

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

ST. LOUIS LABOR

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

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

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

OFFICE: 966 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

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Victor L. Berger First Socialist To Take Seat in Congress

Milwaukee County Elects Entire Socialist Ticket and Gives Jacobs 23,812 Votes for Governor.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 9.—Milwaukee claims the honor of having elected the first Socialist to the United States Congress.

The Socialist Party achieved a notable victory in yesterday's election by electing Victor L. Berger, Fifth District, to represent Wisconsin in the national Congress. Berger will have the distinction of being the first Socialist Representative in the United States Congress.

In addition, they swept Milwaukee county, electing their ticket from top to bottom by pluralities ranging from 3,000 to 7,000, the latter being attained by William A. Arnold, candidate for Sheriff.

The vote for Governor in Milwaukee county was: Jacobs (Socialist), 23,812; McGovern (Republican), 20,030; Schmitz (Democrat), 15,895; Van Keuren (Prohibition), 805.

The Socialists also elected thirteen members to the Legislature, one Senator and twelve Assemblymen from Milwaukee county.

Berger was pitted against Henry C. Cochems, an insurgent Republican, and Joseph F. Carney, Democrat. Berger's plurality is estimated at 2,000. Cochems is the young man of university football fame who placed Senator La Follette in nomination for President in the last Republican national convention.

Berger's Statement.

Mr. Berger to-day gave out the following statement:

"I am deeply moved by the unprecedented victory of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee. The United States of America now gets into line with all the other civilized nations of the world, and the working class of Milwaukee has the immortal honor of starting a new chapter in American history.

"The reason for this is obvious. The working classes of Milwaukee have been educated by a literature propaganda for many years. They have been taught the cardinal truths of Socialism, which is nothing more or less than the political economy of the working class.

"Economic conditions, the trusts and the trust prices did the rest. These facts furnish examples of the theory we expounded. I deeply feel the honor of having been the first man selected to present Socialism in Congress, but I also feel the great responsibility. I can only say that I shall give the best that is in me in the future as I have in the past to the great cause which I have espoused, which, after all, is the cause of humanity."

The Milwaukee Socialists' plan of campaign was unique. In absence of a daily newspaper organ they had printed each week many thousands of copies of a four-page paper in English and German, in which their doctrines were expounded.

These periodicals were taken in hand by 1,200 men each Sunday morning, and, it is said, every household in Milwaukee county was supplied with a copy. Noonday meetings at the factories and night meetings at various halls seven days of the week also were held.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE MILWAUKEE CAMPAIGN.

The manner in which our Milwaukee comrades closed their campaign is certainly interesting and attests to the energy displayed during the many weeks of hard work.

On the Sunday morning before the day of election the following article, by Comrade Victor L. Berger, was circulated in the special campaign edition of the Social Democratic Herald:

The Victory Is Ours!

The battle was hard fought, but the battle is won.

From the very beginning, the Democrats were not in it. They failed to come up to the requirements of the 20 per cent law. Their candidates had to be practically counted in at the eleventh hour by a sympathetic judge.

The battle was, therefore, between

the Republicans and the Socialists. And the Republicans had no arguments.

The issue in this campaign—as it will be in some campaigns to come—was the trust and the trust prices, the suppression of the small business men by the trusts, and the continual downward sliding of the standard of living of the working class and of the salaried men.

Both of the old capitalist parties are responsible for these conditions. But the Republican party, having been in power most of the time during the last fifty years, and being the favorite party of the trusts, is certainly the more responsible.

Against these facts, of course, the Republican speakers and newspapers could say nothing. They tried to dodge the issue by picking up incredibly small affairs, local and personal, and by creating a cloud of their own dirt and filth. Messrs. McGee and Cochems, particularly, tried

to outdo all the others in this respect.

As a matter of fact, the main characteristics of this campaign was the mud-throwing by McGee and Cochems, the main defenders of the Republican cause. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, made a campaign so moderate in language that even the Free Press—the organ of McGee and Cochems—commented on it, claiming that we were "skeered." But the most contemptible and at the same time amusing partis that both Cochems and McGee, with a true shyster lawyer's instinct, continually claimed that the Socialists said the most horrible things.

However, since the Socialist Party has made good beyond all expectations in the city administration of Milwaukee, and because the personnel of its leadership is exceptionally clean, the Republican politicians failed miserably in this campaign of bluster and slander.

So the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association had to fall back on the old class dodge of calling for help from the business men and capitalists and "patriots" to rally around the Republican banner against the working class. They also resort to personal political trades with the Democratic leaders in order to help the cause of criminal exploitation and corruption in Milwaukee.

This is how the matter now stands. As a consequence, there has never been a worse beaten crowd than the Republicans will be next Tuesday.

The Socialist Party will poll no less than 30,000 or 35,000 votes in this county. We will elect the entire county ticket, twelve members of the assembly, one senator and both congressmen, poll a heavy vote in Waukesha county, and, moreover, largely increase our vote all over the state.

The main feature of this campaign will be the election of the Socialist congressmen. This will mean that for the first time in this country the working class will enter the halls of the national legislature and thus begin a new chapter in the history of America.

The only danger that may possibly confront us is over-confidence.

Let no one slight his duty from now till election because of the idea that we are sure winners.

Let every man make it his business from now on to look up some acquaintance or friend who is still wavering and secure his support to the Socialist ticket.

Let every workingman who can possibly do so, lay off for a day or half a day next Tuesday and devote himself to the cause.

Put yourself at the disposal of the Socialist precinct committees.

And before all things, vote early, and see to it that all our friends and sympathizers vote early.

Now, forward, comrades! For your families, your class, your country—for the cause of humanity!

You men of Milwaukee have an historic mission and I feel sure you will fulfill it.

The victory is ours!

Welcome Delegates American Federation of Labor!

Organized Labor extends a cordial welcome to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union is one of the oldest and most progressive local central bodies in this country. St. Louis has seen some of the most serious labor struggles in the history of the American labor movement. Here the first Buck Stove and Range Co. boycott battles were fought. Here the Citizens' Industrial Alliance has had its stronghold. Here the Marx & Haas Clothing Co. inaugurated its desperate fight on Union labor by locking out about 1,000 of their employes. The fight is still on and will be fought to the bitter end.

Here the A. F. of L. held its third annual convention in 1888.

The convention has great tasks to perform. Never before in the history of this country have the wage workers been confronted by greater problems than at present.

Capitalist corporations have built up a system of wage-slavery so outrageous and dehumanizing that only the pen of an Emile Zola could give the proper description.

The slaves of the Steel Trust in Bethlehem, Pa., Wheeling, W. Va., Gary, Ind., and Chicago are a disgrace to our modern civilization. In the

mining regions of Alabama, in the cotton mills of New England and in the South human life has become almost valueless.

Every effort is made to drag American labor down to the standard of living of the Chinese coolie.

Legislators and courts compete with each other in the attempt to deprive the working class of their political rights.

Only by organized efforts can the wage workers expect to bring about the desired and much-needed change. May the delegates do their duty!

St. Louis Socialist Vote May Reach Ten Thousand

Over 5000 Socialist Votes in Tenth Congressional District.

The official count of the vote cast at last Tuesday's elections will not be completed until next Tuesday evening. It is, therefore, impossible to receive any definite information concerning the Socialist vote.

Up to this hour we have secured our challengers' and watchers' reports from 150 out of the 403 precincts of the city. The partial returns present an encouraging picture.

These 150 precincts give over 4,700 Socialist votes, with 253 precincts still out.

Figured on this basis, the Socialist vote would about double, which would mean about ten thousand votes for St. Louis.

In the city wards of the Tenth Congressional District, 80 precincts, which had 1887 votes in 1908, to-day give 3596 Socialist votes, which indicates that there will be at least five thousand Socialist votes in the Tenth Congressional District city wards, as against 3058 in 1908.

This is a most encouraging progress. Only the Tenth Ward has full returns reported to headquarters, with a total of 920 Socialist votes, an increase of over 100 per cent.

The new Eleventh Ward, which contains but twelve precincts, has reported from eight precincts, with a total of 444 Socialist votes. This is as big a vote in eight precincts as the Socialist vote in all the eighteen precincts of the old Tenth Ward was in 1908.

Twelve of the 14 precincts of Ward 1 report 286 votes.
Eight of the 14 precincts of Ward 2 report 186 votes.
Seven of the 17 precincts of Ward 3 report 138 votes.
Five of the 21 precincts of Ward 4 report 73 votes.
Three of the 20 precincts of Ward 5 report 38 votes.
Six of the 16 precincts of Ward 8 report 194 votes.
Eleven of the 16 precincts of Ward 9 report 409 votes.
Fifteen of the precincts of Ward 10 report 920 votes.
Eight of the 12 precincts of Ward 11 report 444 votes.
Four of the 13 precincts of Ward 12 report 269 votes.
Eight of the 10 precincts of Ward 13 report 394 votes.
One of the 14 precincts of Ward 14 reports 50 votes.
Ten of the 14 precincts of Ward 14 report 223 votes.
Sixteen precincts of Ward 19 report 146 votes, against 95 in 1908.
Six of the 10 precincts of Ward 21 report 197 votes.
Seven of the 12 precincts of Ward 22 report 95 votes.
Three of the 15 precincts of Ward 23 report 36 votes.
Four of the 13 precincts of Ward 24 report 185 votes.
Nine of the 10 precincts of Ward 27 report 444 votes.
No reports have been received from Wards 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26 and 28.

From the Political Dumphill.

In South St. Louis, especially in the Tenth and Eleventh Wards, a "second edition" of August Priesterbach's deputy-sheriff circular was circulated in many thousands of copies in the early morning of election day. The circular contained the same old deputy-sheriff and dead-striker cut which "Honorable" Priesterbach had fixed up some years ago, and the printing of which was paid for by the Democratic party machine. Since the circular was anonymous, with a forged Union label, we have good reasons to believe that the Priesterbach, Conroy, Bechtold, Lindsay & Co. and the Democratic party machine know where the circular originated and who ordered and paid for it.

The circular was directed against G. A. Hoehn, Socialist candidate for Congress in the Tenth District, and was intended to help Democrat Maurer's candidacy. It contained an appeal to the Union men to vote against Hoehn, who, so the anonymous Democratic crooks asserted, had served as deputy sheriff, at \$5.00 per day, for twenty weeks against the striking street car men in 1900.

That this last-hour campaign lie of the Democratic labor crooks had no influence on the voters is best proven by the fact that Hoehn ran ahead of the Socialist ticket in most of the precincts in Wards 10 and 11.

The Liebknecht and Suedekum Mass Meetings.

The last days of the Socialist campaign in St. Louis were, indeed, memorable. Two members of the German Reichstag spoke in mass meetings to thousands of people.

Comrade Dr. Karl Liebknecht spoke at Concordia Turner Hall on November 4 to over 3000 people and was accorded a rousing and enthusiastic reception. Although an admission fee of 10 cents was charged, a collection taken up amounted to about \$120.00.

Comrades Hoehn and Fred G. Strickland also spoke. Comrade Albert Suedekum spoke on Sunday afternoon, November 6, at the New Club Hall to a very enthusiastic audience. He spoke in English, and later on repeated his address in German. This was one of the best Socialist meetings ever held in the city of St. Louis. In a later issue of ST. LOUIS LABOR we shall publish a synopsis of the speeches of Liebknecht and Suedekum.

Comrade Wm. M. Brandt acted as chairman at the Suedekum meeting. Comrades Chris Rucker and William Garver also spoke. Comrade Suedekum may pay another visit to St. Louis in the near future.

On Saturday evening Suedekum spoke in a Socialist Party meeting at Eagle's Hall in East St. Louis, where he paid a visit in company with the St. Louis committee of reception. His remarks were well received and appreciated.

Heavy Socialist Vote in Illinois.

East St. Louis, Ill., Nov. 9.—One of the biggest surprises in the county was the tremendous vote polled by Adolph B. Germer of Belleville, Socialist candidate for the Legislature, who received 8,810 votes.

Socialist Candidate Germer's large vote is taken to mean there will be complete Socialist tickets in the field in both East St. Louis and Belleville at the municipal elections of April, 1911.

It is charged that in several precincts fraudulent votes were cast and that the Socialist vote was not properly counted. A contest may be the result.

Heavy Socialist Vote in California.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 9.—Late returns do not alter materially the indicated plurality for the entire Republican State ticket of from 20,000 to 30,000.

The defeat of Theodore Bell, the Democratic candidate for Governor, in the city of San Francisco, where it was generally thought he would have a heavy vote, is ascribed to the Socialist vote. In San Francisco Hiram Johnson, the successful Republican candidate, received 24,935 votes, Bell 23,603 and Wilson (Socialist) 9,502.

Late returns confirmed the reports of an extraordinarily heavy Socialist vote. In San Francisco 338 precincts out of 352 gave J. Stitt Wilson, Socialist candidate for Governor, 9,155. The Socialist vote in this city four years ago was 2,013.

Unofficial estimates place the Socialist vote of Los Angeles at 10,000, as against 3,047 four years ago.

SOCIALISTS GAIN IN NEW YORK.

Candidate for Governor Gets 65,000 Votes, Twice Those of 1908.

New York, Nov. 9.—Marked gains in the Socialist vote throughout the state are shown in the returns from yesterday's election. Figures available indicate a total vote for Charles Edward Russell, nominee for Governor, of 65,000, which is nearly double the 33,934 votes of 1908.

In New York City Russel received 27,230. The most significant, however, are the increases up-state. Fifty-five cities that gave a vote of 7,850 two years ago show 23,000 this year.

Districts which formerly showed less than ten votes this year report from 100 to 500.

Among the cities that show substantial Socialist gains are Buffalo, Schenectady, Syracuse and Rochester.

SOCIALIST JOLTS MINNEAPOLIS.

Candidate for Mayor Runs Only 1,000 Behind Leaders.

Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 10.—The remarkable showing made by Thomas E. Van Lear, Public Ownership and Socialist candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis, is the feature of the local election. Conceded no more than 5,000 votes at the outside, Van Lear ran only 1,000 votes behind the Democratic and Republican nominees, who are so close that a contest may be made. Van Lear polled approximately 11,000 votes.

READ THE SOCIALIST PAPER ST. LOUIS LABOR

Why Should Not Labor Own the Tools?

The tools and instruments of production should be owned by the workers.

Can anyone deny this proposition?

They cannot deny it if they profess to believe in the first proposition.

If the Astors and the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers and Morgans, the Belmonts and Guggenheims, the Hills and the Harrimans, the Fricks and Carnegies are to take millions of profit out of the mere ownership of the tools of production, the actual users of those tools cannot by any conceivable method receive the whole product of their labor.

The hundreds of thousands of miners can't receive all the wealth they produce if the mine owners are allowed by the mere title of ownership to subtract from the wealth produced millions upon millions every year. It can't be done.

Unless the men who mine coal own the natural resources and the tools they use while at work, there is no possibility under heaven of those men receiving the full product of their toil.

Will you or any other Trade Unionist anywhere deny that proposition?

If you deny that the workers should own their tools and receive the fruits of their labor, then you must believe that idlers, thieves, and pirates should own those tools and force labor to divide up with them the wealth produced.

If labor is to have only a portion of its product, then someone else must get the other portion.

And that is exactly what now happens! According to figures gathered by the United States Government the workers in this country produce on an average \$3,500 a year for each worker.

Do you get \$3,500 a year?

