

WORKINGMEN
of All Countries,
UNITE!

ST. LOUIS LABOR.

You Have NOTHING to Lose but Your Chains, and a World to Gain.

OFFICE: 22 N. 4th St.

Phone: Kinloch, A1283.

VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1903.

NO. 109.

INJUNCTION AGAINST UNION LABOR.

Judge Adams as the Tool of Railroad Corporations--His Order a Disgrace to American Citizenship and a Gross Violation of the Declaration of Independence--Advice to Union Men.

"WHEREAS, The injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingmen.

"RESOLVED, That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class, and hostile to the interests of labor, and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

(Resolution adopted by the National Socialist Party Convention in Indianapolis in 1901.)

Organized labor received another serious blow that will undoubtedly open the eyes of thousands of union men. On Tuesday, March 3, Judge Elmer B. Adams of the United States circuit court granted an injunction restraining J. J. Hannahan, P. H. Morrissey and members of the trainmen's and firemen's committees from ordering a strike. Writs were served upon Mr. Hannahan, Mr. Morrissey and the members of the committee at the Imperial hotel, where they were in consultation. The writs, according to the decree, restrain them from ordering or in any way assisting a strike which would cause a delay in the interstate traffic of the road.

On these grounds application for the decree was made in the United States court by Wells H. Blodgett, vice-president and general counselor of the Wabash, who in his petition recited that threats had been made to delay or tie up the interstate traffic by the leaders and members of the orders of the trainmen and firemen.

Judge Adams granted the temporary injunction, and afterward made a supplemental injunction, in which he allowed the defendants fifteen days to appear before the court and move for a modification or dissolution of the injunction, upon showing cause therefor.

Writs were then placed in the hands of United States Marshal Morsey and Deputies Nall and Brennan, who proceeded to the Imperial hotel, where the leaders and the committees were in session, and served the writs.

WRIT OF INJUNCTION IN FULL.

For historical purposes, and as an everlasting shame and disgrace upon our modern capitalist judiciary we publish Judge Adams writ in full. Here it is:

"Now on this day this cause coming on to be heard on the motion of complainant for a preliminary restraining order or injunction, as prayed for in said bill, and complainant having exhibited its sworn bill to Hon. Elmer B. Adams, judge, and the court being now fully advised in the premises, and having heard read said bill, it is ordered that a writ of injunction issue out of, and under the seal, of this court, commanding said defendants—John J. Hannahan, Chas. A. Lewton, Fred Englehardt, B. W. Schafer, Chas. J. Augur, A. H. Martin, H. C. Niemeyer, J. R. Courtney, E. C. White, F. H. Hecox, George W. Bradley, James Sell, F. G. Shepard, W. E. Rowe, H. McManus, William McKay,

W. C. Lee, P. H. Morrissey, T. R. Hodge, C. H. Wilkins, Timothy Shea, F. W. Arnold and A. E. Jordan, and each of them, individually, and as representatives of the brotherhood of locomotive firemen, the brotherhood of railroad trainmen, their representatives, clerks, agents and attorneys, and all others who may be aiding and abetting or acting in concert with them, and under their direction, absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner ordering, coercing, persuading, inducing, or otherwise causing, directly or indirectly, the employees of the Wabash railroad company, complainant, engaged in or about the operation of its trains within the United States, as brakemen, switchmen or locomotive firemen, to strike or quit the service of said company, and from in any way molesting or interfering with said company's said employees, or with the operation of its trains, or conduct of its business as a common carrier, and from molesting or interfering with said railroad company, its officers, agents or employees, in respect to the operation of its trains, or the employment of men for or in connection therewith, or from preventing or interfering with said company in the carrying out of its contracts of employment with its employees, and its contracts with shippers for the transportation of property, and from interfering with or reasonable, proper and equal facilities for the interchange of traffic between its line of railroad and other lines of railroad connecting therewith, and the receiving, forwarding and delivery of passengers and property to and from its lines of railroad with other railroads connecting with such lines, and making a continuous carriage of freight from the place of shipment to the place of destination, and from preventing or interfering with such railroad company's connecting lines and their employees, in the like interchange of traffic and facilities with said Wabash railroad Company, and from ordering, advising or otherwise influencing employees of such connecting lines to refuse to interchange traffic and afford facilities therefor, and from interfering with or preventing said Wabash railroad company, and its connecting lines from complying with the requirements of the interstate commerce act of the United States, and with their said agreements with each other in respect to said facilities for the interchange of traffic, and the receiving and interchanging of traffic, and from interfering with or preventing said railroad company in the carrying of the mail in accordance with its contract with the United States, and the laws relating thereto to the end that by any of the acts or means aforesaid, the said defendants, their agents or servants shall not interfere with said railroad company in the discharge or prevent said railroad company from discharging its duties and obligations with respect to interstate commerce or prevent it from performing any or all of its duties or obligations imposed by the act of congress approved February 4, 1887, and amendments thereto in relation to interstate commerce.

