebinger.
Treasurer—Jos. Rustige.
Executive Board—J. Baer, H. Singer, J. E. Bokel, Wm. Boehmer, E. J. Muller.
Joint Executive Board—Hy. Hauser, E. J. Mueller, Jos. Rustige.
C. T. & L. U. Delegates—E. J. Mueller, C. Rathert, Sam Walls, P. Schlette, Wm. Boehmer, J. Baer.

Dark Days In American Labor History

The Hours of Storm and Stress As Described by Pioneers of the American Labor Movement

In his work, "Thirty Years of Labor," published in 1889, Terrence V. Powderly, then general master workman of the Knights of Labor, said:

"Until quite recently the movements of workmen in the direction of an organization did not attract much attention. The historian did not feel called upon to take more than a passing glance at labor societies until within the last five years. Associations of workmen were confined, principally, to the trades, while the great mass of the laboring men were not counted, or considered, in the make-up of the labor organizations of the past. * * * No concentrated effort of the various organizations of labor ever assumed sufficient proportions to be regarded as having a bearing on the relations existing between the employer and employes."

During the decade 1880-1890 the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, accompanied by the rapidly increased introduction of labor-saving machinery, had grown to alarming proportions. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, in his first report, published in 1886, called the country's attention to the tremendous revolution which was then going on in the mode of capitalist production. Mr. Wright's report was widely circulated by the labor organizations, and the material contained therein was made good use of by the labor agitators and organizers in those days.

This country was then in the midst of the general excitement of the great eight-hour movement, which was the result of many years of hard and sacrificing work on the part of a small number of pioneer agitators.

Over Thirty Years of Labor and Sacrifice

had been preceding the great eight-hour movement of 1885-86—sacrifices that are not recorded on the pages of history, suffering that was not appreciated except by a few, persecution very similar to that endured by the early pioneers of the Russian Revolutionary movement.

It is the object of this series of articles to acquaint our readers with the principal personnel who played their roles in the great drama of the early days in American labor history.

Labor's Suffering and Distress Prior to the Civil War.

The year 1859 was a time of great suffering and distress for the American wage worker. The beggar and tramp made his appearance. Workmen by the tens of thousands were unemployed. Every large city and town had its army of unemployed, many of whom were compelled to beg for bread. Yet the warehouses and stores were filled with the products of labor, the commodities were cheap, but the working people were without means to buy them. The nation stood at the verge of bankruptcy.

The Panic of 1857 Had Done Its Work.

Within a few short years a new system of production had developed. A system which tended to brush aside the old independent mechanic and forced him into the factory, where he was compelled to work for wages under the master that owned the means of production. The rapid march of labor-saving machinery increased the producing capacity. Soon the warehouses were filled with the products, wages were small, and hence there appeared what the capitalists called over-production, but which Carroll D. Wright, thirty years later, very correctly called under-consumption.

Wage Workers Were Living in Ignorance.

The suffering wage workers knew only one thing: that they were suffering, that there was something wrong somewhere, that something should be done to bring about a change for the better.

They could not understand the cause of their troubles. They were ignorant as to economic and political problems and failed to see the need of labor organization.

The capitalists began to organize into combinations and pools. Why should the working people not follow their example and do likewise? This question soon troubles the minds of many of the more intelligent

East St. Louis Delegates—J. Sweeney, P. Schwinn, J. Walwer.
Brewery Trades Council Delegates—J. G. Haus, Wm. Frech.

Molders No. 19.

President—John Birkenmeier.
Vice-President—Jos. Miller.
Recording Secretary—M. Nolan.
Assistant Financial Secretary—F. Bittman.
Inductor—A. Pohle.
Doorkeeper—V. Mueller.
Trustees—Chas. King.

Looking Backward

The Thirty Years of Struggle Preceding the 1885--86
Eight Hour Movement.

The Crisis of 1857.

Wm. H. Sylvis As One of the Great
Pioneers of the American
Labor Movement.Formation of the First National Unions Was A Hard
Problem to Solve.

Machinists, Blacksmiths and Iron Molders Lead.

gent toilers. Of course, there had been some labor societies organized here and there in the early days of the republic, but they were few and very isolated.

When the Awakening Took Place.

During the critical days of 1857-59 the question of organization was much discussed in labor circles. One of the first efforts made was to get the isolated local unions scattered all over the country into co-operation and systematic work. In other words, the first attempts were made to form national organizations of labor.

Machinists and Blacksmiths Call National Convention.

It was on March 3, 1859, when the few local unions of Machinists and Blacksmiths of the country opened a national convention in Philadelphia and organized the first national convention of these trades.

The preamble adopted by this national convention opened with the following paragraph:

"Whereas, In the present organization of society, capital and labor being, as a matter of necessity, united in all kinds of productive industry (and, as is generally the case, represented by different parties), it has come to pass: That, in consequence of the smallness of the number representing capital, their comparative independence and power, their ample leisure to study their own interests, their prompt co-operation, together with the aid of legislation, and last, but not least, the culpable negligence of the working classes themselves; that, notwithstanding their joint production is amply sufficient to furnish both the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life, yet the fact is indisputable that while the former enjoy more than their share, the latter are correspondingly depressed."

One of the delegates present at this convention was Terrence V. Powderly. The name selected for the new national body was Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union of North America.

Employers. Organize to Resist Labor Union.

The capitalists watched the formation of this national union with keen interest. During the year 1859 there were several local strikes in a number of places, especially in iron foundries. The owners of the foundries in the Eastern and Middle Western States issued a call for the purpose of forming a National Founders' League. This new organization of foundry owners attempted to import strikebreakers from Europe. Naturally enough, this attempt to break the strikes created live interests among all classes of wage workers, even among those not directly connected with the strike movement.

William H. Sylvis the Pioneer Labor Leader.

One of the workmen very much alive to the labor situation of those

days was an iron molder by the name of William H. Sylvis, who had for some time engineered the plan of combining the few local unions of foundry workers in the different parts of the country into a national organization of Iron Molders.

As a man of considerable energy and courage, he succeeded in carrying out his plan. On the fifth day of July, 1859, a national Iron Molders' convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia and there and then formed the Iron Molders' International Union of North America.

Sylvis Makes Convention Issue Address to Molders of America.

Sylvis was one of the brightest minds among the American wage workers of that time. He prepared an Address to the Iron Molders of America, which this first national convention of the trade adopted and issued. This address shows a wonderfully clear conception of the situation then confronting the American proletariat.

"Labor has no protection—the weak are devoured by the strong. All wealth and all power center in the hands of the few, and the many are their victims and their bondmen. * * * In all countries and at all times capital has been used by those possessing it to monopolize particular branches of business, until the vast and various industrial pursuits of the world have been brought under the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind.