A man could live comfortably on that sum, but the workers do not receive that sum, because out of the products of their labor trusts and monopolies, landlords and financiers, must take their millions of profit.

The average wages of this country, according to the figures of the United States Government, amount to \$437—a year. For that average amount in wages the workers produce on an average \$3,500—of wealth.

Do the workers get that product? Not at all. It goes to others. As Lincoln says: "There are others who without labor enjoy a large part of the fruits of labor."

And that large part now goes to Belmont, Carnegie, Low, Rockefeller, Morgan, who have organized the Civic Federation to tell you that Socialism is wrong. Can you blame them?

Isn't it reasonable that they should try to keep you ignorant of your rights and collect money in Wall street to destroy Socialism?

But all we ask you to consider now is this: If you believe that Labor should have the full product of its labor and that Labor should organize industrially and politically to obtain the full product of its labor, you agree with the doctrines of Karl Marx; you are a Socialist and you can't be anything else.

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT NOW.

Some men say they believe in the doctrines of Socialism, but that Socialism is a thing for the future, not for the present.

They say we must organize and fight now to prevent abject slavery. They organize, therefore, to increase wages, shorten hours, improve conditions.

Well, no Socialist is opposed to that. Every Socialist knows that if Labor is not strongly enough organized to increase wages, shorten hours and better present-day conditions, it will not be strongly enough organized to establish Socialism.

A labor movement which is so weak and infantile as not to be able to get filth cleaned away from its doorstep will not be able to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

Every Socialist believes that Labor should organize, that every toiler in all this broad earth should join with all other toilers to fight.

To fight, here and now, for better conditions. To shorten hours, to increase wages, to improve conditions—NOW.

To fight the little employer and the big employer for better working conditions in this present day.

They believe that labor should organize in unions until every man of toil is included in the ranks of the fellowship.

And they also believe that the workers should organize politically to send representatives into every legislative chamber, to elect their own public officials and to fight for laws and the enforcement of laws which shall better the conditions of labor in this world here and now.

Men who will not fight for increased wages now will not fight for the whole product of their labor to-morrow.

Men who will not fight against oppression now will not fight to free the children of the future.

All we ask is, Do you or do you not believe in what has been said above? Do you consider those doctrines wicked and wrong and that you should fight against them? Or do you consider them just and good?

If you believe them just and good, then stand up and fight for what you believe just and right and good.

ALABAMA DEMOCRACY

The following press dispatch from Washington in the daily journals of last week should be interesting reading for every laboring man who has a vote to cast.

Washington, Oct. 17.—Believing that hundreds of Southern negroes are being deprived of their liberty by big planters under forms of law, the federal government this week will ask the Supreme Court of the United States to declare unconstitutional the so-called Alabama 'labor contract' law.

The treatment of negro farm hands under this law is interpreted by the department of justice as a reduction of these laborers to a state of peonage. Compulsory service in satisfaction of debt is taken by Attorney General Wickersham as the object to be accomplished by the legislation.

It is claimed by Attorney General Garber of Alabama that the law in question is not aimed at the negroes as a class. The case comes to the court on the appeal of the negro, Alonzo Bailey, from the decision of the Supreme Court of Alabama, which held the law constitutional and punished Bailey for violating it by assessing a fine equal to 116 days hard labor for the county.

Bailey entered into a written contract to work as a farm hand for the Riverside company during the year 1908 for \$12 per month, the contract reciting that Bailey had received \$15 in advance and was to receive the balance at the rate of \$10.75 per month. He worked a month and a few days, and they quit, it was claimed, without just cause. He failed, the record alleges, to refund the money advanced him and was prosecuted.

When reading the above dispatch from Washington relative to peonage in Alabama can realize that the man with the black skin who is compelled to work for another and who becomes indebted to an employer becomes in the eyes of the law a criminal.

But, according to the dispatch, the attorney general of the state has declared that the law is not directed against the negro as a class. If that is true, then the peonage of Alabama affects every white laborer who becomes indebted to a master class. It is easy to understand the reasons which prompted the attorney general of the State of Alabama to make the claim that the law was not directed against the negro as a class. Had he admitted that the law was enacted for the sole purpose of reaching the black man who was in debt then he would be making an admission that would furnish logical grounds upon which to question its constitutionality. Such an admission would give the law the color of class legislation and the precedents established by the judiciary are against any legislation of this character.

But the courts of Alabama, up to the highest courts of the state, have held that the peonage law was constitutional, and why?

Simply because the planters and employers of labor insisted that such a law should be held to be valid by the courts.

Such a decision by the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama furnishes the absolute proof that the judiciary of the state is controlled by the combinations that are clothed with economic power, and that the courts are but the allies of employ-

ers to make valid the legal infamy that was written on the statute books of Alabama.

In Alabama, Democracy reigns triumphant and, yet, labor is peoned.

Labor in the State of Alabama is compelled to pay a poll tax for the privilege of casting a ballot, and labor, under Governor Comer, was driven from its temporary homes in

tents at the points of bayonets to appease the wrath of coal barons, who demanded that coal miners should remain mute and humble under unbearable conditions, and look pleasant while enduring a lingering death on starvation wages.

Democracy in Alabama is as tyrannical as Republicanism in Pennsylvania.

An Eventful Period

By Samuel Gompers, in American Federationist.

Readers of the American Federationist and observers generally must realize that stirring events in the affairs of Organized Labor have recently come thick and fast. The great strikes and victories of the miners and of the sweatshop clothing trade workers; the satisfactory adjustment of the long-standing dispute with the Buck's Stove and Range Company; the injunction sought and suit brought by C. W. Post of Battle Creek, by which damages in the sum of \$750,000 are asked; the plan of action to meet the suit; labor's political campaign to defeat its enemies and to elect its friends; new methods in the work of organizing our fellow-toilers; increased scope of the regular duties in connection with the labor movement in general as well as at headquarters; the preparation for the forthcoming St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor—these may be regarded as an extraordinary epoch in the growth and development of the Organized Labor movement of America.

In addition, on October 11, the appeals in regard to the injunction in the District of Columbia and the contempt proceedings which have grown out of it were before the Supreme Court of the United States, and that tribunal postponed the hearing and arguments upon these appeals until January 16, when the vacancies now upon the bench will have been filled, the principles involved in these appeals having become regarded as of first importance.

The Buck's Stove and Range Company under its new arrangements has started operations, with mutually satisfactory results. It will be remembered that C. W. Post of Battle Creek, sought an injunction enjoining the representatives of labor, as well as the representatives of the Buck's Stove and Range Company, from carrying out the mutually satisfactory agreement reached, Judge McPherson of the Federal Court, however, declining to issue the

injunction on the ground that the defendants were not served with notice to answer. On October 3 the defendants in the \$750,000 suit put in an appearance in the Federal Court in the Eastern District of Missouri, and it is expected that the issue will be joined.

It may be interesting to note that it is held by the best legal opinion obtainable that Post will be unsuccessful in the effort to maintain this suit against Organized Labor and the company, jointly co-defendants.

An invitation having been extended by Organized Labor of Battle Creek for the President of the American Federation of Labor to address a meeting, it was accepted, and a most gratifying demonstration was held on the evening of October 5 in the auditorium of that city. More than 2,000 men and women of Battle Creek crowded the hall to the doors, and hundreds were turned away unable to gain admission. The speaker was well received and sincerely and enthusiastically cheered. In some places where Mr. Post is not known he may sometimes be taken seriously; in his home town, Battle Creek, he is a standing joke. His fulminations against the representatives of labor, and organized labor in general, are understood to be simply pretexts for self-advertising exploitation for his Gripe Nuts, Potsum and Toatsies.

By the way, the following story is vouched for by many worthy citizens of Battle Creek: Recently Post has exploited the public press with his supposed charitable action in presenting a building, to be used as a sanitarium, to the members of his new-fangled non-union union. He claimed that the building is worth \$400,000. It is averred, however, that it has been occupied and unused for a long time and that Post has been paying taxes upon an appraised value of \$40,000; that it has, therefore, been a white elephant on his hands, and that in making it the seat of a charitable institution the payment of taxes on it will be null. Here's charity with a vengeance. There's a reason.

Facts Concerning Working Girls in St. Louis

If ever you visit St. Louis and pass Thirteenth and Washington avenue you will see a grand building, occupied by the firm of Marx & Haas Clothing Co., manufacturers of the "Jack Rabbit" brand, and the pride of the 1,000 people they employed was the window bearing the Union label. For four years those men and women were happy, having conditions that a union always brings, until one day we were informed that we were to have a new manager. From that day on it was a long, hard struggle; slow and sure came the sweat-shop conditions, and a condemned saw mill was rented, and fitted up for a factory, where our girls sat under a low, flat roof, and in the hot summer months the hot tar would drop on their backs while working, and when the girls fell unconscious from their machines there was not a drop of ice water in the factory, and the foreman said, "Send them home in the city ambulance—that is good enough for them."

All those conditions came after we had our agreement signed with the firm. Our one hope was to ask for better conditions when our agreement was up, but even this was taken away from us when one day, without notice, the word came to shut down both the factories. Two weeks later we were sent for, and were given to understand that the union we had for nine years and the union label we loved was a thing of the past. We could not give up our union—to give it up means slave treatment and starvation wages; we who had made them millionaires would face the cold, bitter winter, but never give up our union.

We appeal to the men and women all over the country to see that the merchants in your city will not handle the Marx & Haas clothing of St. Louis, Mo., until they take back the men and women who have given the best part of their lives to build up the firm. All we ask is better conditions and to be recognized as union people. This we know you would do if you knew what the union mission is—to save the laboring class from slavery, the whipping post, low wages, long hours, and brutal treatment.

Let the real men and women who have hearts and consciences take humanity back into their own clean hands and plead for it, for freedom of thought and expression for peace and prosperity of our city. The writers of this article are two girls who have worked in the factory, and never left their homes until the day we were told we must give up our unions. From that day on we gave up homes and friends and have traveled through many cities, asking the merchants not to handle Marx & Haas goods, and every union man and woman throughout the country have given us their support. To help us to win, this means to brighten the lives of one thousand men and women. We plead that every union man buy nothing but union label clothing and use their influence to have them placed in every clothing house.

KATHERINE HURLEY,
FANNIE SELLINS,
St. Louis Garment Workers.

England to Have Socialist Daily.

Keir Hardie, M. P., in the Labor Leader, outlines proposals for the establishment of a new daily newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialists. The paper, to begin, will be issued from Manchester, the first issue taking place on Monday, May 1, 1911. Keir Hardie says that he has a promise of \$5,000 with which to start the fund of \$50,000, which he thinks would be sufficient for his purpose. It is to be clearly understood, however, that this is no business investment, and those who give must do so hoping for nothing in return in the way of either principal or interest. The price of the paper will be "nominally a half-penny, but to begin with subscribers may be asked to pay 4d. a week, so as to cover the cost of distribution."

The Labor Party is raising a special fund to carry on their political work in the immediate future.

The parliamentary fund, which now stands at \$55,000, is sufficient to maintain the members of the party in the House of Commons, who receive \$1,000 a year each, for nearly 18 months to come. This money, however, is earmarked for this par-

ticular purpose. Owing to the stoppage of the parliamentary levy, there is little or nothing in hand for maintaining the organization in the constituencies.

THE PRICE.

By Paul West.

It's another cent on the price of meat,
And a cent on a pound of tea,
And a cent on this and a cent on that
To be paid by you and me—
To be paid by you and by me, my man,
But it oughtn't to make us rage
Or to make us mad, if they'd only add
A cent as well to our wage.

It's only a cent on a pound of meat,
On a loaf from the flour of the wheat,
And a cent on the clothes we've got to wear,
And a cent on all that we eat.
Oh, they haven't forgot a thing, my man,
From your shoes and your coat to your hat,
Excepting the pay you earn each day—
They've added no cent to that.

But every cent they add, my man,
Is a cent they got to pay
When a halt we call to their greed and gill,
And that time will come some day.
And the cent that you pay to-day, my man,
To-day when you're sore oppressed
Will be yours when due—and it's up to you
To collect it with interest.

Charges Collapse

DYNAMITE WAS NOT THE CAUSE OF LOS ANGELES TIMES EXPLOSION.

Declarations of Experts that Dynamite Could Not Start Flames and Did Not Cause Explosion.

The practical collapse of the charges made against Organized Labor by Harrison Gray Otis, in connection with the destruction of the Times plant, have just been made known to the public by the withdrawal of nearly three-quarters of the reward for the capture of the alleged dynamiters offered by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, its secretary, F. Zehandelaar, announcing that it had been decided to devote the balance to "other purposes."

This action on the part of the association followed a like withdrawal of rewards posted by Mayor Alexander.

The reasons behind this sudden taking back of their loose coin by

the millionaire manufacturers of Los Angeles appears, first, in the following statement of Andrew J. Gallagher, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council and delegate to the Los Angeles convention:

"What is conclusive evidence of the innoceence of the labor unions in the matter is that there were thirty-five union men working in the press-room and the stereotyping room of the newspaper. This fact that they were there was quite generally known, and it was planned to call them out on a strike."

But the technical proof now in the possession of the Los Angeles unions, showing that dynamite did not destroy the Times plant, is the collected statement of many experts in the handling of the high explosives, who agree that conflagration, such as took place in Los Angeles on October 1, could not have followed an explosion of dynamite.

Dynamite, these experts show, is used in the stopping of great fires in cities—as was the case in San Francisco. The recent forest fires in the North were also combated with dynamite, whose action far from inciting flame always smothers it. In proof of the actual conditions, the testimony of Thomas P. Smith, a non-union printer, who was working at the time of the explosion as an "ad" compositor on the second floor of the Times building, is cited, as follows:

"Flame followed the explosion immediately. When I reached the sidewalk the whole front was ablaze, both the old and the new building."

These facts having been presented to a hastily convened meeting of the Executive Board of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, the gentlemen were forced to the conclusion that their man-hunt might only end in catching the dynamiters that they were far from anxious to apprehend, namely, the men that caused no explosion, but left a sample of giant powder underneath the window of the ho ses of the Association's secretary, F. J. Zehandelaar. From this showing came the board's order instructing their secretary to withdraw all of the reward but a small fraction, which would still prove their loyalty to the cause of Gen. Harrison Gray Otis.—Pan-American Press.

Multiplying.

"For goodness' sake, John, how long did you boil those eggs?"

"Just as long as you told me, my dear."

"Impossible! They're hard as bricks."

"I boiled them just twelve minutes."

"Twelve? Why, I told you that three minutes was long enough for an egg?"

"Yes, dear—but I boiled four of them."—Toledo Blade.

Bartenders' Union Local 51

Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card



and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button

OFFICE: 918 PINE STREET : BOTH PHONES

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

F. R. Rice Mercantile Cigar Co., St. Louis, Mo.

GET YOUR HAMMER AND KNOCK THE BREAD TRUST. KEEP ON KNOCKING TILL THE SIDEWALK IS CLEARED OF ALL THE HEYDT-FREUND-MCKINNEY-CONDON-HAUCK-HOERR-WELLE-BOETTLER-HOME AND ST. LOUIS BAKERIES BREAD BOXES. ALL THESE FIRMS ARE OWNED BY THE BOYCOTTED BREAD TRUST WHICH REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE THE BAKERS' UNION.

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NEU AND LIND STRICTLY UNION.

GENTS' FURNISHINGS AND HATS.

More Union Label Goods

than any store in the city.