[Signed.] ELMER B. ADAMS,
United States District Judge.

St. Louis, March 3, 1903.

Later, the following modifying clause was added:

It is ordered that the injunctive order heretofore this day made herein be and the same is so far modified as to permit the defendants or either of them within fifteen days from this date to move to set aside the same, or to dissolve or to modify the injunction order, in such way and manner as they may be advised; and,

It is further ordered that the injunctive order this day filed herein as so amended be and remain in full force until the further order of this court.

[Signed.] ELMER B. ADAMS.

United States District Judge.

Judge Adams might have added:

1. The railroad employes shall henceforth be prohibited from making any demands on the railroad corporations.

2. The railroad employes shall henceforth be prohibited from making any attempt to improve their conditions, and they shall not be allowed to breathe without the permission of said railroad corporations, etc.

We hold that Judge Adams has violated the fundamental principles of our Republican form of government; he has violated the most sacred rights of American citizenship; he has violated the letter and spirit of our American Declaration of Independence which guarantees to every human being the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Judge Adams is doing the same contemptible work against the railway employes and their families as Judge Keller did against the coal miners during the strike in West Virginia. Both men, Adams and Keller, are sacrificing their independence, their honor and manhood on the altar of God Mammon.

Not one of the railroad corporations of the country cares for the so-called interstate commerce law. Every railroad corporation is violating that law in a most defiant manner. Secret agreements between the railroad companies are made concerning rates and boycotts against competing roads, which are open violations of the interstate commerce law.

But where are the judges that issue injunctions against said corporations?

Judge Adams would certainly be the last man to issue an injunction

against the Wabash Railroad Co., or any other railroad corporation.

Hon. Judge Adams, the rank and file of organized labor are not in the least surprised by your capitalist lickspittle work. Organized labor knows the elements that procured your present political jobs for you.

Your decision is the law—so were the old fugitive slave law decisions. The hirelings of the chattle slave barons in the courts of justice acted exactly like you are acting to-day. You have the capitalist law on your side. But remember, honorable judge, right and justice are on the side of organized labor.

Who is Judge E. B. Adams? How did he secure his present job?

In 1895 Judge Adams succeeded Judge Henry S. Priest, whose resignation was not generally known until after the appointment of Judge Adams by President Cleveland. When Judge Priest made known his intention of resigning to a few friends he suggested that he would like to see Judge Adams succeed him. Judge Wilbur F. Boyle, with whom Judge Adams was associated in the practice of law, and Gov. David R. Francis went to Washington and placed Judge Adams by President Cleveland. When land, and the appointment was made before they left the president's presence.

Judge Priest resigned his job as judge of the United States district court because he could make more money as a corporation lawyer. Today he is one of the legal talents and advisers of the St. Louis Transit Co. It was due to Judge Priest's political wire pulling and the influence of Gov. Francis (the present World's fair president who is now kissing the hands of European monarchs and aristocrats) that Judge Adams secured his present job. The capitalist corporations will appreciate his valuable services, but organized labor put his name on the list of the judicial mercenaries that are competing with each other in their desperate fight against union labor.

Union men, read the resolutions at the head of this article. We ask you: Is the Socialist Party right or wrong?

Answer, please. Answer on election day by voting for your own working class party—the Socialist Party.

JUDGE E. B. ADAMS

In Receipt of a Copy of St. Louis Labor.