"Wealth is power, and practical experience teaches us that it is a power but too often used to oppress and degrade the daily laborer. Year after year the capital of the country becomes more and more concentrated, its power increases, and the laboring classes are impoverished. It, therefore, becomes us, as men who have to battle with the stern realities of life; to look this matter fair in the face; there is no dodging the question; let every man give it a fair, full and candid consideration, and then act according to his honest convictions.

A Most Vital Question Put Up for an Answer.

"What position are we, the mechanics of America, to hold in society? Are we to receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate our children and qualify them to play their part in the world's drama; or must we be forced to bow the suppliant knee to wealth and earn by unprofitable toil a life too void of solace to confirm the very chains that bind us to our doom?"

"In Union There Is Strength,

and in the formation of a national organization, embracing every molder in the country, a union founded upon a basis broad as the land in which we live, lies our only hope. Single-handed, we can accomplish nothing; but united, there is no power of wrong we may not openly defy. Let the molders of such places as have not already moved in

this matter organize as quickly as possible, and connect themselves with the national organization. Do not be humbugged into the idea that this thing cannot succeed.

Strong Plea for Organized Labor.

"This is no visionary plan, but one eminently practicable. Nor can injustice be done to any one; no undue advantage can be taken of any of our employers. There is not, there cannot be, any good reason why they should not pay us a fair price for our labor. If the profits of their business are not sufficient to remunerate them for the trouble of doing business, let the consumer make up the balance.

Tore Up Some of the Stereotyped Capitalist Arguments.

"The stereotyped argument of our employers, in every attempt to reduce wages, is that their large expenses and small profits will not warrant the present price for labor; therefore, those just able to live now must be content with less hereafter.

Demanded a Fair Equivalent for Labor.

"In answer, we maintain that the expenses are not unreasonable, and the profits are large and, in the aggregate, great; there is no good reason why we should not receive a fair equivalent for our labor. A small reduction seriously diminishes the already scanty means of the operative and puts a large sum in the employer's pocket. And yet some of the foundry employers would appear charitable before the world.

"We ask: Is it charitable? is it humane? is it honest to take from the laborer, who is already fed, clothed and lodged too poorly, a portion of his food and raiment, and deprive his family of the necessities of life, by the common resort—a reduction of his wages? It must not be so.

To Elevate Labor's Moral, Social and Intellectual Condition.

"To rescue our trade from the condition into which it has fallen, and raise ourselves to that condition in society to which we, as mechanics, are justly entitled, and to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to secure us from further encroachments, and to elevate the moral, social and intellectual condition of every molder in the country, is the object of our international organization; and to the consummation of so desirable an object, we, the delegates in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to unceasing efforts and untold sacrifices."

Mr. Powderly, in his work, tells us that the delegates were so well pleased with this address, drafted by Sylvis, that they decided to adopt it as the preamble to their constitution, framed by the same convention. Thirty years later, the same author tells us, said preamble stood well the test of years and still (in 1889) adorns the first pages of the Constitution of the Iron Molders' International Union of North America.

That same preamble was afterwards adopted by the Association of Erie Railway Employees, in 1869, and by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States.

Sylvis Saw the Need of a General Federation of Labor.

Sylvis realized as keenly as any one that the formation of national and international unions was by no means sufficient to protect labor's interests. For that reason he left nothing undone to impress the already organized workers to federate and join the various national unions into a national labor federation. However, he was too far advanced, too far ahead of his time, and the union men failed to grasp the importance of his advice. He managed to bring the federation idea before every important labor gathering, but aside from assurances of sympathy and endorsements of the idea he received no encouragement or practical support. Sylvis did not get discouraged. He pressed his ideas and plans, being thoroughly convinced that the same forces that had brought the local and national unions into existence would bring about their unity of action in one big national federation.

This brave pioneer had the satisfaction of seeing the Trade Union movement expand and grow in a manner that alarmed the capitalist class. We shall learn more of him and his work in our next week's contribution.

Treasurer—J. W. Fischer.
C. T. & L. U. Delegates—F. W. Schultz, F. Clifton.
Executive Board—T. Mannion, Ed Smith, F. W. Schultz, W. Reinhardt, J. W. Fischer.

United Garment Workers No. 68.
President—J. Prelusky.
Vice-President—Harry Stein.
Recording Secretary—Mrs. A. Crane.
Financial Secretary—L. Sobelsky.
Treasurer—S. Jefferies.

United Garment Workers No. 26.
President—Otto Kaemmerer.
Vice-President—C. F. Britzwein.
Recording Secretary—O. W. Goodin.

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Financial Secretary—J. Rubin.
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HERE AND THERE.

Grand Leader is unfair! Stay away! Tell your wife.

Metal Polishers No. 13 has inaugurated a sick benefit society among its members, which pays \$7 per week.

Bartenders No. 51 brought Christmas cheer to many little ones last Monday. Their annual Christmas celebration was a big success.

W. A. Eskridge, national organizer of the Molders' Union, spent the holidays in St. Louis. He has been stationed in Baltimore for some time.

Steam Engineers No. 2 will have an open meeting at 3001 Olive street on Saturday, December 20, which will be addressed by George B. Webster. The public is invited.

Painters No. 13 voted to adopt all the proposed changes in the by-laws of the District Council. Business agents will now be elected by referendum vote, instead of by the District Council.

United Shoe Workers succeeded in having the restraining order dissolved which was granted last July to prevent them from picketing the Brown Shoe Co.'s plant at Eighth and Wash streets. In a verbal opinion dissolving the injunction, Judge Hugo Muench took occasion to rebuke the methods of the Brown Shoe Co. in scathing terms. The plant is now being picketed by the union.

President Owen Miller of Musicians No. 2 vigorously denounces the order of a Mississippi judge that a local musicians' union must withdraw from the national organization. This order was granted at the request of the state attorney-general, who contends that music is a commodity, like potatoes, sardines or salt. Being a commodity, he claims that a national union controlling it is in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

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Joint Board Delegates—Wm. Hefron, H. Wade, G. Ringler.
C. T. & L. U. Delegates—Jos. Kenney, C. Schott, Thos. Hooper, G. Meredith.

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Vice-President—B. H. Lamping.

Recording Secretary—J. Bitterlich.
Conductor—F. C. Berg.
Warden—Chas. Arndt.

Tailors No. 11.

President—Henry Werdes.
Vice-President—Chas. Schenckemeyer.
Recording Secretary—Wm. Reznicek.