916 FRANKLIN AVENUE.

THE MISSOURI-PACIFIC STRIKE

Official Statement of Negotiations Presented by Brother A. V. Wharton.

Official Statements by General Manager Sullivan and President James O'Connell.

The Machinists' strike on the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroad is still on, and the boys are fighting a grand and noble battle. The following communication by Brother A. V. Wharton, of the Strikers' Committee, is self-explanatory:

St. Louis, Mo., November 1st, 1910.

In view of the fact that the officials of the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Company are sparing no efforts in trying to mislead the public and even our own people in regard to the outcome of the late conference held in St. Louis between the international officers of all four crafts and Mr. Sullivan, general manager, and Mr. Smith, superintendent of machinery, I am taking this opportunity of presenting the actual facts, and we have the documents bearing the signature of Mr. A. W. Sullivan, general manager, to prove what we say. Circular No. 108, issued October 20, 1910, by Mr. Sullivan, is as follows:

St. Louis, October 20, 1910.

To the Officers and other Employees of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company and St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway Company:

There are no material differences existing between the railway company and the machinists except the question of the reinstatement of the foremen who went out with the men. The machinists' organization insists upon their reinstatement to the positions they formerly held, which request has been refused.

The right of the railway company to select its officers of whatever rank, including foremen, is one which cannot be relinquished to a labor organization, while the company is held to responsibility for the safety and efficiency of its service.

The action of the other labor organizations to coerce the railway company into compliance with the machinists' demands by threats of a sympathetic strike, in violation of their contract agreements entered into since the machinists' strike was declared, cannot be permitted to influence the company in its determination to maintain control of its business through its own official organization.

(Signed) A. W. SULLIVAN, General Manager.

This circular is accompanied by the following letter of instructions:

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 24, 1910.

Ticket Agent: We hand you herewith Circular No. 107, issued by Mr. A. W. Sullivan, general manager, stating the facts in connection with the strike now in force in the shops on this system.

To get these facts clearly before the press and the general public would ask that you kindly hand this to the editor of your local paper with which we have advertising arrangements, with a request that same be published.

Please give this your prompt attention, sending copies of the paper containing this statement to the undersigned. Yours truly, (Signed) C. L. STONE, Passenger Traffic Manager.

Now compare the following copy of letter with the above:

St. Louis, Mo., October 8th, 1910.

Mr. Jas. O'Connell, President, International Association of Machinists, Southern Hotel, St. Louis:

Dear Sir—In response to your request following our conferences with your Executive Board concerning an adjustment of the machinists' strike, inaugurated upon this system of railway May 2nd, 1910, I would say the railway company is willing to make settlement upon the following basis:

1. Agencies for the employment of outside men to be closed.
2. Reinstatement of the old men to fill vacancies and to provide increase of force.
3. Foremen who left the service may be employed as machinists at some different locality than where formerly employed, at the discretion of the superintendent of machinery.
4. Men who have destroyed or damaged the property of the company or who have committed other unlawful acts will not be re-employed.
5. Men charged with unlawful acts will be given special investigation by the superintendent of machinery to determine their desirability as employees.
6. The strike to be declared off as a condition precedent to the reinstatement of any of the men.
7. The standard working day to be—
Nine hours in back shops,
Ten hours in engine houses.
8. Until such time as a wage scale can be arranged, shop rules will be issued by the superintendent of machinery to govern working conditions.

Yours truly, (Signed) A. W. SULLIVAN, General Manager.

AWSG
The conference held after this date did not materially change the situation. The company at no time receding from the position assumed in the above letter, except that they agreed to reinstate 300 men within 30 days out of the 1,280 men who went on strike May 2d.

The following is the proposition submitted by our Grand Lodge of officers as a basis of settlement:

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 11, 1910.

Mr. A. W. Sullivan, Gen. Mgr., Missouri Pacific Ry. Co., St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Sir—Replying to your favor of the 8th inst., in which you submitted: A basis upon which you would be willing to adjust the strike inaugurated by the machinists, May 2, 1910; same has received consideration of our General Executive Board, and I am authorized to say that the plan outlined by you is not acceptable, and the following is submitted as a basis for the settlement of the strike, which I trust will meet with your favorable consideration, and that we may have a reply at your very earliest convenience:

1. 300 of those who went on strike reinstated in five days.
2. 200 more to be reinstated within ten days.
3. 200 more to be reinstated within fifteen days.
4. All former employees engaged in the strike to be given an opportunity to return to work within thirty days.
5. All foremen to be reinstated to their former positions.
6. The reinstatement of any men found guilty of doing damage to the property of the company will not be asked for. I must be satisfied that the evidence in these cases is bona fide.
7. The standard working day to be—
Nine hours in back shops,
Ten hours in engine houses.
8. The agreement between the Company and the Machinists, in effect prior to the strike, May 2, 1910, to immediately be put in effect on the adjustment of the strike, with the exception of the hours as above provided for, and the wage scale, which is to be that offered by the company to the men prior to the strike, providing for 3 cents per hour increase.

Yours truly, (Signed) JAS. O'CONNELL, International President.

The only change made in our proposition was in reference to reinstatement of foremen. Messrs. Franklin, Kline, O'Sullivan and O'Connell, International Presidents of the four crafts, and E. L. Tucker, member of Machinists' General Executive Board, being present when the following proposition was made to Messrs. Sullivan and Smith, October 20th:

That all foremen be reinstated as machinists at place of employment when strike was inaugurated. This offer was promptly and emphatically refused.

Mr. Sullivan claims in Circular No. 107, "There is no material differences existing between the railway company and the machinists except the question of the reinstatement of foremen." We desire to call your attention to several things that he would not recede from in proposition submitted October 8th, any one of which would have justified a continuance of the strike.

Proposition No. 1. Nothing to it and was never discussed.
Proposition No. 2. Mr. Sullivan claimed that the company had a 107 per cent force of men, as compared with the number of men on the rolls when the strike occurred. He later agreed to reinstate 300 men within 30 days, leaving 980 men who came on strike unprovided for except at the discretion of the officials.

Proposition No. 3 deals with foremen. Mr. Sullivan in every conference held stated positively that the foremen who left the service on account of the strike would never be employed again; then makes a proposition that provides for their re-employment as machinists at some different locality than where formerly employed, with a proviso which nullifies the entire proposition, and, like everything else this great man does, has a string attached to it, and he keeps the string. He provides that they will

only be employed as machinists at some other point at the discretion of the superintendent of machinery. This superintendent receives his orders from Mr. Sullivan. You don't need a spy glass to see the finish of the 85 foremen who left the service because they preferred to stay with the men whom their whole lives are associated with. A forman to-day and a cashinist at the bench to-morrow. How could they be expected to side with an employer who discards them without a thought the minute he thinks he can get some one to fill his place to better advantage? So much for Mr. Sullivan's famous declaration of "fundamental principles at stake," as he terms them. We have been there; we know just what it amounts to.

Proposition No. 4. Damage to property or other unlawful acts. Mr. Sullivan, when asked to name a man who had damaged the property of the company, had to admit that they did not know of one man, whom they could prove to be guilty of the charge, claiming that they knew property had been damaged, and that it was up to any man to prove his innocence when charged with this offense; and whom do you suppose was to be the judge? Officers of the company, from whom there would be no appeal. A casual observer can readily see the finish of the men who have taken part in this strike; under those conditions a scab could accuse a union man of doing something he had done himself, and it was up to the union man to satisfy an admittedly biased judge that he was not guilty. If it were not for the horrible injustice and seriousness of the proposition one would be compelled to laugh at it. This is another one of Mr. Sullivan's "Fundamental Principles."

Proposition No. 5 refers to men who may have had physical encounters with scabs. In such cases the scab would be retained in the service and the union men would not be employed, unless the same admittedly biased officers of the company saw fit to employ them. More of Mr. Sullivan's "Fundamental Principles."

Proposition No. 6 was to the effect that no men would be reinstated until the strike was declared off.

Proposition No. 7 refers to hours of service. We conceded this point, in the hope of bringing about a settlement, and as this one proposition was looked upon as the most important of all to the company we felt that our action in conceding the ten-hour day in engine houses would be met in the proper spirit by Mr. Sullivan, but it seems that it had just the opposite effect, and he intimated very strongly that any organization that expected consideration from him would have to accede to his terms. Another lesson from Mr. Sullivan's self-made code of "Fundamental Principles."

Proposition No. 8 refers to wages, shop rules, etc., and we never learned just what Mr. Sullivan's "Fundamental Principles" were, except in a general way. We learned that those men who were reinstated and were able to survive the conditions in the foregoing seven propositions would be paid the rates of pay as per our old agreement plus an increase of 3 cents per hour. In regard to the rules, he finally agreed to give us the Chicago general manager's proposition, but the only thing we could figure out of it was that we would be making an agreement that would be beneficial to the scabs only, as the settlement proposed by Mr. Sullivan did not give us a guarantee that we would have any of our members left on the system. It also provided that all the scab helpers and handy men would be retained in the service on the class of work they had been assigned to during the strike. All in all, Mr. Sullivan's proposition was one of the best we have ever seen or heard of—for Mr. Sullivan.

We trust that the foregoing explanation will prove to the most skeptical that there is no inclination on the part of the Missouri Pacific Company to adjust the existing differences, and that the only concessions made (notwithstanding Mr. Sullivan's statement that he had "conceded everything") were made by the men on strike.

Our proposition, in a few words, was simply this: In order to bring about a settlement we withdrew all our original requests and offered as a basis of settlement:

First, the reinstatement of the men. Second, that the agreement in effect prior to May 2d, 1910, be immediately put into effect. The only changes being the rate of pay and the hours of service, both of which were to be changed to conform to Mr. Sullivan's wishes, or were, at least, acceptable to him. We have made every concession that has been made; we are now and always have been ready to submit our original proposition to a board of arbitration. We have offered to accept the agreements in effect on such competing lines as the Rock Island, "Frisco," and Illinois Central, or those in effect on any one of the following Gould systems: Texas Pacific, I. & G. N., or Denver & Rio Grande, all of which have been declined. It is needless to say that in view of these facts we are of the opinion that it is and has been Mr. A. W. Sullivan's intention to fight Organized Labor, and in our opinion, we believe, if he is successful in the present instance, the organizations in the transportation department will come next. Their agreements are now being given but slight consideration, and there is a committee in St. Louis practically the entire year from one or another of these organizations, maintained at an enormous expense to the members, and we ask why? The answer is: Mr. A. W. Sullivan, general manager of the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railway Company.

In conclusion, we wish to answer just one more of Mr. Sullivan's misstatements—i. e., that the Boilermakers, Blacksmiths and Sheet Metal Workers should have given a thirty-day notice to the company before going on strike. In answer to this we wish to say that Mr. Sullivan challenged the International Presidents of these organizations to order a strike, and said: "If you are going to strike, you might as well do it now as any other time." The results of Mr. Sullivan's challenge was noticeable October 21st, 1910, when practically every member of the above organizations replied to Mr. Sullivan's defy by going on strike.

A. V. WHARTON.

CROWDED HOUSE GREETES DEBS

HE MAKES A CHARACTERISTIC ADDRESS.

Socialist Leader Scores the Old Parties, Roosevelt and New York's Four Hundred.

Tacoma, Wash., Oct. 26.—Eugene V. Debs, orator, once famous as the leader of the A. R. U., perennial candidate for President and national leader of the Socialist Party, spoke to a capacity house at Germania hall last night. Debs is touring the north-west in the interest of his party. Those who packed the hall paid 50 cents to



Eugene V. Debs.

hear the noted speaker denounce the old parties, Roosevelt, New York's 400 and discuss the problem of capital and labor. Mr. Debs was cheered for several minutes when he appeared, somewhat late.

Tall, bald and raw-boned, he stood before them smiling, affable and apparently supremely happy. Mr. Debs is a splendid platform man. His speech, while endeavoring to drive home some of the principles for which the party stands, was mirthful and filled with wit, satire and ironical remarks about present-day conditions and men of affairs. "The Republicans and Demo-

crats," he said, "are as completely muddled as the census officials are over the population of Tacoma. In the meantime Theodore Roosevelt is organizing something he calls "nationalism."

Takes Whack at Roosevelt.

"The other day Prof. Woodruff of Cornell University, one of the noted educators of the day, said in a speech: 'Theodore Roosevelt is an unmitigated liar and political pervert. He is not to be believed under oath!' Roosevelt is seeking to purify class politics. The purer it is the worse it is. He is seeking out the crooks. He won't have to go very far—in fact, he could begin close to home.

"Our friend Roosevelt says: 'Let the light of publicity shine on campaign fund contributions.' Yet no light has been turned on his campaign fund contributions of 1904. He supports the eight-hour day law now that he is not in power to enforce it."

Mr. Debs pleased the women members of the audience by declaring the constitutional amendment to bring about woman's suffrage should be carried unanimously this fall.

Sorry for the Women.

"Women have always been taught to look upon their husbands as lord and master," he said. "When I look on some of you lords here to-night my heart goes out for the women."

Mr. Debs read a scathing tirade against New York's "400," which, he said, had become so exclusive that it had dwindled down to 243.

Leslie S. Aller introduced Mr. Debs as just plain "Gene Debs."

George Brewer, a representative of Appeal to Reason, served as a preliminary to the man event and spoke concerning his newspaper. From here Mr. Debs goes to Aberdeen.

New Subscribers.

New subscribers have been secured by the following comrades and friends:

- C. A. Gentry 1
- Joseph Vuenic 1
- John Schaerpf 2
- F. S. Wenk 1
- J. R. Teil 1
- A. Caplan 1
- W. H. Worman 1
- Wm. Gronemeier 2
- Wm. Budt 2
- Jacob Dornier 1
- Henry Zimmermann 1
- Robert Ritter 1
- W. W. Walters 1
- Alf. Michler 1
- Wm. Erhard 1
- Anton Ortnier 1
- O. Pauls 2
- C. W. Weber 1
- Alb. Siepmann 1
- Wm. Booz 1
- Frank Heuer 1
- F. Berkel 1
- M. Belly 1

Local No. 11.

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION OF AMERICA.

Druids' Hall, 9th and Market Sts. (Affiliated with A. F. of L. C. T. & L. U. and Trades Union Labor League.

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 9, 1910.

The journeymen tailors at Wm. E. Terrell's establishment, in the Globe-Democrat building, are on a strike.

They have received no increase of wages in eight years, notwithstanding the cost of living has gone up 40 per cent.

The following persons are working as strikebreakers for Terrell:

W. J. Williams, 1115 Dolman street; Miss Lowenstine, 2923 Shendoah; Christ Ostel, 4100 Botanical and Seventh and Franklin; Fred Ho-

fer, 1911 Park avenue; Percy Helbert, 4137 Schiller place and Seventh and Locust, and Mr. Heller, 4302 Cook avenue and Seventh and Locust.

Mr. Terrell has heretofore operated a first-class establishment. These strikebreakers are second and third class mechanics. It is hardly possible that the old customers will accept the inferior work now being turned out. Some of it is made in factories.

Factories are all right for cheap work. But when it comes to paying the highest price in the city for work made up by the cheapest process customers are liable to balk.

ATTENTION!

Garment Workers to Hold an Open Mass Meeting.

District Council No. 4, United Garment Workers of America, will hold an open mass meeting Tuesday evening, November 15th, at 8 o'clock, at Fraternal Hall, northwest corner of Eleventh and Franklin.