The following registered letter, mailed Friday, March 6, is self-explanatory:

To Hon. E. B. Adams, Judge United States Court, Eastern District of Missouri:

Dear Sir—Permit me to inform you that I am very much interested in the injunction granted by you, at the request of the Wabash railroad corporation, against the railroad employes' organizations. Your action involves the fundamental and most vital principles of American citizenship and the very right of existence of the many millions of American wage workers whose lives are dependent on the sale of their mental and physical labor power. In your writ, that will forever stand on the same level with the Dred Scott decision of 1857, you put the property rights of a heartless corporation above all human rights, above the very right to live and to defend the right to life,

liberty and the enjoyment of happiness.

For this reason I have considered it my sacred duty as a citizen, and as a member of Organized Labor, to take a determined stand on this question by bringing your barbarian decision to the general attention of the public, especially to Organized Labor.

Enclosed you will find copy of St. Louis Labor, containing an article on your Wabash railroad injunction which, I hope, you will kindly read. While it may not please you in all its details I believe it may have its good effect, and sooner or later you may become convinced that neither Judge Keller, of West Virginia, nor Judge Adams, of St. Louis, by their injunctions against striking workmen can check, and still less, prevent the victorious onward march of the great trades union and labor movement.

In conclusion, I wish to inform you

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

The Shamelessness of St. Louis.

Something New in the History of American Municipal Democracy.

By LINCOLN STEFFENS in the March Edition of McClure's Magazine.

Those who read in McClure's for October of last year the article entitled "Tweed Days in St. Louis" know not half that the St. Louisians know of the condition of the city. These readers heard how in 1898, 1899 and 1900, under the administration of Mayor Ziegenhein, boodling developed into the only real business of the city government. Since that article was written, 14 men have been tried, and half a score have confessed, so that some measure of the magnitude of the business and of the importance of the interests concerned has been given. Then it was related that "combines" of municipal legislators sold rights, privileges and public franchises for their old individual profit, and at regular schedule rates. Now the free narratives of convicted boodlers have developed the inside history of the combines, with their unfulfilled plans. We knew then how Mr. Folk, a man little known, was nominated against his will for circuit attorney; how he warned the politicians who named him; how he proceeded against these same men as against ordinary criminals. Now we have these men convicted. We saw Charles H. Turner, the president of the Suburban Railway Co., and Philip H. Stock, the secretary of the St. Louis Brewing Co., the first to "peach," telling to the grand jury the story of their bribe fund of \$144,000, put into safe deposit vaults, to be paid to the legislators when the Suburban franchise was granted. St. Louis has seen these two men dashing forth "like fire horses," the one (Mr. Turner) from the presidency of the Commonwealth Trust Co., the other from his brewing company secretaryship, to recite again and again in the criminal courts their miserable story, and count over for the jury the dirty bills of that bribe fund. And when they had given their testimony, and the boodlers one after another were convicted, these witnesses have hurried back to their places of business and the contacts to their seats in the municipal assembly. This is literally true. In the house of delegates sit, under sentence, as follows: Charles E. Kelly, two years; Charles J. Denny, three years and five years; Henry A. Faulkner, two years; E. E. Murrell, state's witness, but not tried. Nay, this house, with such a membership, and the ambaceity last fall to refuse to pass an appropriation to enable Mr. Folk to go on with his investigation and prosecution of boodling.

Right here is the point. In other cities mere exposure has been sufficient to overthrow a corrupt regime. In St. Louis the conviction of the boodlers leaves the felons in control, the system intact, and the people—speculators. It is these people who are interesting these people, and the system they have made possible.

CONVICTED BOODLERS DESCRIBE THE SYSTEM.

The convicted boodlers have described the system to me. There was no politics in it—only business.

COL. BUTLER, THE BOSS OF ST. LOUIS.

This boss is Edward R. Butler, better known as "Col. Ed." or "Col. Butler," or just "Boss."

A priest, Rev. James Coffey, once denounced Butler from the pulpit as a corrupter of youth; at another time a mother knelt in the aisle of a church, and during service audibly called upon Heaven for a visitation of affliction upon Butler for having ruined her son. These and similar incidents increased his power by advertising it. He grew bolder. He has been known to walk out of a voting

place and call across a cordon of police to a group of men at the curb: "Are there any more repeaters out here that want to vote again?"