Business Agent—Frank Peters.
Sergeant—August Machan.
Trustees—C. Schou, E. Hindler.

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President—Robt. Hall.

Vice-President—Wm. Barnes.
Recording Secretary—D. Candle.
Financial Secretary and Treasurer—Wm. Hartman.
Business Agent—James Moran.

Machinists No. 394.

President—Herman Helwig.
Vice-President—Henry Albert.
Recording Secretary—R. Schneider.

Treasurer—N. Rosenstengel.
Metal Polishers No. 13.
President—F. W. Schultz.
Secretary—J. W. Tucho.
Financial Secretary—Ed Smith.

The Greatest Need of the Workers Is Hope

By Victor L. Berger.

The most formidable obstacle in the way of further progress—and especially in the propaganda of Socialism—is not that men are insufficiently versed in political economy or lacking in intelligence. It is that people are without hope.

Popular effort has so often been thwarted by selfish cunning—great moral enthusiasm has so often been dissipated by the suspicious organization of the ruling classes—that men have lost heart. Despair is the chief opponent of progress. Our greatest need is hope.

The majority of our fellow-workers know of public measures that would be beneficent—if an upward step were possible. But they claim it is impossible under the present system. Some of them wait for some great "revolution" that is to come "some day." Others do not wait for anything. They do not expect anything. They have lost hope. Why?

Both the so-called "revolutionists" and the "let-it-go-as-it-is" men are overwhelmed by a multitude of incidental obstacles which are in themselves of small account.

Petty disappointments cloud the small horizons of these people. Thus they are shut off from the sight of the great universal and historic forces that are working for progress—for Socialism—and even for progress beyond Socialism.

Only these forces work slowly. Slowly and surely.

Revolutions—and special revolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a single idea.

And this idea must be near enough and comprehensive enough and of sufficient importance to stir the very soul of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how "clear cut"—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to splits and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in doing things, and in preparing for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

Furthermore, I say, we ought to have "uniformity" in general principles and general tactics only. We ought to leave minor details to the different state organizations. Especially where the movement is old and well rooted, where there are plenty of tried leaders and where the membership is experienced they are fully capable of the righteous settlement of all incidental questions without interference from the outside.

Instead of more uniformity we ought to have more unity.

And we can gain this only when we leave details to the various subdivisions—and concentrate the efforts of our propaganda on the

simple realities, self-evident and capable of being understood by all.

The first such central truth, to be proclaimed tirelessly by every Social-Democrat, is that the earth is large enough and wide enough to supply all the good things of life to every human being born on it.

Add to this, that the triumphs of modern science make it possible for men to satisfy every natural craving, every healthy desire, every reasonable hope and dream, without any man being compelled to sacrifice another being for his purpose.

This means that this world, now made a hell by human greed, abetted by ignorance and prejudice, might as well be a heaven.

It means that the misery caused by capitalism on one hand and poverty on the other can be displaced by happiness and plenty for all.

Following this, one can demonstrate from history that this capitalist system did not always exist, but succeeded the feudal system, which had followed a system of slavery—each of these succeeding systems being better and more humane than its predecessor.

And we can also easily show then that the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and competition and cannot be legislated out of existence as long as capitalism exists.

The immediate effects of the practical acceptance of these self-evident truths is always wonderful.

Convince men that our country is large enough and rich enough to give them all an opportunity to work and earn enough to support their families in comfort, to educate their children properly and to be absolutely secure in sickness and old age.

Convince men that their present poverty is unnecessary. Proclaim that Capitalism is simply a phase of civilization as Feudalism was and Socialism will be—that nothing that is, lasts forever.

Convince them of this and you have them "for good."

Only take care not to have them tie their hopes for the future to any catastrophe that is to bring the millenium "at one stroke." Take care not to have them hope for any Messiah.

It invariably leads to fatalism of one kind or the other and destroys the incentive for continuous and hard work at the present time.

Therefore, Social-Democratic propagandists, do not weary your hearers with statistics or the definitions of "surplus value." Do not confuse them by trying to explain all the intricacies of the capitalist system and by describing the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth.

Teach them that in order to get a better world we shall have to work for it and fight for it.

Work and fight are the "Messiahs" of proletarians.

Teach the proletariat that the highest patriotism consists in working and fighting for the new world. And that to work and to fight for it is the sublime mission of this generation and possibly also of the next.

Nothing else in this world can compare with this work in importance.

Wages and Morality.

Green Bay, Wis.—Rosa M. Perdue, well-known writer on sociological topics, addressed the Wisconsin Federation of Woman's Clubs here on the subject, "The Relation of Wages to Morality."

Her address in part follows:

"I am asked to speak to you upon a very distasteful subject. There is nothing attractive about it. But we are here to discuss problems and induce action, not to be merely entertained. The relation of wages to morality so deeply concerns a large number of the citizens of the state that remedies were discussed at the last session of the legislature and will be considered at the next.

"Last year the Consumers' League employed Miss Stewart of the United States Department of Commerce and Labor to make an investigation of wages paid to girls and women and the homes and social life of such workers. Schedules were taken from 1,184 girls, mostly from candy factories, shoe, paper box, glove, envelope and clothing factories. In places of the nature the girls are mostly young and unskilled, 252, or 21 per cent, being under 16 years and 863, or 73 per cent, being under 21 years of age, while only 44 were over 30 years.

Average Wages Ascertained.

"In this report the wages were taken from the average amount the girl received during the year, and varied from \$2 to \$11, with one case of \$12, one of \$15 and one of \$18. The average wage of 153, or 13 per cent of the girls, was \$8 or more, and 236, or 19 per cent, are paid less than \$4 per week. The average wages of 202 is between \$4 and \$5 a week; 223 between \$5 and \$6; 227 between \$6 and \$7, and 184 between \$7 and \$8.

"The wages of women and girls employed in hotels, restaurants and private homes must be considered differently because in most cases the employer furnishes room and board. The wages are, however, about the same. Girls from 14 to 16 years of age begin work in private homes at \$1.50 to \$2.50, and mature skilled workers get from \$3 to \$6, according to the nature and amount of work required. Chambermaids of hotels receive \$3.50

per week, while kitchen girls receive \$4 and waitresses \$4.50 to \$5 per week if they room at the hotel, or \$6 if they must room out.

"There is little variation in wages of women in the lower ranks of all employments, because employers watch the wages paid by competitors. When a new girl applies for work she is asked where she worked before, and at what wages. No one firm, the cost of whose product is largely determined by wages paid to labor, can raise wages independently. If it tried to do so its competitors would soon put it out of business. All classes of society, including labor itself, are to blame for the low wages paid to women. To me it is encouraging that the subject is being considered at all.