The meeting will be addressed by the National President of the United Garment Workers of America, S. A. Landers, and other national officers, who will be here to attend the American Federation of Labor convention, and women engaged in the garment industry and how to get better working conditions will be the principal object of the meeting.

Everybody engaged in the garment industry is invited.

OTTO KAEMMERER, President District Council No. 4.

O. W. GOODIN, Secretary.

Cheering News.

Here's cheering news for labor. The convicts in the Ohio penitentiary have been granted the eight-hour workday. Men who toil in trades that exact ten and twelve hours' toil out of their protesting bodies ought to be set a thinking when society waits until men have committed crimes before extending to them humane work conditions!

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Always Insist that the

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EVERY LOAF YOU BUY

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...Printery

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L. G. POPE

...LAWYER...

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Subscription: \$1 00 per year in advance.

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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



966 Chouteau Avenue.

The A. F. of L. Convention

Welcome to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor who will assemble in annual convention next Monday in this city.

The great Parliament of Labor will have great work to perform. Grave problems of vital interest to the working class confront the Trade Union movement. In the same ratio as the labor movement is gaining in influence and power the common enemy will devise ways and means to undermine Trades Unions and check their victorious onward march.

We welcome the delegates in the city where the Buck Stove and Range Company boycott originated!

Welcome in the city where a Citizens' Industrial Alliance, under most energetic leadership, has tried in vain to wipe out the local labor movement!

Welcome in this metropolis of industry and commerce of the great Southwest!

The 45,000 organized wage workers of St. Louis extend fraternal greetings to the representatives of the two million trade unionists of this country.

While great victories have been won and much good achieved in behalf of the working class, the greater battles are yet to be fought.

The Trade Union movement has become a powerful factor in modern industrial and social affairs. New economic class interests develop new struggles between the capitalist and the working classes.

New struggles mean new means of warfare, new methods and policies.

It is for the coming A. F. of L. convention to look over the field of battle, to carefully consider past victories and defeats and prepare for any future attacks by the common enemy of Organized Labor.

Every available effort has been made within the past few years to rob the working class of their political and civil rights. Legitimate means of defense and self-protection of the working class have been stamped as illegal and criminal. By means of injunctions and anti-boycott legislation the capitalists tried to enslave the wage workers and deprive them of the right to organize.

State Legislatures and the United States Congress have shown their hostility toward Organized Labor, and no effort has been spared by the ruling powers to crush the working class in its brave and noble fight for better conditions.

May every delegate of the coming A. F. of L. convention fully realize the great responsibility put upon his shoulders by the rank and file of his constituents!

This is an era of great events. The working class must realize that labor and slavery shall no longer be twins, but that labor shall be free.

The working class cannot secure better conditions and bring about the economic emancipation of labor by slavish prayer and cowardly subservience, but by systematic organization and co-operation and by energetic and determined efforts.

The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working people themselves!

These words of Karl Marx are no idle phrase, but a truth which can be attested to by every militant trade unionist.

May this coming convention of the American Federation of Labor be a great success, and may its work secure good results and lasting benefits for the American proletariat.

Election Grooms at Work

A Fraudulent Campaign Letter.

The following letter, was received at Socialist Headquarters late in the afternoon of November 7. It had been addressed to a comrade in the Fourth Justice of the Peace District, who immediately brought it to Socialist Party headquarters, 966 Chouteau avenue:

Copy of Fraudulent Letter.

St. Louis, November 7th, 1910.

Dear Sir:—

We desire to call your attention to the fact that there are no candidates on our ticket for Justice of the Peace and Constable in the Fourth (Your) District. The Republican candidate Mr. Frank M. Slater was an Olive St. gripman, a member of the Union, and lost out in the strike; has been constable in the Fourth Dist. for the past four years, his record is first-class, and he is at present candidate for Justice. His opponent Mr. "Jim" Cronin is the well-known Butlerite professional ward politician, and while in the House of Delegates was the originator of the phrase, "I ain't done nothin'".

Chas. H. Turpin is the Republican candidate for Constable, and is opposed by the well known Democratic ward boss: "Lawler Daley, who is better known as the leader of the old 22nd ward "Indians".

We earnestly request that you fill in both the names of Mr. Slater and Turpin and help defeat the two enemies of the Socialist movement in the persons of Cronin and Daley; Mr. Turpin is a young man who has a good record and has never before asked for office. Trusting that you will get as many of your friends to defeat these men, we remain,

With fraternal greetings,
CITY HEADQUARTERS THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
966 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Immediately on receipt of the above letter the following statement was sent to the daily papers, to-wit:

"City Headquarters Socialist Party,
November 7, 1910.

"To the Press:

"There has just come to my notice a copy of a letter that is being sent to voters in the Fourth Justice of the Peace District.

"The letter in question requests Socialists to vote for the Republican candidates for Justice of the Peace and Constable in the Fourth District. It is so worded as to convey the impression that it is sent out from Socialist City Headquarters, and has a forged stamp signature attached.

"The Socialist Party is in no way responsible for this attempt to influence voters. The stamp signature is a forgery, and the language of the letter betrays a crook trying to masquerade as a Socialist.

"OTTO PAULS,

"Secretary Socialist Party City Committee."

The forged letter has all the earmarks of having been written on the typewriter of a Washington avenue lodging house doctor, who was expelled from the Socialist Party about two years ago. All of which goes to show what we have had to contend with in St. Louis. Whether the individual who wrote the fraudulent letter is a crook or not is a question for our readers to decide.

It may be here noted that the leading spirits of the "Protestors," including their secretary, attempted to make a hero out of this "doctor," even after he had been expelled from the party for doing similar work.

Prohibition Defeated

Constitutional Amendment No. 10, demanding state-wide prohibition, was overwhelmingly defeated. In St. Louis the anti-Prohibition vote reached 135,000, while the "Pros" mustered about 10,000 votes. The majority against Prohibition in the entire state may reach 200,000.

Dick Military Law

Readers of ST. LOUIS LABOR are pretty well informed with the infamous history and reactionary purpose of the Dick military law, railroaded through Congress in 1903. But it is now so generally known that this notorious measure was up for consideration in 1908, and that a record vote on this law was taken in the House on the 25th day of May of that year.

Those pillars of society who want the United States to become a military despotism had the Dick law amended about two years ago so that the yearly appropriation of \$2,000,000 allowed under the act of 1903, would be increased to \$4,075,000.

To secure this 100 per cent increase the Dick law was brought up for consideration at 10 p. m., with

only twenty minutes on each side for debate. Not a single member of Congress denounced this infamous law which compels every American citizen to muster a gun and shoot down his brother. There was, however, a faint protest by the "watchdogs of the treasury" against the increased appropriations. Nevertheless, the Dick military law, with its increased allowance, was adopted by a vote of 126 to 79, with 182 dodging.

Democrats, supposedly anti-imperialistic, either voted in favor of the Dick law or conveniently absented themselves during the roll call.

One hundred and eight Republicans and 18 Democrats voted in favor of the Dick law; 13 Republicans and 66 Democrats against, and 100 Republicans and 82 Democrats dodged.

What is Socialism?

Socialism is founded in the very nature and constitution of man, and is altruistic (all regarding).

The more altruistic a government, the stronger and better it is.

Socialism is a world-wide movement for the relief and uplift of mankind.

Socialism would secure impartial justice and encourage the best in man.

Socialism would give every human being an equal chance with every other.

Socialism would guarantee every person individual ownership of all individually earned or produced.

Socialism would allow every one an equal right to the earth and its resources.

Socialism would give us a government of, by and for the people.

Socialism would give and enable every one to feel and have an equal interest in the country.

Socialism would make all able persons producers in a co-operative commonwealth.

Socialism would admit women to full citizenship and equal rights with men.

Socialism proposes that all labor-saving machines, that only labor has and can produce, and are collectively used, be owned by the people, and all be equally and justly served and benefited by all that they together produce and depend upon for a living.

Socialism would raise the civic virtue above the price of gold, the influence of the lobbyist, or boodle.

Socialism would wipe out the poisonous slums, sweat-shops and brothels, and give us a cleaner country.

Socialism would rescue and save the tots from the merciless power of greed, and give every child sunshine and education to the full extent of capacity.

"Socialism would secure a more just and equal distribution of property and labor." See Webster.

Socialism offers the only promising remedy for the social and economic evils of the present, and fairly addresses the human reason and conscience.

Socialism, through direct legislation, would voice the will of the people.

Socialism honors the Golden Rule and makes for the highest civilization.

Socialism regards humanity as a unit and would provide for all work and an honest living.

Socialism is the manifest power of righteousness at work.

And it promises full answer to the age-long prayer, "Thy Kingdom come!"

Altruism is the constructive force

behind civilization that makes the coming of Socialism inevitable.

God and humanity is with is in the world's grand march! Make way! Think well!

How an intrepid grand army has come

To give battle for every man's home! And recruits are increasing its strength,

Coming in from every quarter and length!

What Socialism is and would do is made apparent up to date all over the world. Its light is not hid under a bushel, but shines forth to the ends of the earth, revealing a better way in which to attain the highest civilization and greatest general welfare and happiness. And it is being demonstrated and seen everywhere that co-operative effort yields better results and more satisfactory returns than individualism can; and competition plainly leads away from the Golden Rule, encouraging graft, falsehood and cheat, and setting every man against his neighbor in the economic struggle.

And so, in the interests of all, and for the better life and happiness of all, a new movement and a new party has arisen with new inspiration that would bring order out of chaos through Socialist legislation and control; and a new voice is heard in every land; and new conceptions are being matured and born into service.

Public ownership of the means of production and distribution, on which life and human welfare depends, is fast becoming recognized as an advanced step, and well taken, to meet the exigencies of human progress. And all over the world municipalities and governments, pressed by the growing intelligence of the people, are fast coming into ownership and control of railroads and varied public-serving utilities; and the socio-industrial use and control of the earth and its resources for the greater output of essentials for the sustenance and happiness of all, is a growing idea, and presages the time when man will be his "brother's keeper," and the glorious opportunity is ours to assist in making way for humanity's triumph!

Behold how the world moves on in its way.

And man as truly learns something each day,

How better to live and accomplish more

Than he ever thought or dreamed of before!

National Headquarters Socialist Party.

Hunter's Book.

The special cheap edition of Robert Hunter's book, entitled "Socialists at Work," for which advance orders were solicited August 12th, has been successfully launched. The books were shipped to the respective subscribers from New York on October 24th. The orders on file exceeded the number of copies of the first edition, and it was necessary to order a second edition of one thousand copies, which will be ready for shipment in about a week. Copies of the second edition can be had at the same rate as applied to the first edition, namely, 25 cents a copy in lots of ten.

National Committee Meeting.

In the minutes of the National Executive Committee meeting, as printed and circulated in leaflet form last week, the following was omitted: "Motion. That the next meeting of this committee be held in Chicago on Saturday, December 10, 1910. Carried." It will appear in its proper place in the minutes as printed in the October issue of the Official Monthly Bulletin.

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

Militarism in School Board

Dr. Emil Simon and Prof. Woodward in Defense of Progress and Civilization.

At last Tuesday night's session of the St. Louis Board of Education a lively discussion took place on the question of "Militarism vs. Our Public Schools." The Globe-Democrat reports the "incident" as follows:

The board then was thrown into another debate, led by Dr. Emil Simon, on the question of the board approving voluntary formation of teams for rifle practice by the pupils of the several high schools. Dr. Simon declared the board should not encourage militarism among the pupils. He said: "Rifle practice in public schools is a step in the wrong direction, when we know the world's trend is toward peace through arbitration. To teach boys to shoot their fellow-man is certainly not up to date, and the board should not encourage it."

Robert Moore replied to Dr. Simon by reminding him that the state in land grants to universities provided that military tactics should be taught. He said every man ought to know how to shoot a rifle.

Dr. C. M. Woodward declared he did not like the spirit of the idea, and encouraging boys to carry weapons was dangerous to any community, while Dr. William Taussig replied to Dr. Woodward by saying everybody should know how to shoot, especially when the country is in danger. It was finally moved and carried that the board consider the project next month.

The matter was brought to the attention of the board by Mr. Blewett, Superintendent of Instruction, who submitted the following report:

Rifle Practice Teams.

"The following letter has been received from Albert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War and president of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice:

"Dear Sir—I understand that you will shortly take action upon the plans as outlined by Mr. A. S. Jones, secretary of the National Rifle Association of America, for the introduction of rifle shooting in the public schools of St. Louis.

"The Government believes that the introduction of marksmanship in the schools is a policy of great importance, taking into consideration the defenses of the nation, and should be encouraged in every way by those who feel that the United States should be prepared at all times to defend itself and maintain peace.

"At its annual meeting on January 24, 1906, the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice took up this question and a special committee was appointed to inquire into it and report at the next meeting on "The feasibility and advisability of some policy to inaugurate a system of rifle practice throughout the public schools of the country." At the following annual meeting, held January 25, 1907, this committee submitted a report, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, which is recommended to the consideration of the school authorities.

"Trusting that the application presented by Mr. Jones will receive favorable consideration, I beg to remain, very truly yours."

"The report referred to in the above letter suggests that teams for rifle practice be formed in the several high schools and that the practice be under the instruction of officers of the United States Army or of the National Guards and be held in the indoor and outdoor ranges under the control of the army or of the national guards.

"The report suggests further that the practice be under the supervision of members of the high school corps of teachers.

"The statement was made by Lieut. Jones that rifle practice teams have been formed by high school boys in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Denver and Los Angeles.

"The above facts are submitted to the board for its consideration. Respectfully submitted,

"BEN BLEWETT,

"Superintendent of Instruction."

In the meeting of the board of November 8 the following was offered by the Committee on Education:

Rifle Practice.

In Section XXII of the report, he directs the attention of the board to the requests and suggestions made by the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice through its president, Robert Shaw Oliver, Acting Secretary of War. It is recommended that, for the purposes indicated in these suggestions, the board approve of the voluntary formation of teams for rifle practice by the pupils of the several high schools. This recommendation is made with the condition that such practice shall take place outside of the regular school hours and under such management as the

prove, and under the further condition that such rifle practice shall create no expense to be paid out of the school funds.

Comrade Dr. Emil Simon took the floor in opposition to the measure and availed himself of the opportunity to condemn any attempt to teach the spirit of militarism in our public schools. Dr. Simon was very ably assisted in his opposition by Prof. C. M. Woodward, who took the ground that our public schools were not established for purposes as outlined and proposed in the letter from the Acting Secretary of War and in the recommendation of the Committee on Instruction.

Comrade Dr. Simon, in a letter to the editor of ST. LOUIS LABOR, says:

"The question of the board approving voluntary formation of teams for rifle practice by the pupils of the several high schools came up for discussion at the last meeting of the Committee on Instruction, of which I am a member. I spoke against it, and said that to vote for a proposition like this would be acting against every principle I had advocated all my life. I was outvoted by my two colleagues, hence the committee recommended the scheme to the board at its last meeting, Tuesday night. To prevent a vote, which would have stood, I think, 8 to 4, I moved to lay the matter over for a month, and stated: 'Our high schools are not a recruiting ground for the army, some of our best and most experienced principals are greatly opposed to the measure, while others are only lukewarm in its support. We recently organized peace leagues among our teachers to teach the children the value of arbitration, and but a few days ago President Taft, in his Thanksgiving Day proclamation, had pointed out the increasing friendliness among nations and the growing tendency to settle disputes by arbitration. With these sentiments the formation of rifle brigades would ill agree. Besides, shooting cannot be recommended for any cause. Physically it is without value, intellectually a waste of time, morally a step in the wrong direction, as it is barbarous to teach a boy to shoot down his fellow-man. The whole thing fosters the spirit of militarism, too rampant already in this country, but opposed to our age of humanity and to republican institutions. At any rate, a school board that boasts of its progressive spirit should not encourage a practice that is opposed to every progress of culture and civilization.'