They will tell you in St. Louis that Butler never did have much real power, that his boldness and the clamor against him made him seem great. Public protest is part of the power of every boss. So far, however, as I can gather, Butler was the leader of his organization, but only so long as he was a partisan politician; as he became a "boodler" pure and simple, he grew careless about his machine, and did his boodle business with the aid of the worst element of both parties. At any rate, the boodlers, and others as well, say that in later years he had about equal power with both parties, and he certainly was the ruler of St. Louis during the Republican administration of Ziegenhein, which was the worst in the history of the city. His method was to dictate enough of the candidates on both tickets to enable him, by selecting the worst from each, to elect the sort of men he required in his business.

LEADING CITIZENS BACK OF THE BOSS.

His business was boodling, which is a more refined and a more dangerous form of corruption than the police blackmail of Minneapolis. It involves, not thieves, gamblers and common women, but influences citizens, capitalists and great corporations. For the stock in trade of the boodler is the rights, privileges, franchises and the real property of the city, and his source of corruption is the top, not the bottom, of society. Butler, thrown early in his career into contact with corporation managers, proved so useful to them that they introduced him to other financiers, and the scandal of his services attracted to him in due course all men who wanted things the city had to give. The boodlers told me that, according to the tradition of their combine, there "always was boodling in St. Louis." Butler organized and systematized and developed it into a regular financial institution, and made it an integral part of the business community. He had for clients, regular or occasional, bankers and promoters; and the statements of boodlers, not yet on record, allege that every transportation and public convenience company that touches St. Louis had dealings with Butler's combine. And my best information is that these interests were not victims. Blackmail came in time, but in the beginning they originated the schemes of loot and started Butler on his career. Some interests paid him a regular salary, others a fee, and again he was a partner in the enterprise, with a special "rake-off" for his influence. "Fee" and "present" are his terms, and he has spoken openly of taking and giving them. I verily believe he regarded his charges legitimate (he is the Croker type); but he knew that some people thought his services wrong. He once said that, when he had received his fee for a piece of legislation, he "went home and prayed that the measure might pass," and he added facetiously, "usually his prayers were answered."

THE "RING" AROUND THE BOSS.

His prayers were "usually answered" by the municipal assembly. This legislative body is divided into two houses—the upper, called the council, consisting of 13 members, elected at large; the lower, called the house of delegates, with 28 members, elected by wards; and each member of these bodies is paid \$25 a month salary by the city. With the mayor,

this assembly has practically complete control of all public property and valuable rights. Though Butler sometimes could rent or own the mayor, he preferred to be independent of him, so he formed in each part of the legislature a two-thirds majority in the council nine, in the house 19—which could pass bills over a veto. These were the "combines." They were regularly organized, and did their business under parliamentary rules. Each "combine" elected its chairman, who was elected chairman also of the legal bodies, where he appointed the committees, naming to each a majority of combine members.

Butler used to watch the downtown districts. He knew everybody, and when a railroad wanted a switch, or a financial house a franchise, Butler learned of it early. Sometimes he discovered the need and suggested it. Naming the regular price, say \$10,000, he would tell the "boys" what was coming, and that there would be \$1,000 to divide. He kept the rest, and the city got nothing. The bill was introduced and held up till Butler gave the word that the money was in hand; then it passed.

Blackmail was all in the ordinary course of business, and the habit of submission became fixed a habit of mind. The city itself was kept in darkness for weeks, pending the payment of \$175,000 in bribes on the lighting contract, and complaining citizens went for light where Mayor Ziegenhein told them to go—to the moon.

RING AND BOSS BEGIN TO SQUABBLE.

Boodling was safe, and boodling was fat. Butler became rich and greedy, and neglectful of politics. Outside capital came in, and finding Butler bought, went over his head to the boodle combines. These creatures learned thus the value of franchises, and that Butler had been giving them an unduly small share of the boodle.