"The relation which such wages bear to the moral character of the girl is hard to determine. If the girl lives in a home where there are several other wage-earners, even of the same scale, an honorable life can be maintained. If, as is often true, the girl must give all her small earnings to support the family at home, only to find that it is not enough, she is in danger. Miss Stewart's report of conditions tells of one little girl of 15 as the only means of support of a family consisting of a paralyzed father, a mother slowly losing her sight and several small children. Girls to the number of seventy-eight were not living at home.

"The board they were paying ranged from \$1 to \$6 per week, with one girl working for her board nights and Sundays until hood; her clothes are more expensive, and her family makes more demands on her resources."

"The Congress for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, held in Vienna in 1909, passed a resolution asking that 'social life be so modified that young girls in every country receive a wage which shall enable them to live.'" she had paid for her passage to America. Of the girls, forty-eight were boarding on \$3 or less per week.

Cheap Boarding Houses.

"To anyone who has ever investigated cheap lodging and boarding houses, it is indeed deplorable that any young girl

should be forced to live in any place where a landlord expects to make money from girls boarding at \$3 or less per week. If in a private family, so called, it means an utter lack of privacy, illegal and unwholesome crowding, and much of the burden of the household, for no money profit is possible on \$3 a week, and the advantage of taking girls to board must be gained in some other way.

"Very few girls are admitted to cheap lodging houses, but when they are it is in places of uncertain character, where the destruction of character is only a question of time. Fifty rooming and boarding houses were visited by Miss Stewart in her effort to determine the actual necessary expenses of mere existence to a girl who either has no home or must earn her living from home.

"The cheapest meals obtainable are \$3 per week for three meals a day, the midday meal put up to send with the girl if so desired. The price of rooms is more uncertain, the cheapest being \$1.35 per week, a small room with torn and dirty paper, but with heat, light and water provided.

"In only two of the houses inspected were parlors available for the girls. The boarding-house keepers preferred to have the girls receive their company in their own rooms. The moral standard of any very cheap rooming house is an unknown quantity, as many a girl who has tried them will testify.

"The Chicago Commission on the Social Evil places economic conditions second in the list of seven contributing causes for the ruin of young women. The report says: 'Among the economic conditions contributory to the social evil are low wages, insanitary conditions, demoralizing relationships in stores, shops, domestic service, restaurants and hotels; the street vending of children in selling papers and gum, vicious saloon dance halls and other demoralizing resorts; employment agencies which send servants to immoral places; the rest rooms or waiting places where applicants for work resort; too long hours and the high pressure of work, the overcrowding of houses upon lots, of families in the house, and of persons in rooms.

"Speaking of women criminals of this type, Mrs. Welsh, matron in the Auburn (N. Y.) prison, says: 'They are in the main the result of a lack of training in the trades, inconsiderate marriages, ignorance, youth, friendlessness, the general unguided condition of girls, non-employment, low wages, overcrowding in tenements, nervous tension and the high pressure of the life of the average factory employe.'

Gist of Criminal Mill.

"Mrs. O'Reilly, prison commissioner of Massachusetts, says: 'Women criminals are almost entirely the victims of parasitic seasonal trades, that by piece work and starvation wages drain the workers of life, liberty and happiness. The average wage of women is \$4.50, of girls \$2.50, and 20 per cent of women workers are unemployed. Given idleness, hunger and anxiety, the ill-concealed criticism of neighbors and the unendurable tension of nerve and muscle, and it is not long until we find the women who come

before the court for offense against her womanhood.' "The Chicago Vice Commission states that: One of the chief reasons why girls enter the life of prostitution is evidently the economic one. They cannot live on the wages paid them. Contrary to the usual opinion, it costs a girl more to live respectably than a man.

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DOES THE BREAD UNION



YOU EAT BEAR THE LABEL?

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

St. Louis is the headquarters of the \$3,000,000 BREAD TRUST. Its managers have been fighting organized labor for years.

They are opposed to short hours and high wages.

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

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

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

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

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

Cigars { PEN MAR - 10c
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The Legal Status of the Boycott in Germany

By Philip Rappaport

In the following lines I lay before the readers of this paper the most important decisions of German courts of last resort in cases in which the legal status of the boycott was involved and determined. These decisions are particularly interesting for the purpose of comparison with the decisions of American courts, as, for instance, in the case against the Danbury haters, against whom judgment for heavy damages, suffered by their employers through boycott, was rendered, or against Gompers, Mitchell and others, who were enjoined from boycotting the Buck's Stove Co., and sentenced to imprisonment because they put the name of the company on the unfair list.

These German decisions should be especially instructive to those Americans who, if their attention is called to the political activity of the German workmen, never fail to express the opinion that the Socialist may be all right in a monarchy and for the oppressed German workmen, but is entirely unnecessary in a free country like our republic and the citizens thereof, "born free and equal."

In December, 1904, a boycott was declared by the Musicians' Union of Bremen against the proprietor of a place of amusement. The proprietor had refused to pay the wages demanded and efforts toward a compromise had failed. The union placed pickets in front of the place, who distributed handbills in which the "fellow-workers" were asked to stay away from the place and not spend their money where their brothers were not fairly treated. The proprietor sued for damages. The first court awarded damages because appeal was made in the hand-bills not merely to musicians, but also to people not interested. The case was appealed, and the Oberlandesgericht (equivalent to our state supreme court) reversed the judgment. It decided that no rights of the plaintiff had been violated, nor was his liberty endangered, and as the handbills had contained no untrue statement of facts, the plaintiff could not be considered to have been wronged.

A year later in a similar case which had arisen in Hamburg, the judgment of the first court, awarding damages to the plaintiff, was affirmed by the Oberlandesgericht and also by the Reichsgericht (equivalent to our federal supreme court). The courts held that in the class-struggle between employers and employees the boycott is not in itself against good morals and not a forbidden weapon, nor is it wrong to ask other workmen, through the press or other printed matter, to stay away from a place or withdraw their custom. But it becomes a violation of good morals, if these printed appeals to the public in all cases where the point of dispute is not of a general nature, do not contain a statement of the facts leading up to the boycott, true in all respects and sufficient to enable the reader to judge for himself whether the boycott is justified or not, but, if instead of that, as it was in this case, the printed matter contains merely general appeals to class feeling and the sentiment of solidarity of interests.