"DR. EMIL SIMON."

Milwaukee Letter

"A MUNICIPAL PRINTING PLANT FOR MILWAUKEE."

By Carl B. Thompson.

Steps are being taken toward the establishment of a municipal printing plant in Milwaukee. It is the idea of the administration that a great deal of money can be saved and a great convenience effected by the establishment of a municipal plant.

The printing bill of a large city like Milwaukee is enormous. It amounts to somewhere near \$23,000.00 per year. All of this could be taken care of by a municipal plant, thus bringing the work under direct control of the municipality.

In addition to the work done by the city there is several thousand dollars' worth of printing done by the county. It is the idea of those in charge of the plans for the municipal plant that the work of the county could be done in connection with that of the city.

A committee has been investigating the experience of other cities where municipal printing is being done, and will report upon the best method of procedure.

In connection with the printing plant it is also proposed later on to establish a municipal journal. This will be an official journal of the city of Milwaukee, and will discuss in a non-partisan and scientific way the various problems as they are handled from time to time by the city.

If these projects are carried out the administration will have direct control of a very effective publicity enterprise as well as of all its printing. It goes without saying, of course, that strict trades union conditions will be given to those who work for the municipal printery, and an effort will be made to make the enterprise a financial success also.

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS SOCIALIST PARTY.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 5, 1910.

In the early elections held this year Maine increased the Socialist vote of 1908 by about 30 per cent. Arkansas increased the Debs vote of 6,287 to 9,149 for Hogan for Governor. Vermont increased nearly 100 per cent, from 547 in 1908 to 1,055 in the September election.

1888 AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1910

By G. A. Hoehn, Editor St. Louis Labor.

Twenty-two years ago—December 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, 1888—the Third Annual Convention of the American Federation was in session in the city of St. Louis.

The convention assembled at the old Central Turner Hall—the "Cradle of Liberty"—on the east side of Tenth street, between Walnut and Market streets. President Samuel Gompers opened the proceedings and P. J. McGuire officiated as secretary.

and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

"We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trade union system of organization."

President's Report.

In his report submitted to that memorable convention, President Gompers said:

"There is scarcely a division of thought upon the question that the workers, being the producers of all the wealth of the world, should at least enjoy more of the results of their toil. On every hand we see fortunes amassing, elegant mansions and immense business houses rearing, we see the intricate machinery in its rotary motions, the genius of man, all applied to the production of the wealth of the world; and yet, in face of this, thousands of our poor, helpless brothers and sisters, strong, able-bodied, willing to work, unable to find it! Hungry and emaciated, without sufficient to properly nourish the body or to maintain the mental balance. On the other hand, others bent by their long-continued drudgery and unrequited toil.

"While these wrongs have been upon the body politic of our people from ages gone by, we can yet trace the improvements in the condition of the people by reason of our various organizations. Wherever the working people have manifested their desire for improvement by organization, there, as with a magic wand, improvement has taken place; wherever the working people are the poorest, most degraded and miserable, there we can find the greatest lack of organization; and in the same degree as the basis of the organization is improved, there can we see the greater improvement in the material, moral and social condition of the people. There are some who believe that it is necessary that the condition of the people shall become worse in order to move them to action, to bring about the best results. How far from the truth, how illogical this proposition is can be easily seen when we essay to follow it out to its legitimate conclusion. If the poverty of the working people of the world was the factor that moved them to action and more prosperous conditions, China ought to be at the head of civilization."

The Eight-Hour Day.

"It is true, as many say, that the eight-hour movement of 1886 was not entirely successful; it is also true that no movement that has for its purpose the improvement of the conditions of a whole people ever could succeed in its first, aye, even in its second attempt. It is always a hard struggle to achieve any improvement, but the benefits which we gained in 1886 and since then by reason of the eight-hour movement are sufficient to encourage us to make the venture again. We should not lose sight of the fact that as a result of the movement of 1886 there have been a number of trades that reduced their hours of labor from ten and twelve to eight; others again from twelve and fourteen to ten and nine, and many thousands of workmen who before that time worked from fourteen to eighteen hours a day have had the hours of their labor reduced to twelve. It has been estimated that more than eight million hours of labor have been spared the toiler; in other words, employment has been found for thousands who would otherwise be in want of it."

On Political Action

The President's report said: "Many delegates may feel, and I have heard that the matter would be brought to the attention of this convention, the desirability of forming a third, or what is known as an independent, political party; but in view of recent experience, I can only say that such action, for the present at least, would be in the extreme unwise. If we are zealous and earnest in the advocacy of agitation and desire the enforcement of the eight-hour workday, it will require all we can possibly do to muster all our efforts and concentrate our power upon its attainment. The experiences of the past have taught that we may and can obtain practical results, both political as well as economical, by creating a healthy public opinion if we devote ourselves energetically to our organization, the development and maintenance of our trade unions."

Labor Congresses.

"The International Labor Congress, recently held in England, cannot, according to the latest information, be considered as having been highly successful, owing, no doubt,



Samuel Gompers

to conditions to which I will refer hereafter. In conformity with the instructions of the Executive Council, I forwarded to the congress a letter of congratulation, and calling their attention to the causes of our non-representation. I made several suggestions as to what we deemed of the greatest importance to the welfare of the working people of the world.

"It is proposed to hold an International Labor Congress in France in 1889, to attend which all labor organizations have been invited; while in the autumn of the same

Treasurer G. Edmonston shows:
BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR
Ending November 30th, 1888.

Receipts.	
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1887.	\$ 25.95
Charter fees.....	345.00
Capita tax.....	3,585.48
Delegate tax.....	151.26
Proceedings and pamphlets	348.87
Supplies.....	81.94
Total.....	\$4,538.50

The Women Workers.

On motion of a committee, this recommendation was adopted:

"We deplore the fact that the capitalistic system bears most heavily upon the weak, and that consequently women and children are its greatest sufferers. We, therefore, approve the suggestion of President Gompers relative to the organization of women workers, and we urge that the Executive Council be instructed to have presented to Congress a constitutional amendment prohibiting in all States of the Union the employment of children under fourteen years of age in workshops, mines, and factories."

The Labor Press.

The privileges of the floor by unanimous vote was granted to Mr. M. D. Shaw, manager of the New Order, a weekly labor paper printed in St. Louis. Mr. Shaw announced that said paper would publish an extended report of the proceedings, which offer was received favorably.

Had a Douglas Boycott.

Delegate Daley, in behalf of the Shoe Lasters' Protective Union of New England, rose to a question of privilege, which was unanimously granted. Delegate Daley then reported the fact that he had just received a telegram that the W. L. Douglas Shoe Company, which was under boycott for over a year, for not complying with union rules, had just agreed upon terms with the Shoe Lasters' Protective Union, and that hereafter the Douglas shoe should be considered as made in a union factory. Upon motion duly made the boycott on the Douglas shoe was unanimously lifted. President Gompers then declared that the boycott on the Douglas shoe, as ordered by the A. F. L., was from this date removed.

Industrial Organization.

The recommendation of the Committee on the Formation of Industrial Divisions was not concurred in, and upon a full explanation of its significance the following resolution was thereupon adopted:

Industrial Divisions.

"Resolved, That so much of the report of the Committee on Constitution as refer to industrial divisions be referred to the incoming Executive Council, to devise a plan for the establishment of industrial divisions or trade sections and submit the same to the national or international bodies for dissemination among the local unions."

Of the many resolutions adopted we mention the following:

Appreciation of Labor Press.

Moved That we express our appreciation of the enterprise shown by the New Order of St. Louis and the St. Louis Tageblatt in publishing full reports of the proceedings of this convention."

Ballot Reform.

"Whereas, The purity of the ballot is the safety of the nation; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the system of voting known as the Australian system."

Prison Labor Products.

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, records itself in favor of the bill now before Congress to confine the sale of prison-made goods of whatever kind to the state in which such goods are made; also the bill to prohibit the importation of all foreign prison labor products."

Conspiracy Laws.

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor do everything in its power to bring about the repeal of all conspiracy laws, whether state or national, whose object is to deny to working people the free exercise of their rights to organize and be represented by committees, or agents of their own selection, in dealing with employers of labor in relation to matters of wages or other conditions under which labor shall be performed."

Armed Hirelings and Police Interference in Strikes.

"Resolved, That the Executive Council give all possible assistance to affiliated State Federations and Central Labor Unions in their endeavors to secure legislation preventing unfair employers from hiring irresponsible persons armed for the purpose of overdriving workmen on strike; also for the purpose of preventing undue police interference with workmen engaged in labor disputes."

Abolish the Contract System of Public Work.
"Whereas, The contract labor sys-

tem as now in vogue in governmental work results in the awarding of contracts to employers who discriminate against organized labor by employing mainly inferior workmen at reduced wages and ignoring the national eight-hour law; be it

"Resolved, That we request of Congress the abolition of the contract system of performing public work."

The officers elected for the year 1888-89 were:



D. A. HAYES.
Fourth Vice-President.

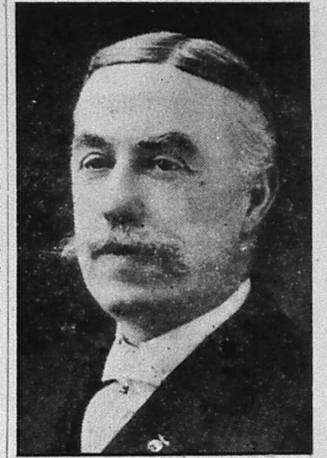
President—Samuel Gompers (cigar-maker), New York, N. Y.
First Vice-President—Daniel McLaughlin (coal miner), Braidwood, Ill.

Second Vice-President—William Martin (iron and steel worker), Pittsburg, Pa.

Secretary—P. J. McGuire (carpenter), Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer—Henry Emrich (furniture worker), New York, N. Y.

Messrs. F. K. Foster and August Delabar were nominated for Treasurer, but declined.



JOHN B. LENNON.
Treasurer.

Trustees—Hugo Miller (compositor), New York, N. Y.; Aug. Delabar (baker), New York, N. Y.; Josiah B. Dyer (granite cutter), New York, N. Y.

Boston, Mass., having received a majority of votes, was declared to be the place for holding the fourth annual session of the A. F. of L. in 1889.

The foregoing is a synopsis of the proceedings of the third convention of the A. F. of L., held in St. Louis in December, 1888.

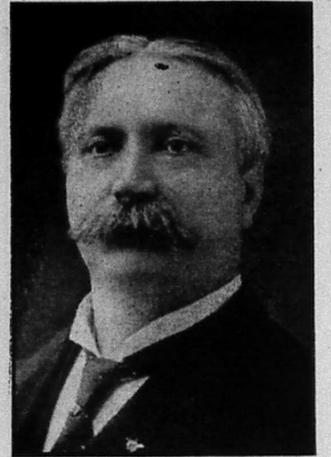


H. B. PERHAM.
Eighth Vice-President.

Next Monday, November 14, 1910, after twenty-two years of storm and stress, the A. F. of L. again convenes in St. Louis, with a delegation fully ten times as numerous as in 1888. The 500,000 members have increased to about two million.

To-day there are affiliated with the

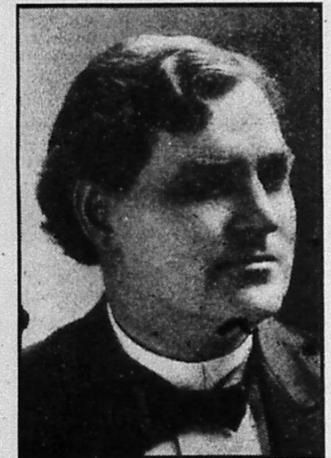
(Continued on page 8)



JAMES DUNCAN.
First Vice-President.

Prof. C. M. Woodward addressed the convention on the importance of Industrial Education, as exemplified in the system of manual training.

Of the well-known labor men present were Hugo Miller, August Delabar, J. H. Penna, Sam Basson, J. F. Mahoney, Jas. H. Perry, Henry Verdes, P. J. McGuire, Henry Emrich, Frank K. Foster, Wm. Weihe, John S. Kirchner, Sam Goldwater, Chris. Evans, E. Reinhardt, George W. Appel, N. Forsberg, H. McIver, H. Blackmore, Chas. F. Bechtold, Emil Appelhagen, John La Vigne,



FRANK MORRISON.
Secretary.

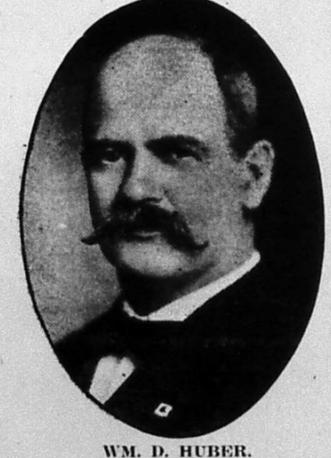
Fred Ackerman, Robert L. Volz, Tom Holland, Fred Haller, David Erbling represented the St. Louis Trades Assembly.

The roll call showed 51 delegates, representing 34 organizations, with 2,797 unions or branches and a total membership of 587,000 in good standing.

The Preamble

of the A. F. of L. Constitution adopted at that convention read as follows:

"Whereas, A struggle is going on



WM. D. HUBER.
Fifth Vice-President.

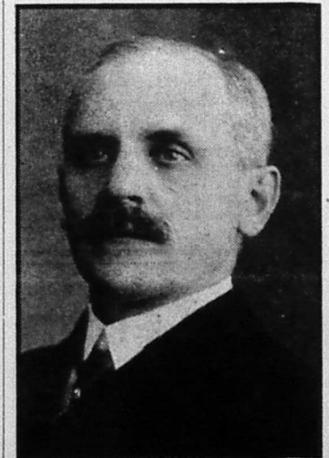
In all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

"It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures



JOHN MITCHELL.
Second Vice-President.

year another International Labor Congress is to be called by the Social Democrats of Germany, to be held in Switzerland. Of course, of the advisability of calling international labor congresses within a few months of each other, there may exist some doubt. As to being represented as Trade Unions at either, it seems to be that we shall be destined to wait until the Trade Unions of Continental Europe shall have had more opportunity to develop before anything like harmonious or successful results may be expected, and it is the lack of this



JOS. F. VALENTINE.
Sixth Vice-President.

development to which I before referred. I am pleased, however, to report that the friendly relations with the European Trade Unions has been continued."

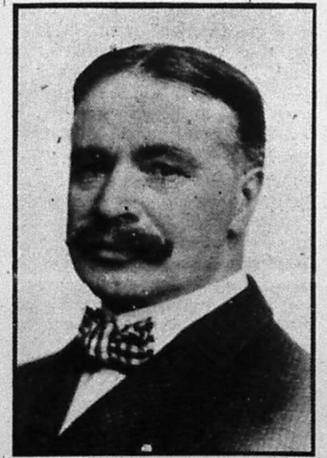
The Finances in 1888

Were in a rather delicate condition, as the following financial report of



JAMES O'CONNELL.
Third Vice-President.