Then began a struggle, enormous in its vile melodrama, for control of corruption—Butler to squeeze the municipal legislators and save his profits, they to wring from him their "fair share." Combines were formed within the old combines to make him pay more; and although he still was the legislative agent of the inner ring, he had to keep in his secret paymen who would argue for low rates, while the combine members, suspicious of one another, appointed their own legislative agent to meet Butler. Not sure even then, the cliques appointed "trailers" to follow their agent, watch him enter Butler's house, and then follow him to the place where the money was to be distributed. Charles A. Gutke and John K. Murrell represented him in the house of delegates, Charles Kratz and Fred G. Uthoff in the council. The other members suspected that these men got "something big on the side," so Butler had to hire a third to betray the combine to him. In the house, Robertson was the man. When Gutke had notified the chairman that a deal was on, and a meeting was called, the chairman would say:

"Gentlemen, the business before us to-night is [say] the Suburban railway bill. How much shall we ask for it?"

Gutke would move that "the price be \$40,000." Some member of the outer ring would move \$100,000 as fair boodle. The debate often waxed hot, and you hear of the drawing of revolvers. In this case (of the Suburban railway) Robertson rose and moved a compromise of \$75,000, urging moderation, lest they get nothing, and his price was carried. Then

they would lobby over the appointment of the agent. They did not want Gutke, or any one Butler owned, so they chose some other; and having adjourned, the outer ring would send a "trailer" to watch the agent, and sometimes a second "trailer" to watch the first.

AUCTIONING OFF A FRANCHISE.

They began to work up business on their own account, and, all decency gone, they sold out sometimes to both sides of a fight. The Central Traction deal in 1898 was an instance of this. Robert M. Snyder, a capitalist and promoter, of New York and Kansas City, came into St. Louis with a traction proposition inimical to the city railway interests. These felt secure. Through Butler they were paying seven members of the council \$5,000 a year each, but as a precaution John Scullin, Butler's associate, and one of the ablest capitalists of St. Louis, paid Councilman Uthoff a special retainer of \$25,000 to watch the salaried boodlers. When Snyder found Butler and the combines against him he set about buying the members individually, and opening wine at his headquarters, began bidding for votes. This was the first break from Butler in a big deal, and caused great agitation among the boodlers. They did not go right over to Snyder; they saw Butler, and with Snyder's valuation of the franchise before them, made the boss go up to \$175,000. Then the council combine called a meeting in Gast's garden to see if they could not agree on a price. Butler sent Uthoff there with instructions to cause a disagreement, or fix a price so high that Snyder would refuse to pay it. Uthoff obeyed, and, suggesting \$250,000, persuaded some members to hold out for it, till the meeting broke up in a row. Then it was each man for himself, and all hurried to see Butler, and to see Snyder, too. In the scramble various prices were paid. Four councilmen got from Snyder \$10,000 each, one got \$15,000, another \$17,500, and one \$30,000; twenty-five members of the house of delegates got \$3,000 each from him. In all, Snyder paid \$250,000 for the franchise, and as Butler and his backers had paid only \$175,000 to bear it the franchise was passed. Snyder turned around and sold it to his old opponents for \$1,250,000. It was worth twice as much.

The man who received \$50,000 from Snyder was the same Uthoff who had taken \$25,000 from John Scullin, and his story as he has told it since on the stand is the most comical incident of the exposure. He says Snyder, with his "overcoat full of money," came out to his house to see him. They sat together on a sofa, and when Snyder was gone Uthoff found beside him a parcel containing \$50,000. This he returned to the promoter, with the statement that he could not accept it, since he had already taken \$25,000 from the other side; but he intimated that he could take \$100,000. This Snyder promised, so Uthoff voted for the franchise.

RETURN OF AN "UNEARNED" BRIBE.

The next day Butler called at Uthoff's house. Uthoff spoke first.

"I want to return this," he said, handing Butler the package of \$50,000.

"That's what I came after," said Butler.

When Uthoff told this in the trial of Snyder, Snyder's counsel asked why he returned this \$25,000.

"Because it wasn't mine," exclaimed Uthoff, flushing with anger. "I hadn't earned it."

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But he believed he had earned the \$100,000, and he besought Snyder for that sum, or, anyway, the \$50,000. Snyder made him drunk, and gave him just \$5,000, taking by way of receipt a signed statement that the reports of bribery in connection with the Central Traction deal were utterly false; that "I (Uthoff) know you (Snyder) to be as far above offering a bribe as I am of taking one."