In 1904 the bakers of the city of Kiel went on strike, followed by the boycott of a number of establishments. A suit for damages followed. Judgment was awarded in the first instance, but the judgment was reversed by the Oberlandesgericht and the reversal was sustained by the Reichsgericht (imperial supreme court). The court said: "The defendants have avoided all personal abuses and animosities. They had a right to ask their fellow workers as well as the general public to aid and support their cause and it is not against good morals to use for this purpose the press and other printed matter. The journeymen demanded a raise of wages. It makes no difference whether this demand was justified or not, it was sufficient that the journeymen considered it justified. The object of the boycott was not against good morals and was morally and legally admissible.

"The defendants (officers of the union) asserted that their offices were posts of confidence; that the workmen relied on them to guard their economic interests and that it was not arrogance and mere desire to rule which caused them to declare the boycott, but a conviction of the necessity to resort to it for the purpose of bettering the economic condition of their comrades. The plaintiffs failed entirely to show that this was not true and the action of the defendants must be declared as not having been against good morals."

In 1907 a judgment for damages against boycotting bakers of Berlin was affirmed by the imperial court. It was stated in the decision that the defendants in their publications instead of stating their grievances in a manner giving the public an opportunity to form their own judgment in the matter, had indulged in abusive and insulting attacks upon the person of the plaintiff, in a manner showing that it was not so much their aim to gain the sympathy of the public for their cause and thereby find redress of their grievances, as rather to injure the plaintiff's reputation and business. This, however, was against good morals.

These decisions need little comment. The right to boycott is clearly established. It is declared to be morally and legally admissible as a means to better the conditions of the

working class. The right to use the press and other publications for the purpose of boycotting and laying their cause before the public is expressly given to the workmen. Only, they must not indulge in personal abuse, but must abide by the truth and must state the cause sufficiently fully, so as to enable the public to form its own judgment upon the justice or injustice of the boycott. In other words, they must not slander. It must appear from their publications that, although they boycott may injure the boycotted party,

yet the injury is not the real ultimate purpose, but only a means to reach their real aim, namely, the bettering of the condition of the boycotter. Otherwise the boycott would be against good morals and, therefore, not permissible.

And right here appears the fundamental difference between German and American judicial conception. In Germany the question is considered a question of good morals; in America a question of property interests. The German courts consider that a personal right is involved, the Amer-

ican courts can see nothing in the boycott but a violation of property rights of man predominance over the rights of man predominance over the courts give the rights of property predominance over the rights of man.

Which conception is more democratic? Which is more humane? And, considering that the German courts simply recognize the class-struggle as an existing fact, it may also be asked, which is more in accord with actual conditions?

The answer should not be difficult.

of ST. LOUIS LABOR of that time. Three thousand shares of the stock, at par value of five dollars, were issued. Of these about 2400 shares have been sold, leaving 600 shares still in the treasury.

Expansion for 1912.

While great things have been accomplished in the short time of its organization, the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY will be called upon to perform much greater service to the Socialist and Union movement in the presidential campaign year of 1912. A number of improvements must be made and some new machinery installed to improve the efficiency of the plant. Foremost is the need of a large automatic power paper cutter, to take the place of the small cutter which came with the job printing plant purchased from Mr. Morlang, and which is entirely too small for cutting newspaper sheets. The lack of a large cutter entails much loss of time and extra cutting charges. A cutter of the best make and adequate size will cost nearly \$900.00, with installation and motor. We hope also to be able to give you the details in next week's ST. LOUIS LABOR of an addition to the publications issued by the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, which will reach out far beyond the present sphere of influence of our press and make possible a far-reaching campaign of education and organization during 1912. The carrying out of these plans successfully requires that the shares of stock still on hand be subscribed for by the comrades and loyal friends of this undertaking. Many comrades who were unable to do so at the time of the organization of the Publishing Company are now probably in a position to do so, and others who subscribed may be able to increase their shares. Number 531 is the number of the last stock certificate issued, which includes cancelled and transferred shares, and shows that less than 500 individuals and organizations have contributed to the capital of the company.

You are now extended an invitation to join in the building up of a publishing institution which must be made a mighty weapon in the struggle of the working class for its emancipation. Join the builders of the coming daily with its powerful influence at all times on the side of the toiling millions. The present issue of stock will in all likelihood be the first and the last offered. As stated, only 600 shares remain now for subscription.

Beginning with the next issue of ST. LOUIS LABOR the names of the subscribers for these shares will be published weekly, and by the time of the annual meeting of shareholders in January the remaining shares should be taken up. Add your name to the list at once by sending one dollar for every share you wish to subscribe for and remit the remainder within ninety days to the management of the

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THE MISSOURI ASSOCIATION FOR THE RELIEF AND CONTROL OF TUBERCULOSIS.

Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR:

Dear Sir—I am pleased to write you that the Missouri Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis has been appointed general selling agent for the Red Cross Christmas Seals in Missouri. It is the earnest wish of the Board of Directors that you participate with it, not only in the sale of the seals, but in furthering the work of the association.

The officers of the association believe that not only will funds be derived from the sale of the seals to carry on the work of the society, but that each seal will bear its message of hope to every sufferer from tuberculosis and will carry the gospel of prevention to those who but for it might become victims of the disease. It has become a well-established fact that the educative value of these holiday messengers exceeds their revenue value to the cause and that where Christmas seal buying becomes a habit there the fight against the white plague is maintained with unremitting spirit.

In Columbia last year the Anti-Tuberculosis Committee sold 40,700 seals; this year the committee proposes to extend the sale into every school district in Boone county and has ordered 100,000 seals. In the town of Columbia the committee has maintained a visiting nurse, who made 1128 visits this year, and plans to put another into the county next year.

In your town and in your county, in your own way, and in proportion to your population, you can do as well or better.

Of the proceeds of the sale of the seals 75 per cent is retained for local uses, 12½ per cent is retained for the use of the State Association, and 12½ per cent goes to the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, which provides the seals, furnishes the advertising matter and bears the burden of their distribution. Unsold seals are returned, and the 25 per cent of the proceeds from the sale are remitted to the State Association when the sale is over and prior to January 10, 1912. Further information may be had by addressing the secretary at Columbia.

Cannot a committee, made up of two or three of your citizens who are earnestly interested in the welfare of your community, be formed which shall start this movement? Later, I shall be glad to suggest to the committee how to spend the money, how to organize, how to keep the spirit up, and will otherwise render all help possible. That is what I am employed for.

If you can publish the whole or part of this letter in the next issue of your paper, you will add immeasurably to the support and efficiency of the association. Yours very truly,
DR. WM. McN. MILLER,
Secretary.

THE HONOR ROLL.

List of Subscription Hustlers Since Last Report.	
Max Stopp	5
Math. Mueller	1
Jul. Szimmitat	1
Harry Siemer	1
S. Bernstein	1
C. Hirschenhofer	1
T. E. Delmore	2
C. Schuetz	1
J. A. Kenney	1
F. J. Kloth	2
Henry Schwarz	2
J. J. Leuenberger	7
W. F. Crouch	4
Jul. Blumenthal	2

Outside Renewals.