Expenses.	
Printing.....	\$ 703.25
Printing The Union Advocate.....	71.18
Stationery.....	60.65
Postage, telegrams and expressage.....	255.38
Office fixtures and utensils.....	76.04
Rent, light and fuel.....	297.50
Charter fees returned.....	15.00
Delegate tax returned.....	20.00
Supplies.....	37.00
Donations for memorial stones.....	100.00
Traveling and organizing.....	249.50
Sundries.....	21.97



JOHN R. ALPINE.
Seventh Vice-President.

Clerk's salary and other services.....	\$26.20
President's salary.....	1,200.00
Total.....	\$3,933.67
Cash on hand Nov. 30, 1888.....	604.83
Sum total.....	\$4,538.50

Dividing Up Ireland.

By Robert Hunter.

How often one hears the old chestnut, "You're a Socialist, eh? A Socialist! Oh, ho, you want to divide up all wealth."

Protest as you will against that statement, the enemy keeps repeating it.

Two ends are achieved by this clever statement. First, it alarms a great many thrifty workingmen and absurdity of any attempt to divide up small property owners; second, the is self-evident.

Besides this statement saves our statesmen, our editors, our financiers the trouble of landing out what Socialism is and of honestly combating it.

And so they say: "Divide up wealth and within a generation there will exist the same inequality of possession that now exists." And as that is evidently true, it proves the absurdity of dividing up wealth.

We shall not attempt to answer this attack by saying that we are Socialists because we are against dividing up wealth and giving the capitalist most of it.

Nor shall we answer this attack by asking for the name of one Socialist who has ever advocated dividing up wealth.

There are no such Socialists, but, curiously enough, there are capitalists who advocate dividing up. That is astonishing, but it is true. The recent policy of England in trying to solve the Irish land question is an example point.

The land of Ireland has been for many centuries owned by great landlords, most of whom prefer to live anywhere except in Ireland.

Gross evils have arisen as a result of this private monopoly in land.

After a century of royal commissions sent out to study the ruin of the Irish people through land monopoly, the English government was forced to act.

The people of Ireland are troublesome, and the English government spends millions a year to maintain enough police to keep the Irish down.

The workhouses are full, the people unproductive and Ireland is in a state of chronic bankruptcy.

It is not, therefore, as profitable a dependency as a country of its size and productivity should be.

The English government at last realized that if it were to deal successfully with Ireland it must cut out the cancer of land monopoly.

It made several feeble attempts to that end, and at last it established the Estates Commissioners, for the purpose of buying up the entire land of Ireland and dividing it among the peasants.

It established a Congested District Board, to which it gave great compulsory powers.

This board buys great estates and, by use of agricultural experts, puts the in first-rate condition. It then divides the estates into small parcels and allots them to Irish peasants.

The cost of buying all the land of Ireland and of dividing it in this manner among the tenants will amount in the end to about one billion dollars.

The scheme is to buy the land and pay the landlords cash for it. The peasants then pay back in small payments over a period of from forty-five to sixty years the money to the government.

At the end of that period it is ex-

pected that each peasant will have a small farm entirely his own.

Now that is one way to divide up wealth.

Of course, no Socialist ever suggested that. The capitalists thought that out and put it into practice.

It is the exclusive product of the brain of the foremost English statesmen.

These English statesmen are, fighting Socialism, because, they say, it intends to divide up wealth, and then, to be consistent, they set out to buy up the land of Ireland and to divide it up.

And they advocate dividing up the land of Ireland because they claim it will do away with landlords and solve the land question.

And now comes the joke. The only opposition to dividing up the land of Ireland comes from the Socialists.

They say that this dividing up will solve nothing, and that in a few generations conditions will be just as bad in Ireland as they are now. (Sounds familiar, doesn't it?)

They say the holdings are too small to be farmed economically and that individual ownership on a small scale cannot survive.

The peasants will be forced to sell or mortgage this land, and pawnbrokers, "gomben men" and money lenders will own it all within a very few years.

Small holdings will again give way to big landlordism and finally to what approximates monopoly.

But the capitalists insist on dividing up; they will not nationalize nor municipalize the land.

They refuse to establish a co-operative method of working the land or of owning the land, and so they divide up the land in order not to become Socialists.

It is an interesting example of capitalist statesmanship.

It proves the insincerity of capitalist statesmen when they say that Socialists want to divide up wealth.

An intolerable situation existed in Ireland. Something had to be done. It was a choice of dividing up the land or of socializing the land, and the capitalists divided up the land.

And so, dear friends, be wark of what the capitalists say.

They really believe in dividing up, so that they will get the entire outfit.

They believe in solving our land problems in such a way as to make them worse, if possible, after they are solved than they were before.

And I fear, dear friends, they fight Socialism as a tyranny because they desire to conceal their own tyranny, and they fight Socialism as robbery to veil their own robbery.

And I fear,—I say, I fear—they fight Socialism as confiscation to conceal what they have confiscated, and they jeer at dividing up in order to conceal the present unequal division.

And when it becomes necessary "to solve" the land question they love to divide up on a paying basis, so that in the first division they make a profit, and when they take back the parcels they divided they make a profit on them also.

And they say, "Divide up wealth and within a generation there will exist the same inequality of possession as exists now."

So I suppose that's why they favor "dividing up" the land of Ireland instead of socializing it.

For Years the Socialists have been persecuted and their cause has been Misrepresented and Ridiculed by a Servile Press. To-day the daily papers of St. Louis are trying to Check our Victorious Onward March by a Conspiracy of Silence. But we break this Conspiracy and Compel the Democratic and Republican press to Fight us Openly Face to Face. Their Silence won't last much longer!

GRAND DRESS BALL
GIVEN BY
Bakers' Union No. 4

B. & C. W. INT. UNION OF A.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1910
Under the Auspices of Brewery Workers' Association of Mo.

NEW CLUB HALL,
13th Street and Chouteau Avenue.
Tickets, 25 Cents a Person. Starts at 8 o'clock p. m.

BIG MASQUERADE BALL
GIVEN BY
Workingmen's Singing Society "Vorwaerts"

AT
LEMP'S PARK HALL, 13th and Wyoming Street
ON

Saturday Eve., November 26, '10
Souvenir to each Lady attending. Tickets 25 cents a Person

Ship Subsidy

Ship subsidy is the respectable name for loot secured legally by the Wall street pirates.

Ship subsidy alsomeans conscription to the men who toil on the vessels owned by corporations, with a front door key to Uncle Sam's treasury building.

While the pockets of the masters are being lined with gold, the sailors are compelled to join the naval reserves. This is ship subsidy, and nothing else.

On March 1, 1907, the House voted millions of dollars "for the promotion of the American merchant marine between the United States and the ports of South America." Despite the protests of the Interna-

tional Seamen's Union, the conscript feature was adopted.

This ship subsidy bill was adopted by a vote of 157 to 145, with 76 dodging. One Democrat voted in favor of ship subsidy; 44 Republicans and 101 Democrats against, and 47 Republicans and 29 Democrats dodged.

Had the 29 Democrats who dodged the vote shown to their constituents that their pro-election promises were of some value, the ship subsidy steal of 1907 could have been averted. Again, if these dodging Democrats had the courage of their capitalistic convictions they would have openly and frankly voted for this ship subsidy measure. But Democrats are not known to possess either virtue.

Compulsory Investigation

By the close vote of 112 to 103 one of the most dangerous bills to the organized workers on interstate railroads ever presented in Congress was defeated on December 12, 1908.

This bill was introduced by Representative Townsend of Michigan, who is now a candidate for Senator. It provided for the compulsory investigation of labor disputes affecting interstate commerce. From the wording of the Townsend bill it was apparent that the railroad corporations aimed at compulsory arbitration.

The railroad brotherhoods saw the trick immediately, and after a strong

campaign succeeded in blocking the consideration of this measure by a vote of 112 to 103, with 175 dodging.

That the Townsend measure was defeated by only nine votes shows how narrowly the railroad unions have escaped one of the most deadly blows that can be inflicted by a capitalist state against the organizations of labor.

Ninety-eight Republicans and five Democrats voted in favor of compulsory investigation; nineteen Republicans and ninety-three Democrats against; and one hundred and eight Republicans and sixty-seven Democrats dodged.

The Right Spirit

The following notice is kept standing at the head of the "Help Wanted" advertisements of the Italian daily newspaper in New York, which is mentioned therein:

"La pubblicita economica del 'Giornale Italiana' e puita ed efficace. Noi non pubblichiamo ricerche di 'scabs' o altri avvisi per ingannare il pubblico."

If the English-speaking reader of that notice can not make out in the first sentence that the Giornale Italiano declares that its help-wanted ads are "clean and efficacious," he can "sense it out" that in the next sentence the journal promises it will decline to publish calls for that class of non-unionists to whom colloquial language applies a title more expressive than elegant. The notice tells of one of the changes wrought by time (and organized labor) in the economic status of the Italian seeker for work in the United States. In the early years of his coming he wanted work only; now he wants work, with a voice as to its terms.

The notice tells much more. The strong spirit of solidarity among the Italian wage-workers in America is reflected in their press. The mass of them are moving together as a whole. The movement is rapidly and continuously upward.

In the shirtwaist strike and again in the cloakmakers' strike in New York the Italians were intensely interested and made common cause with the other strikers, in so far as difference of language permitted. Their spokesmen had their own various views as to final economics, but on the whole the rank and file showed that trade unionism was the necessary aim of all their members at the present time.

Volumes has already been published on the Italian in America, and no doubt more volumes are at this moment being written. Whatever else is being recorded of him, it deserves to be said that the Italian immigrant has brought about such a state of things in regard to taking employment that he wants to know whether or not he is being asked to "scab." To get such a firm footing in his labor market, he must have passed through the stages of protest, conflict and victory in confronting his employers.—American Federationist.

German Organization—Take Notice. Comrade Alb. Suedekum, member of the German Reichstag, and editor of "Kommunale Praxis," will be available for a number of lecture dates in the territory east of Chicago, beginning November 20th, on the terms of \$25.00 per meeting. Applications should be made at once to the National Office.

Comrade Fred D. Warren on October 19th addressed and published an open letter to the United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, sitting at St. Paul, Minn., headed, "It Is Your Move, Gentlemen." Local Lawrence, Kansas, sent a copy of the letter to the court, signed by ten citizens, demanding that the Warren case be settled at once. However, the gentlemen in black have decided that the open season for decisions is after election.

FRED. GEITZ & CO.,
UP-TO-DATE

Furnishers and Hatters

For Union Men
3755 S. Jefferson Ave

Forest 3797 Delmar 2148

Elmer Shepard
UNDERTAKER
EMBALMER

Active Member Typographical Union No. 8

5921 Easton Avenue.
STRICTLY UNION

Olive 2333—Central 6637

JOHN DEMPSEY
BAR
Fine Wines, Liquors and Cigars

S. W. Cor. 11th & Couteau Ave.

CHAS. WERZ & CO.
Wood, Brass, Muslin, Embossing on Glass, Etc.
SIGNS
1505 CASS AVE., ST. LOUIS
Kinloch, Central 1451

The

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE SOCIALIST WOMAN
GIRARD, KANSAS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RATES:
Single Copy..... 5c
One Year..... 50c
Bundle of 5 Copies or more, at the
Rate of, each..... 2c

SINDELAR
SHOE CO.

2612-14-16-18 North 14th St.

—FOR—
UNION MADE
SHOES

PHONE:—KINLOCH, Central 2054-R

HANNAUER & OELKERS
Book Binders

420 MARKET STREET.

BUILDER

GENERAL CARPENTER WORK
AND REPAIRING.

Plans and Estimates Furnished.
4430 ARSENAL STREET.
Kinloch Victor 693-R

"He was related by marriage to more people than any other man that ever lived," promptly spoke up the fair-haired little girl in the front row of seats.—Chicago Tribune.

MULLEN
UNDERTAKING CO.

Coleman and North Market Sts.
and St. Louis Ave. and Sarah St.

STRICTLY UNION
BOTH PHONES.

EVERY FAMILY USES

COAL

ORDER YOURS FROM
St. Louis Labor

THERE ARE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD DO THIS.

ONE GOOD REASON is that without a cent additional cost, you fare better and also help your paper by placing your order with

ST. LOUIS LABOR

than with some irresponsible solicitor—your order will receive the best care because the coal business handled by ST. LOUIS LABOR is big and the mine operators try to keep and please big buyers. All coal delivered through ST. LOUIS LABOR is direct from the mines.

ORDER BY PHONE.

Kinloch, Central 1577, or post card to

ST. LOUIS LABOR

ASSIST THE BAKERS!

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, St. Louis Bakery Co., Welle-Boettler Bakery, Home Bakery Co., Freund Bros. Bread Co. Ltd., McKinney Bread Co.

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

UNION MEN AND FRIENDS.



Kindly insist that your Barber displays this Shop Card in his Barber Shop. It stands for short hours, sanitary conditions and a fair day's pay.

HELP THE BARBERS who are struggling to maintain these conditions and build up their organization.

This is the only Emblem of our Craft recognized by the A. F. of L.

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 102.

Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE **Blue Union Label!**

FRANK TOMBRIDGE, President. JACOB F. LEIENDECKER, Vice-Pres't and Notary Public

TOMBRIDGE AGENCY

ESTABLISHED MARCH 13, 1885.

A General Real Estate and Insurance Agency.

Fire and Tornado Insurance.

We represent good and responsible Insurance Companies. We loan money on Real Estate and our charges are reasonable; you will make no mistake in dealing with us.

Have your legal papers, such as last wills, deeds and conveyances, drawn at our office; they will be drawn correct.

First Real Estate Mortgages for sale, secured by double their face value. Tell us how much money you have and we will tell you what we have on hand.

Twenty-five years of fair dealings have made the office of the TOMBRIDGE AGENCY well liked by the public.

Office No. 324 Chestnut Street. Both Phones.

For the Big Miehle Press

The following amounts were subscribed for stock, or donated since the report of October 10th, toward the big Miehle newspaper printing press:

	SHARES	AMOUNT
Brewery Freight Handlers & Ice Plant Workers		
Union No. 237	20	\$100.00
Beer Drivers & Stablemen's Union No. 43	40	200.00
Arbeiter-Krankenkasse No. 71	40	200.00
Florian Meier	donation	1.00
"C. Schwab"	"	-20.00
Albert Nebeling	"	.50
L. F. Rosenkranz	"	.50
Dr. C. B. Hirdler, Lonsdale, Minn.	"	.50
Mrs. M. Boettger	"	10.00
Henry Schroeder	"	5.00
Paul Borovik	on account	4.00
John Kaut	"	2.00
Richard Poenack	1	2.00
Mrs. Yeldell	1	1.00
Karl Kuehlerberg	1	5.00
Georg Lupp	1	5.00
Henri Siroky	1	5.00
Butchers & Meat Cutters Union No. 88	2	10.00
Charles Blasberg	2	10.00

Received since October 10th: 109 shares \$581.50
Received as previously reported: 1817 9917.23

Total receipts to November 1st: 1926 shares \$10,498.73

There are still about \$800.00 needed to assure the big Miehle newspaper press No. 1 for our printing establishment. The press should be installed within a few weeks and the comrades are requested to make every effort in order to enable the Labor Publishing Company to secure the press without delay.

Capitalist Anarchy in Florida.

Tampa, Fla., October 21.—The strike of the 8,000 cigarmakers in this city, which is entering upon its seventeenth week, promises to be the most bitter war ever fought by organized labor in the United States.