Butler enjoyed buying franchises cheap and selling them dear. In the lighting deal of 1899 Butler received \$150,000, and paid out only \$85,000—\$47,500 to the house, \$37,500 to the council—and the haggling with the house combine caused those weeks of total darkness in the city. He had Gutke tell this combine that he could divide only \$20,000 among them. They voted the measure, but, suspecting Butler of "holding out on them," moved to reconsider.

The next big boodle measure that Butler missed was the Suburban Traction, the same that led long after to disaster. This is the story Turner and Stock have been telling over and over in the boodle trials. Turner and his friends in the St. Louis Suburban Railway Co. sought a franchise, for which they were willing to pay large bribes. Turner spoke about it to Butler, who said it would cost \$145,000. This seemed too much, and Turner asked Stock to lobby the measure through. Stock managed it, but it cost him \$144,000—\$135,000 for the combine, \$9,000 extra for Meysenburg—and then, before the money was paid over and the company in possession of its privilege an injunction put a stop to all proceedings. The money was in safe-deposit vaults—\$75,000 for the house combine in one, \$60,000 for the council combine in the other—and when the legislature adjourned, a long fight for the money ensued. Butler chuckled over the bungling. He is said to have drawn from it the lesson that "when you want a franchise, don't go to a novice for it; pay an expert, and he'll deliver the goods."

NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF BOODLERS.

But the combine drew their own conclusions from it, and their moral was, that though boodling was a business by itself, it was a good business, and so easy that anybody could learn it by study. And study it they did. Two of them told me repeatedly that they traveled about the country looking up the business, and that a fellowship had grown up among boodling aldermen of the leading cities in the United States. Committees from Chicago would come to St. Louis to find out what "new games" the St. Louis boodlers had, and they gave the St. Louisians hints as to how they "did the business" in Chicago. So the Chicago and St. Louis boodlers used to visit Cleveland and Pittsburg and all the other cities, or, if the distance was too great, they got their ideas by those mysterious channels which run all through the "World of Graft." The meeting place in St. Louis was Decker's stable, and ideas unfolded there were developed into plans which, the boodlers say to-day, are only in abeyance. In Decker's stable the idea was born to sell the Union market; and though the deal did not go through, the boodlers, when they saw it failing, made the market men pay \$10,000 for killing it. This scheme is laid aside for the future. Another that failed was to sell the court-house, and this was well under way when it was discovered that the ground on which this public building stands was given to the city on condition that it was to be used for a court-house and nothing else.

AN IDEA FROM PHILADELPHIA.

But the grandest idea of all came from Philadelphia. In that city, the waterworks were sold out to a private concern, and the St. Louis fellows have been trying ever since to find a purchaser for theirs. They are worth at least \$40,000,000. But the boodlers thought they could let it go

at \$15,000,000, and get \$1,000,000 or so themselves for the bargain. "The scheme was to do it and skip," said one of the boodlers who told me about it, "and if you could mix it all up with some filtering scheme it could be done; only some of us thought we could make more than \$1,000,000 out of it—a fortune apiece. It will be done some day."

ST. LOUIS TO BE ALL SOLD OUT YET.

Such, then, is the boodling system as we see it in St. Louis. Everything the city owned was for sale by the officers elected by the people. The purchasers might be willing or unwilling takers; they might be citizens or outsiders; it was all one to the city government. So long as the members of the combines get the proceeds they would sell out the town. Would? They did and they will. If a city treasurer runs away with \$50,000 there is a great halloo about it. In St. Louis the regularly organized thieves who rule have sold \$50,000,000 worth of franchises and other valuable municipal assets. This is the estimate made for me by a banker, who said that the boodlers got not one-tenth of the value of the things they sold, but were content because they got it all themselves. And as to the future, my boodling informants said that all the possessions of the city were listed for future sale, that the list was in existence, and that the sale of these properties was only postponed on account of accident—the occurrence of Mr. Folk.

Preposterous? It certainly would seem so; but watch the people of St. Louis as I have, and as the boodlers have—then judge.