Eugene V. Debs	Terre Haute, Ind
Hy. Redman	Hillsboro, Kan
Aug. Spielmann	Rockville, Conn
Jos. Goebel	Newark, N. J
M. E. Kirkpatrick	Granite City, Ill
H. J. Mohler	Coffeyville, Ill
Mrs. Mattig	Nome, Alaska
Phil. Guffin	Waverly, Iowa

OFFICE HOURS SUNDAYS.

For the purpose of giving information to inquirers on naturalization laws and regulations, Socialist Party, trade unions, literature of the Socialist and labor movement, etc., the business office will be open every Sunday morning from 8:30 to 11 o'clock. On the first, third and fifth Sundays Comrade Eckert will be present and on the second and fourth Sundays Comrade Hildebrand will be at the office to meet callers.

WHO CREATES WEALTH?

We have found that wealth does not consist of money, stocks, bonds, railroads, factories or mines. That with all these the people might still be in want.

We have found that wealth consists of good and abundant food, good and suitable clothing, good and comfortable homes, clear and intelligent minds, freedom to enjoy and develop life.

Now let's see who makes it possible to have these things—the things that constitute wealth.

Labor creates food.

The possessors of money, stocks and bonds, the owners of the earth, only consume food, but do not create it.

Labor goes forth and tills the soil, reaps the grain, grinds it into flour, bakes it into bread.

Labor herds the cattle and sheep, slaughters the beef and cooks the meals

Labor plants the trees, grows the fruit, ships it out and serves it at the table.

Can you point to one thing in the process of obtaining food under present conditions that is not accomplished by the brain and muscle of labor?

Labor creates clothing.

The owners of the cotton plantations and sheep ranches and silk worms do not create anything. The owners of the cotton gin, the textile mills and the tailoring establishments do not work in them. Stocks and bonds and money cannot raise a single pod of cotton, a pound of wool or produce a yard of silk.

Labor raises and shears the sheep, raises and spins the cotton, gathers and weaves the silk.

Labor cuts and sews, fits and presses, distributes and furnishes every garment, from the overalls that labor itself wears to the costly wardrobes of the millionaire spendthrifts.

Labor creates the hats and the shoes, the broadcloth—everything used for the body of man, woman and child, while on Mother Earth and when dead, from the baby's long dresses to the shroud of our loved ones when they are laid in the sleep of death.

Money cannot build as much as a wigwam. It cannot chop down a tree nor turn over a stone.

Labor goes into the forest, fells the timber, saws it into boards, laths and shingles, planes it into sidings, moldings and finishing strips.

Labor draws the plans and prepares the foundation, lays the stone and brick, makes the steel and iron framework, cuts and polishes the granite, laths and plasters, paints and decorates.

Labor makes the furniture and the instruments of music, curtains and carpets, stoves and furnaces.

Ten million dollars could not build a corn crib without labor.

Labor makes possible intelligence.

Dollars and checks cannot write books or build libraries. Stocks and bonds cannot teach school or run universities

Labor brings about experience and writes books, delves into science and the arts, probes into the mysteries of life.

Labor prints and preserves our literature, builds our libraries and school houses, teaches our children and develops the young folks.

Without labor there would not be one single school, not one newspaper or magazine, not a chemistry or biology, not a doctor nor an architect, not a painter nor a sculptor.

Labor makes it possible for freedom.

The time required to get the material necessities of life is the period of our enslavement.

Labor, by its inventive genius and its ability to harness nature and make her do most of our work, has virtually become the giver of liberty.

Labor can in two or three hours each day provide the material necessities for the whole race. Our period of enslavement can be reduced still further, and will finally be eliminated altogether.

Labor thus makes it possible for the race to be free from anxiety and worry, and to square such mental, moral and social qualities as only union men can picture.—The Advocate.

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Important.

ARE YOU A SHAREHOLDER IN THE LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY?

Comrades:
The LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY is now nearing the close of its second year. Its organization was decided upon when the existence of the St. Louis Socialist and labor press, ST. LOUIS LABOR and the ARBEITER ZEITUNG, was threatened by the Manufacturers Association and its chief lieutenants, Van Cleave and Post, who had induced its publishing firm to refuse service. What has been accomplished during this time speaks for itself. The record is one of which every comrade and every shareholder may well feel proud. How loyally the comrades and many labor organizations took up the gauntlet, subscribed for stock and within a few months laid the foundation for the present printing plant of the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY is known to all readers

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS

MEETING DIRECTORY.

General Committee—Second and fourth Monday, Labor Hall, 966 Chouteau ave. W. M. Brandt, Sec.

Ward 1—1st and 3d Tuesday, 5018 Florissant. G. A. Diers, Sec.

Ward 2—2d and 4th Thursday, Blair and Salisbury. A. Rosenkrans, Sec.

Ward 3—2d Tuesday, 1515 Warren. W. E. Kindorf, Sec.

Ward 7—2d and 4th Wednesday, 966 Chouteau. A. Michler, Sec.

Ward 8—Last Wednesday, Souldard Library, 7th and Souldard. Wm. Burger, Sec.

Ward 9—2d and 4th Thursday, Ninth and Lami. E. J. Mueller, Sec.

Ward 10—2d and 4th Thursday, S. W. Turner Hall, Ohio and Potomac. A. Dambacher, Sec.

Ward 11—3rd Thursday, Chippewa Hall, Oregon and Chippewa. Frank Six, Sec.

Ward 12 (East)—3rd Monday, 6201 Michigan. Robt. Poenack, Sec.

Ward 12 (West)—1st and 3d Friday, 7262 Gravois. Robt. Haul, Jr., Sec.

Ward 13 (South)—2d and 4th Thurs-

day, 4725 Varrelman. L. Schwarze, Sec.

Ward 13 (East)—2d and 4th Wednesday, 3847 S. Compton. O. Zuefle, Sec.

Ward 14—1st and 3d Monday, 2623 Lemp. Emil Simon, Sec.

Ward 15—1st and 3d Friday, 2632 Caroline. Wm. F. Crouch, Sec.

Ward 17—1st and 3d Tuesday, 2816 Delmar. H. L. Hunter, Sec.

Ward 18—1st and 3d Wednesday, 1812 N. Twenty-third. F. Nelson, Sec.

Wards 19 and 20—1st and 3d Monday, 2500 N. Grand. F. A. Messenger, Sec.