For the first time in the history of an American city, the city mayor, the police and the newspapers have openly gone over to the side of the manufacturers and an unofficial state of martial law has been put in force against the strikers.

Following are the latest activities of the city of Tampa against the strikers.

Arrested Jose Le Camp, with eight members of the Advisory Board, who were the leaders of the strike.

Closed up the Labor Temple and placed a placard on the door, which reads, "This place is closed for all time."

Seized the books of the union to prevent men from collecting benefits, thus crippling the activity of the union generally.

Mayor issued a proclamation prohibiting any and all assemblages of strikers within the city limits.

And, finally, the police now seek to intimidate the strikers by trying to trump up a charge against De Le Campa of being implicated in a murder.

The police, of course, have not the slightest foundation for this charge, and they know that their case will not hold water. Nevertheless, they keep on boozing this murder charge against the strike leaders, and are so ably assisted by the capitalist papers of Tampa that the strikers have to be on guard day and night in front of the Tampa prison, where the men are held, to prevent a possible lynching which might result from the inflammatory statements of the police and the capitalist press against the strike leaders.

Not satisfied with the regular police force and their special detectives, the manufacturers have succeeded in organizing three hundred citizens—the "flower" of Tampa—into a sort of an automobile squad. On sixty automobiles these men are racing up and down the streets looking high and low for scabs or for the strikers who

are willing to desert their fellows and return to work.

All the efforts of the "patriotic" citizens who are doing the bootlicking for the cigar manufacturers are in vain, however. The strikers are more firm than ever. A new Advisory Board to manage the strike affairs has been appointed. The benefit of \$5 a week, regular paid by the union, together with the special assessments which the 50,000 cigarmakers in America are raising, help to keep the strikers alive, and they are resolved to keep up the struggle till the finish.

Mayor McKay has all along taken a stand for the manufacturers. He has instructed the police to break up gatherings of strikers wherever found. His statements and furious outbursts has incited the entire "respectable" element of the population to a state of rage against the cigarmakers and even their families.

It is impossible to convey to the outside public an idea of the furious passion to which the population has been incited against the cigarmakers, or of the criminal brutality with which the workers have been treated. They are regarded as so many mad dogs who ought to be shot, locked up or destroyed. Their rights as citizens, even as human beings, have been trampled upon or openly laughed at. Their officials dare not show themselves upon the streets. Hourly they are in fear of their very lives.

Chicago Ill., Oct. 27, 1910. To the Editors of the Socialist and Labor Press:

I regret to transmit the information that Mr. Robert Hunter will not be able to supply the usual weekly article for at least two months. He is under the necessity of undergoing an operation, and at the close of the campaign will become a resident of a hospital for that purpose.

Very truly yours,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
National Secretary.

Milwaukee Socialist Administration

Takes Advantage of University of Wisconsin Resources.

By Carl D. Thompson.
On one of the doors of the City Hall this week there appeared the sign, "The University of Wisconsin—Extension Division—Municipal Bureau."

This sign, modest enough in itself, is of the most vital and striking significance. It means that the resources of one of the greatest universities of the world are to be drawn upon by the administration to assist in the work of organizing an efficient government.

As soon as the present officials took charge of the affairs of Milwaukee they determined to summon to the task before them the very best talent, expert ability, and constructive genius available. Very naturally, their minds turned to the State University. Now, of course, the State University of Wisconsin is not a Socialist institution; nor is it any more read to serve the Socialist administration than any other. The difference is that the new administration in Milwaukee is alive to the opportunities of advantage to the city. Any administration might have called on the splendid resources in the State

University, but it remained for the Socialist administration to take advantage of these resources.

The State University of Wisconsin is acknowledged by educators throughout the country to be one of the greatest and best universities in the world. And one of the special features of its work is its particular attention to social and civic problems. In these lines, as well as in its splendid agricultural department, it has been doing great work for the State of Wisconsin. It naturally stands ready and is logically committed to render any service it can to the largest city of the state.

It only remained for that city to put into power a group of men who really wanted to use this kind of ability.

Not every city has such a university as Wisconsin to serve it, but every city has some resources more or less similar which might be put at the disposal of the city, if it had public officials who were genuinely interested in serving the city, to find and develop these resources.

One of the first and fundamental needs in municipal government is a scientific and systematic method of cost keeping. The purchasing department of the city, the public works de-

partment, the accounting—all of these things constantly increasing—need, above everything else, system and order. The cost unit system has become the foundation of every modern successful business. The successful city can be no exception to this.

So the administration has sought and secured John R. Commons of the university to take charge of this work and prepare for the city this fundamental requirement of its government.

Furthermore, the city needs a municipal reference library that shall gather together, for the use of the administration, information on all municipal problems from the progressive cities of the world. There is perhaps no university in America that has been more efficient in this particular and specialized line of work than the Wisconsin University. They will assist in developing this library.

And, again, the administration is struggling with one of the greatest problems that confronts any city, viz.: the question of transportation—the street car lines, urban and interurban. They have been busily at work for weeks on a model franchise. But, in order to insure the wisest possible procedure, they sought to gather information from other cities, not only in this but in foreign countries. They very soon discovered that the State University had been for years collecting this information. They, therefore, at once asked the university for this material. And the university responded immediately, not only with the material, but by sending them their specialist upon this subject to assist them in making it more available.

And, finally, one of the settled policies of the Socialist administration is to educate, not only its own officials and the members of its party, but the whole population, so far as possible in all social problems. And this, in itself, fell most naturally in line with the university extension work. So, after many conferences with the various agents for betterment in the city, organized and unorganized, the university inaugurated what is called an Institute of Municipal and Social Service. The purpose, as stated by the preliminary announcement, sent out by the university, is "to establish in Milwaukee a center of study, information and training in social reform, social welfare and municipal efficiency." The institute will consist of various lecture courses, study classes, research work, and other lines of popular and educational nature. Already such men as Mayor Whitlock of Toledo, Ohio; Peter Witt of Cleveland, Raymond Robbins, Graham Taylor, Jane Adams and Charles R. Henderson of Chicago have been secured, to say nothing of other men of expert ability and special training in the various lines to be covered.

All of this and many activities that fall naturally in the line of general civic education, together with the university extension work in Milwaukee, will have its administrative head in the City Hall.

From this center it will radiate light and power, helping to build a city for the people.

THE LABOR PRESS.

The Labor Press, meaning particularly those newspapers, independently conducted, who are unequivocally pledged to the support of Labor's cause, are as a whole deserving of much better support by the organized workers than they receive.

Because such publications are almost invariably conducted by men holding active membership in some trade union (for no one but a militant trade unionist would dare attempt conduct an independent labor paper) union members are too apt to expect to receive the local paper free of charge, or to subscribe for it in very limited numbers, or to be very lax in the payment of subscriptions when they do subscribe.

In return for this very meager or niggardly support the labor editor is expected to give free advertising to all local union meeting announcements, free space to all official circulars emanating from the American Federation of Labor or from any of the International Unions affiliated therewith, and to give a large amount of space to the gratuitous advertising of the numerous union labels.

In every local contest with the employers the labor editor is expected to quickly post himself on the contentions of the unions and to sturdily champion their side.

The labor editor is always heavily burdened with committee work in the Central Labor Union and is sure to be thrust into the thick of the fight in every public controversy over matters of legislation or litigation involving the rights or the health or the necessities of the workers or their family or union interests.

Inasmuch as the labor paper is regarded radical by most commercial interests the field of profitable advertising open to the labor paper is very limited indeed, and this, with the limited subscription support received

from the rank and file places the struggle of the average labor editor too near the bread line to be comfortable, and it is not at all creditable to the unions and their members, who, expecting so much, give in return so little.

Nor is this a question to be considered wholly from the standpoint of what the labor editor deserves, however worthy he may be.

He is not a supplicant for charity or benevolence or sympathetic support, but we should recognize him as a very necessary factor in our struggles.

We need the labor editor and the labor papers in our business and we shall be justified in rendering him a far larger degree of support, based entirely upon our own necessities rather than upon what he deserves.

It is well understood that nearly every great daily newspaper and large magazine is controlled by men of wealth who look askance at the rising tide of labor unions, and who, being large employers themselves, and moreover receiving large advertising contracts from great corporate and mercantile interests who are likewise predisposed against the labor unions, are more likely to oppose than support the unions in any crisis.

Whenever any strike occurs such publications dwell on the loss in wages and the inconvenience to the public, and say very little of the wretched conditions of the workers involved, or how they shall exist with stationary or reduced wages, with constantly rising prices of all necessities of life.

Labor cannot rely upon its natural opponents to champion its cause in the public prints, but must look to its friends.

The monthly official journals issued by the various international unions, however excellent they may be, are not enough.

The cause of labor needs the support of the militant labor press and the editors thereof and should in turn by subscriptions and by influence in securing advertising give them more constant and sturdy support, that their sphere of influence in our favor may be enlarged and their usefulness to our cause multiplied.

Whenever a labor paper ceases to exist a champion of labor's cause is lost.

We cannot afford to lose any such champions.

Our duty to ourselves and to our own cause, as well as our obligation to reciprocate the support rendered to us, requires that we should give more substantial support to the Labor Press. Let us do our duty in this instance as we should do it in all others.—Shoe Workers' Journal.

St. Louis Socialist Campaign Fund.

A. Medic, Jewett City, Connecticut	20
Louis Krsek	25
C. W. S.	5.00
Peter Schwarz, Wisconsin	20
Collection, Liebknecht	118.85
Door tickets, Liebknecht	105.30
A. Rosenkranz, tickets	3.20
A. Siepmann, tickets	1.30
Ad. Schirmer, Frohna, Mo.	.50
W. M. Holman, tickets	4.00
J. R. Teel, tickets	1.50
Frank Witt	1.00
W. E. E., tickets	.80
C. Kilwinski, tickets	1.50
Collection, Suedekum	47.53
Door tickets, Suedekum	69.10
Sundries, Suedekum	5.00
P. Alexander, Mendota, Ill.	.50
Wm. Heinemann	.75
M. S. Schloss, New York	2.50
M. Brosin, tickets	7.30
A. Michler, tickets	2.00
R. M.	2.00
F. Pintar, tickets	1.20
Max Stopp, List No. 55:	
Max Troschke	1.00
Keller	.50
C. W. Weber, List No. 49:	
E. A. O.	.20
F. U.	.25
Stone	.25
C. Forstner	.50
Friend	.25
S. B.	.25
A. Boettcher	.50
F. J. Mittendorf, List No. 85:	
John Sullivan	.25
Fred Creighton	.25
W. G. Hoess	.15
L. Hoess	.25
Ed Meyer	.50
A. Kohen	.50
C. Beyers	.25
B. Pickett	.50
W. Teichgraber	.25
Fred Boeckmann	.25
J. H. Zue Hoene	.25
Fred Renner	.25
J. Meyer	.50
Chas. Weber	.25
Will Fanter	.50
Jos. Wainright	.25
J. C. Houston	.25
F. A. Messenger	.50
C. Frankenstein	.25
Dreher	.10
Schneider	.10
Kantor	.10
Young	.10
George Guth	.25
Anton Ortner, List No. 103:	
Karl Wehner	.25
John Bettendorf	.50

Jos. Link	.25
Jno. Schaeffer	1.00
Anton Ortner	.25
G. A. Hoehn, List No. 90:	
B. L.	1.00
J. K.	.50
W. H. Betts, List No. 198:	
W. H. Betts	1.00
Wm. Hann	.50
Geo. Wittma	.25
J. Hunt	.50
John Goebel, Jr.	.50
Sylvester Kenny	.25
G. A. Diers, List No. 22:	
G. B. Streader	1.00
Hy. Kloth	1.00
Cash	.50
Alois Granitz	.50
Cash	.25
C. M.	.50
Herm. Fuller	.25
Wm. McManis	.25
A. A.	.25
Aug. Noske	.50
O. H.	.50
H. K.	1.00
Jno. Netrvl, List No. 195:	
Jos. Novak	.25
Fr. Kounovsky	.25
John Sluka	.10
V. Doleys	.10
Jno. Speka	.10
Fr. Sedenka	.25
Alb. Keller	.10
Chas. Kuenzla	.10
F. Kabele	.25
John Huebec	.10
V. Mrazek	.20
M. Becker	.50
T. J. Sinko	.10
K. Polepil	.20
K. Sadlo	.15
John Silhavy	.25
A. F.	.10
Fr. Burschek	.05
Nejnevovany	.10
S. Kozel	.25
Nik Senhardt	.10
Frank Valek	.10
Charles Fey	.25
J. Altman	.25
H. Siroky, List No. 165:	
Chas. Kromann	.25
Hy. Siroky	.75
Wm. Siroky, List No. 41:	
W. F. Baumgartner	.25
R. I. Pickup	.25
Alf. Rellstab	.25
Frank Konovsky	.25
L. Hausermann, List No. 38:	
G. A. Hahn	.25
C. J. Hermann	.50
G. Weder	1.00
Aug. Fehleberg	.50
G. Weder	.75
Frank Nelson, List No. 101:	
F. Nelson	.25
Ella S. Nelson	.25
E. G.	.50
John Gilhen	.50
Hy. Schwarz, List No. 8:	
Fred Windmoeller	.25
Hy. Schwarz	.50
Previously reported	1,286.74
Total to November 8	\$1,703.67
Note—Inlast week's issue the contribution of E. Scheitlin should have been 50 cents, not 25 cents.	

AN EXAMPLE OF UNIONISM.

When Ernest Seidel, Socialist, was elected Mayor of Milwaukee the capitalist class thought to make an example of that city. "We will," said the capitalists, "refuse to invest in Milwaukee city bonds, and, as Milwaukee is a borrower at the present time, we will make it so uncomfortable for that city that no other city will make the error of electing a So-

cialist to the majority.

So saying, the capitalists sat back in their easy chairs and thought how beautifully they were going to put the screws to Milwaukee.

But they didn't reckon with the host. True that Milwaukee is a borrower of money. But when the capitalists sought to punish Milwaukee for having elected an enemy of the capitalist system they forgot that there were a lot of trade unionists who had some money. The Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union has something like a quarter of a million dollars in its strong box. "We'll loan Seidel's city our money," said the members of that big union. The Brewery Workers' Union has something like a half million dollars in its treasury. "We'll loan Seidel's city our money," said that big union. Other unions said the same thing, and the first thing the capitalists knew they were losing a chance to make profitable investments in Milwaukee bonds. They woke up.

The unions will not be called upon to seal their securities for the purpose of helping the Socialist administration out of a financial hole, for the capitalists are now not only willing, but eager, to loan money on Milwaukee bonds.

In an Ohio city recently the manager of a big corporation, who was also president of a big bank, became embroiled with his employees. They asked for recognition of their union and an increase in wage. The haughty employer would not listen to them, but, on the contrary, imported non-unionists and then sought the protection of the militia. The interests of the bank and the corporation were closely allied, so trades unionists quietly began withdrawing their money from the bank. As a result the manager of the corporation had to make terms in order to save his bank. Doubtless he has revised his estimate of the cohesive power of trades unionists.

These incidents are mentioned merely to show what organized labor can do when it lays aside its petty jealousies and prejudices and works as a unit in the interests of the whole body of labor. The trouble is, organized labor does this thing too seldom. The whole system is permeated with jealousy—jealousy of men who try to do things; jealousy of individuals who dare have opinions of their own. Differences of opinion on matters wholly apart from trades unionism are made the basis of bitter attacks, backbiting and snarling criticism. And men who boast of being "square men" are the men who are quickest to try and injure brother unionists who happen to differ from them on some personal matters.