Ward 21—1st and 3d Thursday, Freiheit Hall, 444 Penrose. C. Metz, Sec.

Ward 22—Last Wednesday, 4286 Easton. J. A. Kenney, Sec.

Ward 24—1st Friday, N. E. cor. Vandeventer and Kingshighway. A. Stepmann, Sec.

Ward 27 (South)—1st Wednesday, Lazar's Hall, Union and Easton, T. Prendergast, Sec.

Ward 27—(North)—2d and 4th Wednesday, 2601 Thrush. Chas. Brockelman, Sec.

Bohemian—3d Sunday, 3 p. m., National Hall, Dolman and Allen. H. Stroyk, Sec.

Jewish—Every Friday, 1530 Wash. Lee Weinstein, Sec.

Letlish—1st Saturday, 8 p. m., 1700 S. Seventh. Albert Klaua, Sec.

GENERAL COMMITTEE TRANSACTS IMPORTANT BUSINESS.

The General Committee held a well-attended meeting last Tuesday evening, and thirty-one new applicants were admitted to membership.

It was decided to call a special meeting of the party membership for Sunday afternoon, January 7, at 2 o'clock, at New Club Hall, Thirteenth and Chouteau avenue, for the purpose of studying and discussing the two proposed constitutional amendments in reference to the changing of the taxation system in the state. Petitions are now being circulated in St. Louis to initiate these two proposed changes, and our party membership should be thoroughly enlightened on the matter before any definite move is made by them. Jno. Z. White, S. L. Moser and Wm. Preston Hill have been invited to be present at the meeting and speak on the two proposed referendums, after which a general discussion will follow.

The meeting unanimously adopted a statement in reference to the present party situation in St. Louis, and the secretary was instructed to give it the widest publicity possible.

Quite a number of changes in our local constitution are proposed by the committee that was elected several meetings ago to revise same. It will take at least another full meeting before their report will be completed and sent to the party membership for a referendum. There are some needed changes being made, which we are sure will meet with the approval of our members.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS ELECT OFFICERS.

The Young People's Socialist League had an election of officers at its last business meeting, December 22, and re-elected their secretary, Miss Edna Fries, and their financial secretary, Miss Emma Hauserman. Miss Katherine Eckhoff was elected treasurer.

It was decided that with the beginning of the new year the league would take up literary work, and at the social meetings, which are held the second Friday of each month, the league will devote one hour to the study of some good book or books, reading same and discussing it. The selection of books is left with the Educational Committee. After the study the rest of the evening will be spent in social enjoyment.

THE ELEVENTH WARD CLUB met at Chippewa Hall last Thursday evening with a good attendance. Twenty new members were initiated. It was decided that from now on the club meet twice a month, every first and third Thursday, at Chippewa Hall, Chippewa street and Oregon avenue.

The Eleventh Ward Club will give a family entertainment on Saturday, February 24, at the Swiss Hall, Arsenal street and Iowa avenue. Comrades Hofman, Kloth, Heuer, Kaemmerer and Hoehn were elected as committee of arrangements.

The officers elected for the ensuing term are: Otto Pauls, recording secretary; Otto Kaemmerer, financial and corresponding secretary.

Thursday, January 4, will be the date of the next meeting.

THE ADVANCE GUARD.

Comrades Who Realize the Importance of Getting New Subscribers for Our Press.

- F. E. S. Nye 1
- Phil Jochum 1
- Otto Pauls 3
- Henry Schwarz 4
- Chas. Hirschenhofer 2
- Max Stopp 1
- Henry Werdes 1
- F. J. Kloth 1
- J. J. Leuenberger 4

Outside Renewals.

- Jos. Barrett Portland, Ore
- Isidor Anderlich Covington, Ky
- Jos. Wallner Albuquerque, N. M
- A. Klose Breslau, Germany
- Richard Paetch Chicago, Ill
- P. J. Renken Goodland, Kan
- M. Mulch Rockport, Mo
- Richard Spindler Upper Alton, Ill

The Government Eight Hour Bill

NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNANIMOUSLY PASSES LABOR'S SHORT-ER WORK DAY BILL.

(A. F. of L. Letter.)

Washington, D. C., Dec. 23.—On December 14 Chairman Wilson (coal miner) of the Labor Committee called up on the floor of the House H. R. 9061, the Hughes eight-hour bill. After a short discussion and the adding of a few minor amendments the bill passed unanimously. The bill, as passed, is as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That every contract hereafter made to which the United States, any territory, or the District of Columbia is a party, and every such contract made for or on behalf of the United States, or any territory, or said District, which may require or involve the employment of laborer or mechanic shall contain a provision that no laborer or mechanic doing any part of the work contemplated by the contract, in the employ of the contractor or any sub-contractor contracting for any part of said work contemplated, shall be required or permitted to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day upon such work; and every such contract shall stipulate a penalty for each violation of such provision in such contract of five dollars for each laborer or mechanic for every calendar day in which he shall be required or permitted to labor more than eight hours upon said work; and any officer or person designated as inspector of the work to be performed under any such contract, or to aid in enforcing the fulfillment thereof, shall, upon observation or investigation, forthwith report to the proper officers of the United States, or of any territory, or of the District of Columbia, all violations of the provisions of this act directed to be made in every such contract, together with the name of each laborer or mechanic who has been required or permitted to labor in violation of such stipulation and the day of such violation, and the amount of the penalties imposed according to the stipulation in any such contract shall be directed to be withheld for the use and benefit of the United States, the District of Columbia, or the territory contracting by the officer or person whose duty it shall be to approve the payment of the moneys due under such contract, whether the violation of the provisions of such contract is by the contractor or any sub-contractor. Any contractor or sub-contractor aggrieved by the withholding of any penalty as hereinbefore provided shall have the right within six months thereafter to appeal to the head of the department making the contract on behalf of the United States or the territory, and in the case of a contract made by the District of Columbia to the commissioners thereof, who shall have power to review the action imposing the penalty, and in all such appeals from such final order whereby a contractor or subcontractor may be aggrieved by the imposition of the penalty hereinbefore provided such contractor or subcontractor may within six months thereafter file a claim in the Court of Claims, which shall have jurisdiction to hear and decide the matter in like manner as in other cases before said court."

"Sec. 2. That nothing in this act shall apply to contracts for transportation by land or water, or for the transmission of intelligence or for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in open market, except armor and armor plate, whether made to conform to particular specifications or not, or for the purchase of supplies by the government, whether manufactured to conform to particular specifications or not: Provided, That all classes of work which have been, are now, or may hereafter be performed by the government shall, when done by contract for or on behalf of the United States, any territory, or said District, by individuals, firms, or corporations, be performed in accordance with the terms and provisions of this act: The

President, by executive order, may waive the provisions and stipulations in this act as to any specific contract or contracts during the time of war or a time when war is imminent. No penalties shall be imposed for any violation of such provision in such contract due to any emergency caused by fire, famine, or flood, by danger to life or to property, or by other extraordinary event or condition on account of which the President shall subsequently declare the violation to have been justifiable. Nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal or modify the act entitled 'An act relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed on the public works of the United States and of the District of Columbia, being Chapter 352 of the laws of the Fifty-second Congress, approved August 1st, 1892, or to apply to work done under contracts made prior to the passage of this act.'

Be Careful Or You'll Elect Somebody

BY CLYDE J. WRIGHT.

Socialists everywhere smile. If the man of smiles was asked to pick out the men in our organization who have ability to explain the statutes, plan a campaign, frame a bill, make progress in a city council and outwit a grafting member of the legislature, he would proceed cautiously. You see, there is a difference between the opportunity to do so and the actual work of doing. We will feel the force of this truth very soon.

It is no longer a case of just "opportunity"—it is a case of necessity for us to do things and do them right, and as an organized body we have not as yet studied how.

It used to sound very nicely to boast that we were a party that could fight a battle with ten cents—it was then that we were of the "ten-cent" size; that time has passed. Next year we will enter a man's-sized campaign.

There was a time when we thought all that a Socialist needed to know was that we should publicly own all political utilities; but now we see that we must go upon the floors of legislatures, senates and of congress. No wonder it has been said: "Be careful or you'll elect somebody."

Hereafter our campaigns can not be managed after the manner of running a peanut stand nor with a like amount of money. The days of the old-fashioned agitation are over; our movement has the dignity of state and national power in it.

We cannot enter the coming campaign arguing personalities; the issue is one of national politics and economic and legal readjustments actually to be made—not theories.

Every state office must sweep out its factional difficulties and technical superfluities; every Socialist owes his allegiance to helping establish our papers for strenuous warfare; every local must rise up to the efficiency of civic responsibilities; and our national organization and equipments will be subjected to a strain-unparalleled in the history of any political party or organization.

Then, we are going to elect somebody. Will you select the right men; will we be proud of them as Socialists in office?

LOWERING TAXES IN MILWAUKEE, WIS.

By Carl D. Thompson.

The splendid work of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee is bearing fruit. In spite of the increased efficiency on the part of every department of the city government, and in spite of the raising of the wages of the common laborers throughout the city from \$1.75 to \$2.00 a day, the establishing of the union scale and trades union conditions, the administration has actually kept the expenditures of the city within the usual limits.

The total expenditures for the city this year have been only slightly higher in the aggregate than last year, and the county expenditures, which are also under Socialist control, have been somewhat reduced, and the state taxes are a little less than last year.

So that the actual tax rate in Milwaukee this year is 3 cents on the \$1,000 less than last year.

And all this after a desperate and widespread effort on the part of the capitalist press in the United States to make it appear that the Socialists have plunged the city into wild and impractical schemes that have involved such enormous expenditures that the taxes have tremendously increased.

The tax rate is actually reduced.

PASSENGER VESSELS ARE UNDERMANNED.

Washington, Dec. 23.—William H. Frazier, secretary of the International Seamen's Union, stated before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries recently that a majority of passenger-carrying ships on the Atlantic coast did not carry a sufficient crew to man the lifeboats. He said that most of the ships carried only boats enough for 75 per cent of the passenger-carrying capacity of the ships. Mr. Frazier also stated that in all of his experience he had never seen a boat drill at sea where the lifeboats were swung out on the davits, and also declared that the Slocum disaster was due to an insufficient crew, asserting that the loss of life would have been reduced one-half had a proper crew been on board the boat.

Breakers Ahead For Trade Unions

The Anti-Trust Law Applied Against Musicians' Union.

The working people of the South in all trades are greatly agitated by a court case that has been started in Mississippi. Judge Mounger, at Vicksburg, has issued an order restraining the local union of musicians and its members from further continuing as an association or as members of the American Federation of Musicians, and from any and all acts prohibited by the anti-trust laws of Mississippi. The writ was issued upon demand of Attorney-General S. S. Hudson, the bill of complaint alleging an infringement on the part of the Vicksburg organization of the musicians of the anti-trust laws of the state. The writ is made returnable to the January term of chancery court, and will be hotly contested. The action grows out of the disagreement between the local union and a Vicksburg theater. It is believed by some of the Southern union officials that another long and costly court case has been precipitated by the union-haters, who will undoubtedly appeal to the anti-trust laws and state's rights to gain their point. If a precedent can be established in Mississippi in this new line of attack to tear national and international unions asunder, this scheme will undoubtedly be welcomed by the open shoppers and their politicians in other states, says the Cleveland Citizen. Therefore it is necessary that the union people of the whole country give attention to this latest attempt to throttle the organized labor movement.

Plumbers of Kankakee, Ill., secured a reduction from nine hours to eight without a decrease in pay and without friction.

FROM THE PRINTERS' HOME.

Colorado Springs, Colo., December 20, 1911. Publisher ST. LOUIS LABOR, St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Sir—I wish to thank you on behalf of the residents of the Union Printers' Home for the complimentary copy of the ST. LOUIS LABOR with which you have supplied our library the past year. I assure you Home readers have enjoyed your publication very much.

Trusting you will find it agreeable to continue the courtesy the ensuing year, extending the compliments of the season, and wishing the ST. LOUIS LABOR continued success, I remain very truly yours,

CHAS. DEACON, Superintendent.

LABOR CONDITIONS BAD IN PACKING HOUSES.

Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 23.—A special investigator before the State Factory Investigation Commission, in session here recently, told of appalling conditions she had found in the local meat packing plant.

"About one thousand people are employed," she said. "There is no distinction made between men and women. One of the buildings is old and ramshackle and has been condemned. In three of the rooms that I examined the men and women were forced to work in water standing

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half an inch deep on the floor. Those were the sausage, the pickling and the pork-trimming rooms. In the latter there were seventy-five employes, twenty-three being women. The floors are so wet and slimy that the women have to wear rubber boots or stand on barrel tops. They work at cutting up the hogs. The men frequently lose fingers in the machinery and the women wore bandages on their hands. The work is very disagreeable and dirty, and the rooms are in a filthy condition."

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Workingmen fight the wars.
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Notice to Tax Payers!

Collectors Office City Hall.

The month of December will be the last month in which Taxes for the current year, 1911, can be paid without penalties.

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

Statements will be furnished if request is accompanied by postage.

Edmond Koeln, Collector of the Revenue.

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