It's sad, but it's too true.—The Wage Earner.

Wanted Him to Specify.

"Will you always be true?" asked the broker's suspicious daughter, when young Sportleigh had thrown himself at her feet and asked for her hand.

"As true as steel?" he cried.

"Common or preferred?" she inquired, still suspicious.—Chicago News.

Cigars

{

PEN MAR - 10c

SUNRISE - 5c

Brandt & Stahl

319 Walnut Street

By Insisting Upon Purchasing UNION STAMP SHOES

You help better shoemaking conditions.
You get better shoes for the money.
You help your own Labor Position.
You abolish Child Labor.

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

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 Summer Street. Boston, Mass.
John F. Tobin, Pres. Chas. L. Baine, Sec'y-Treas.

WINDOW SHADES TO ORDER. Estimates Given.

FURNITURE

STOVES, KITCHEN OUTFITS AND HARDWARE

PAINTS, OILS AND GLASS

Special Terms To Couples Contemplating Housewifery.

ECKHARDT FURNITURE AND HARDWARE CO.

Phos. Kinloch, Delmar 1489 R. 2805-07 N. GRAND AVENUE

(Continued from page 5)

American Federation of Labor

Over 125 International Unions. Over 40 State Federations, About 650 City Central Bodies, About 1000 Trade and Federal Unions.

The annual receipts of the A. F. of L. to-day are about \$250,000.

The annual expenditures of the Federation have increased from \$3,933.67, in 1888, to over \$200,000.00 in 1910.

The convention will be called to order Monday morning at the North-west, Turner Hall, 3940 Easton avenue, and will be in session for at least sixteen or eighteen days.

President Samuel Gompers arrived in St. Louis last Thursday evening and conferred with the local convention committee, consisting of Bros. Kreyling, Phillippi, Miller, Lamb, Ruble and Mrs. Spraggon.

Member of Parliament Accompanies Samuel Gompers to St. Louis.

The two distinguished delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor will be Ben Turner and W. Brace, M. P., British fraternal delegates. They arrived in St. Louis from Washington, D. C., last Thursday, accompanied by President Samuel Gompers and Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, who are preparing for the convention.

A forerunner to the convention was the three days' meeting of the Union Label Section of the Federation, which was held at Aschenbroedel Hall, 3533 Pine street. Its object was to promote the purchase of union-made goods. About 200 delegates attended.

The Union Label

To the Officers, Members and Friends of Organized Labor—Greeting:

The time is fast approaching when our members and friends will, of necessity, because of weather conditions, be called upon to make purchases of gloves of every description.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with this department is the Glove Workers' International Union of America, an organization that has been struggling for some time to better the hours, wages and working conditions of the men and women engaged in that industry. In some sections of the country, and particularly in Gloversville, N. Y., the manufacturers have antagonized the Union in its effort to organize their fellow workers.

Notwithstanding the intense opposition this organization has met with in this and other places, it has maintained its organization, which, while small in numbers, has insisted upon its right to organize and maintain decent conditions. In accomplishing this it has also been able to have the label of its organization adopted by several manufacturers, who are using the Glove Workers' Label upon their product.

The time to assist this organization in furthering the sale of gloves made under fair conditions bearing the label is now.

Your organization is urgently requested to appoint committees to wait upon dealers in your locality, bringing this matter to their attention, and giving them the information where gloves (both dress and working) can be obtained.

The organization of Glove Workers consists to a large degree of women workers and they should be encouraged and helped. One important way in which the assistance they desire can be obtained is by insisting when purchasing gloves of any character or material that the Union Label of the Glove Workers' International Union shall be attached thereto.

Central Labor Unions, Local Departments, Women's Union Label Leagues, Local Unions, and all other friends are urgently requested to give the subject matter of this communication their active support and assist in building up and strengthening this organization.

Yours fraternally,
THOS. F. TRACY, Sec-Treas.
A. F. of L. Union Label Dept.

Hugo Miller

German-American Typographia, No. 3.

The German-American Typographia has 22 locals. St. Louis Local, No. 3, has over 60 members, none of whom have been delinquent in years. The national union is a part of the International Typographical Union, and the I. T. U. scale of wages and eight-hour day apply as well to the German printers. Our newspaper men (machine operators) are working under the five-day, or 40-hour, system, and the "hour report," which is ready at every meeting, shows that this schedule is very closely adhered to.

Typographia No. 3 has three members who are receiving the I. T. U. pension of \$4.00 per week. In addition to this, the German-American Typographia is paying these members \$2.00 per week out of its general fund.

Our Supreme Secretary, Mr. Hugo Miller, represents the G. A. T. on the Executive Board of the I. T. U. and is Second Vice President of the parent body. He has held his present office for twenty years, and is a delegate to all conventions of the G. A. T.

Secretary Miller will visit St. Louis the early part of November, and our local is making arrangements to entertain him in royal style. One of the events prepared in his honor will be a "Wurstmarkt," to take place after the regular monthly meeting (which will be brief) on November 10.

Business is so brisk that we have little time for news writing in our initial effort, but will do better next time.—The Printing Trades Magazine.

A Vicious Slander.

Of all the thousands upon thousands of slanders broadcasted by falsifying tongues, the one which attempted to connect union labor (as such) with the deplorable Los Angeles Times disaster is one of the most contemptible and disgusting efforts along that line which has ever come to our notice. For all we know, a union man or men may have committed the awful deed, but, if so, they acted for themselves only. Anyone with a grain of common sense knows that union labor does not stand as sponsor for any crimes whatsoever, whether great or small, and to lay the Times' destruction at union labor's door is a vicious and malicious endeavor to lower organized labor in the estimation of the public, and the effort will eventually prove a boomerang to those who foolishly fathered

it and to those who still more foolishly foster it.

The fact that members of Los Angeles Typographical Union assisted the Times management in issuing the paper after the accident should forever close such slanderous statements.—Nashville Labor Advocate.

FIFTY-ONE MINERS MURDERED.

Great Sacrifice of Human Life in Colorado Mine.

BODIES FOUND IN HEAP.
Delagua, Colo., Nov. 9.—Through two openings, scarcely 200 yards apart, the dead and living were taken from the Delagua mines of the Victor-American Fuel Company at the same time to-day, but the dead far outnumbered the living. To-night fifty-one are known to be dead, while eighteen escaped alive.

R. Akayi, a Japanese, after lying insensible from the effect of the afterdamp all last night, recovered his senses this morning and found his way to the surface at No. 2 entry. He was dazed and unable to tell through what passages he had come, but was certain that others still lived in the part of the mine he had crossed. The rescue crew followed back from No. 2 entry, and soon brought thirteen others to the surface there. Akayi was greeted by a salvo of "banzais" by his countrymen as he staggered down the hill.

Scarcely had the line of rescued men begun to trickle from No. 2 mine when carpenters were called to No. 3 entry to make rough stretchers, and it became known that thirty-five bodies had been found piled in No. 4 entry north. Later other bodies were found in the same section of the mine, which brought the total to fifty-one.

At 10 o'clock to-night thirty-five bodies had been brought out to the morgue established at the machine shops. Both living and dead found to-day were foreigners. Twenty-nine Mexicans were found in one heap. Seven of the department heads of the mine are known to be buried in a cave-in 400 feet long, while blocks the main slope. Three shifts are tearing away the debris, but it may be days before the bodies are recovered.

The Workingmen's Singing Society Vorwaerts

Will give its annual masquerade ball Saturday, November 26, at Lemp's Park Hall, Utah and Thirteenth streets. Tickets, 25 cents a person.

IN MEMORIAM.

Louis Kober.

The funeral of Comrade Louis Kober took place Wednesday of last week at Mount Sinai cemetery. Comrade L. G. Pope delivered the funeral oration at the grave.

Comrade Kober left four children—Samuel, Arthur and Flora Kober and Mrs. Carrie Romansky; two brothers, Abraham and Samuel, in Berlin, Germany, and Leopold, in St. Louis; three sisters, Mrs. Lena Haurwitz, in Breslau, Germany; Mrs. Ernestine Fischer and Mrs. Marie Koch, in St. Louis.

A Note from California.

San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 29, 1910. G. A. Hoehn, 699 Chouteau avenue, St. Louis Mo.:

Dear Comrade:

I sent you a copy of the Daily News, one of the Scripps-McRae papers, which contains a full report of the State Federation of Labor committee on the Los Angeles Times blow-up. I will not get back to Los Angeles before Christmas

probably. Socialism making great headway all over the state. Regards to the comrades. Sincerely,
W. W. BAKER.

Comrade Baker is well known to the St. Louis Socialists, having lived here for many years.

OMOHUNDRO.

Police Commissioners Are Satisfied.
The persecution of the striking Glass Workers is a topic of general discussion in labor circles. Complaints were made to the Board of Police Commissioners. In one specific case the board replied as follows:

"Dear Sir—I beg to advise that the Honorable Board of Police Commissioners, after making a careful investigation as to the allegations contained in your affidavit against Patrolman Jas. H. Omohundro, ordered it filed. Very respectfully,
"H. H. HODGDON,
"Secretary."

This is all the satisfaction Organized Labor can get out of the Police Board.

Omohundro! Omohundro!
The policeman's club is mightier than the Constitution! Union men on strike seem to have no rights. Instead of protection against rowdism the strikers are "Omohundroized."

Central Trades and Labor Union Meets to-morrow (Sunday) afternoon at 3:35 Pine street. All delegates are requested to attend.

Workingmen's Co-Operative Society "Forward"

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

PETER KIEFER, Secretary,
5116 Cologne Avenue.

A SCAB DEFINED.

(Sedalia Liberator.)

Van Buren, Ark.—The biggest scab we have here is the boss boiler-maker, Louis Roehrig, who was business agent in Kansas City, C. S. F. S., of Local No. 32.

A scab may be defined as follows: If he was an animal, he would be a skunk. If he was a bird, he would be a buzzard. If he was of the beetle family, he would be a tumble bug. If he was a fly, he would be a "blow" fly. If he was of the finny tribe, he would be a wharf scavenger. If a serpent, he would be a viper.

As a man, he is devoid of every attribute that gives value to the name. A Judas in the time of Christ selling his Savior for thirty pieces of silver, with a hang-dog face and a craven heart, more destitute of honor and morality than a Digger Indian or a cannibal in Darkest Africa. Ashamed to look honest men in the eye, he skulks and avoids association with decent men whom he has betrayed. Despised by man, forsaken by God, unwept by woman and unmourned by the living he stumbles through this life and finally falls into a dishonored and soon forgotten grave. Should a tombstone ever mark his grave, it will have inscribed thereon "Here Lies a Scab."

—Van.

Eldorado, Kansas.—"Dear Comrade: Received ten books, "Socialists at Work." Any one is worth much more than the price of the lot

by the Socialists by the following vote:

Socialist	79
Republican	68
Democratic	60
The vote in Desloge Precinct No. 2 was as follows:	
Socialist	64
Republican	112
Democratic	213

The Republicans carried St. Francois county with the exception of one or two offices. Hensley (Dem.) was elected to Congress in the Thirteenth District.

P. A. HUFFER, Desloge, Mo.

The receipts for dues at the National Office for September were \$3,257.00. This was \$310.30 more than for any previous month. October receipts beat those of September by \$142.20, the total being \$3,399.20.

During the months of September and October sixty-one party locals were organized in the State of Texas.

A straw vote taken in fifteen factories of Bridgeport, Conn., during the past week return votes as follows: Socialist Labor, 8; Democrats, 413; Republicans, 689; and Socialists, 1,439. The Socialist Party had a

Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers No. 62.

Finishers wanted to attend mass meeting of Bridge, Structural & Ornamental Iron Workers (Shopmen) at our hall, 8th and Lafayette ave., on Tuesday, November 22, 8 p. m. All welcome.

M. CROSS, Local No. 62.

FOR FINE JOB WORK

GO TO CO-OPERATIVE Printery

966 Chouteau Avenue.

SAVE GOLD TRADING STAMPS REDEEM THEM FOR

UNION LABEL

Clothing, Collars, Cuffs, Neckwear, Hats, Nightshirts, Shirts, Shoes, Sox, Overalls, Suspenders, Pumpers, Underwear.

Largest Stock Lowest Prices
See **SCHWARZ.**

GLOBE

Seventh and Franklin Ave

ARCADE TAILORING CO. Merchant Tailors

Suits Made to Order . . \$15.00 and up
Trousers Made to Order . . 3.50 and up
All Our Garments are UNION MADE.

1326-1328 FRANKLIN AVE. Established 12 Years at this stand.
Kinloch, Central 5443

UNION MEN, ATTENTION

We carry a complete line of Men's Furnishings bearing the UNION LABEL

We solicit your patronage and will always accord you good treatment

SCHEER BROS. N. E. Corner 19th St. and Sullivan Avenue



The Best

\$2.00 and \$3.00

Hat Made

Wm H. Roetter Hat Co.,
518 PINE STREET.



Public Meeting



FRED. G. STRICKLAND

Will Speak at Socialist Headquarters, 966 Chouteau Avenue.

TUESDAY EVENING NOV. 15TH.

Comrade Fred G. Strickland of Indiana will arrive in St. Louis next Tuesday, November 15, on his Western lecture tour.

Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock, he will speak on "The Elections of November 8" at Socialist Party Hall, 966 Chouteau avenue. As the time was too short to make arrangements for a big hall meeting, it was deemed advisable to have Mr. Strickland speak at Headquarters. If the hall should be too small for the crowd, an overflow meeting can be held in the garden, where fully a thousand people can find room for an open-air meeting.

Bring your friends along. The meeting will open at 8 o'clock p. m.

Union Label Agitation.

The work of the St. Louis Label Trades Section is showing that by persistent propaganda for the various union labels the demand of the people for all kinds of goods with the union labels will induce the dealers to patronize fair manufacturers. Some lines of gents' and ladies' wearing apparel in knit goods, gloves, etc., were simply not to be found until recently. The firm of Neu & Lind, 916 Franklin avenue, have now even Ladies' Dress Gloves in stock made by union labor; also dress gloves, hose and underwear for men.

SOCIALISTS WIN AT THE POLLS IN ENGLAND.

London, November 2.—The Labor Party and the Socialists gained new victories in the municipal elections which closed last night.

The Independent Labor party already has 1,000 members in city and town councils and in other municipal offices. Its stand is taken on "The fullest powers for the development of municipal Socialism."

Drink Only UNION BEER

(Fac-Simile of Our Label)



This label is pasted on every barrel and box as a guarantee that the contents are the product of UNION LABOR

St. Louis Workingmen's Protective Union.

504 Market Street.

MEETING:—2nd and 4th Wednesday.

MARTIN C. SEEGER, Clerk. C. J. ANDERSON, Attorney.

Office Hours from 5 to 6:30 p. m. SATURDAY from 12 to 1:30 p. m.

Suite 508 Merchants Laclade Building 408 OLIVE STREET

PHONES: Kinloch, Central 5076; Bell, Olive 2123

The purpose of this Union is for the protection of organized and worthy wage-workers and Unions against the injustice of employers, money lenders, time payment merchants, etc. It shall furnish an attorney, without additional cost to an affiliated Union, also to the members of said Union or their immediate family.

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