"Get indictments," was the challenge now. It was a "bluff"; Mr. Folk took it up, and by a "bluff" he "got an indictment." And this is the way of it: the old row between the Suburban people and the boodle combine was going on in secret, but in a very bitter spirit. The money, lying in the safe deposit vaults, in cash, was claimed by both parties. The boodlers said it was theirs because they had done their part by voting the franchise; the Suburban people said it was theirs because they had not obtained the franchise. The boodlers answered that the injunction against the franchise was not theirs, and they threatened to take the dispute before the grand jury. It was they who gave to a reporter a paragraph about the "boodle fund," and they meant to have it scare Turner and Stock. Stock really was "scared." When Mr. Folk's summons was served on him, he believed the boodlers had "squealed," and he faintled. The deputy who saw the effect of the summons told Mr. Folk, who, seeing in it only evidence of weakness and guilt, sent for the lawyer who represented Stock and Turner, and boldly gave him the choice for his clients of being witnesses or defendants. The lawyer was firm, but Folk advised him to consult his clients, and their choice was to be witnesses. Their confession and the seizure of the bribe fund in escrow gave Folk the whole inside story of the Suburban deal, and evidence in plenty for indictments. He took seven, and the reputation and standing of the first culprits showed right away not only the fearlessness of the prosecution, but the variety and power and wealth of the St. Louis species of boodler. There was Charles Kratz, agent of the council combine; John K. Murrell, agent of the house combine; Emil A. Meysenburg, councilman and "good citizen"—all for taking bribes; Ellis Wainwright and Henry Nicolaus, millionaire brewers and directors of the Suburban Railway Co., for bribery; and Julius Lehmann and Henry A. Faulkner, of the house combine, for perjury. This news caused consternation; but the ring rallied, held together, and the cynics said, "They never will be tried."

Folk was going higher up. With confessions of Turner and Stock, and the indictments for perjury for ex-

amples, he re-examined witnesses; and though the big men were furnishing the little boodlers with legal advice and drilling them in their stories, there were breaks here and there. The story of the Central Traction deal began to develop, and that went higher up, straight into the group of millionaires led by Butler.

THE INDICTMENT OF BUTLER.

High as these indictments were, the cry for Butler persisted, and the skeptical tone of it made it plain that to break up the ring Mr. Folk had to catch the boss. And he did catch him. Saved by missing the Suburban business, saved by the law in the Central Traction affair, Butler lost by his temerity; he went on boodling after Mr. Folk was in office. He offered "presents" of \$2,500 each to the two medical members of the health board for their approval of a garbage contract which was to net him \$232,500. So the "Old Man," the head of the boodlers, and the legislative agent of the financial district, was indicted.

But the ring did not part, and the public faith in evil remained steadfast. No one had been tried. The trials were approaching, and the understanding was that the first of them was to be made a test. Mr. Folk was sure of his cases against Murrell and Kratz, and if he convicted them the way was open to both combines and to the big men behind them. To all appearances these men also were confident, and with the lawyers engaged for them they might have been. Suddenly it was decided that Murrell was weak, and might "cave." He ran away. The shock of this to the community is hard to realize now. It was the first public proof of guilt, and the first break in the ring of little boodlers. To Mr. Folk it was the first serious check, for he could not now indict the house combine. Then, too, Kratz was in Florida, and the circuit attorney saw himself going into court with the weakest of his early cases, that of Meysenburg. In genuine alarm he moved heavy increases in the bail bonds. All the lawyers in all the cases combined to defeat this move, and the fight lasted for days; but Mr. Folk won. Kratz returned in a rage to find bail. With his connections and his property he could give any amount, he boasted, and he offered \$100,000.

The weakness of this case lay in the indirection of the bribe. Meysenburg, a business man of repute, took for his vote on the Suburban franchise, not money; he sold for \$9,000 some two hundred shares of worthless stock. This might be made to look like a regular business transaction, and half a dozen of the best lawyers in the state appeared to press that view. Mr. Folk, however, met these lawyers point by point, and point by point he beat them all, displaying a knowledge of law which astounded them, and an attitude toward the prisoner which won the jury, and might well reform the methods of haranguing prosecutors all over this country.

THE RING SCARED AT LAST.

Meysenburg was found guilty and sentenced to three years. The man was shocked limp and the ring broke. Kratz ran away. He was advised to go, and, like Murrell, he had promises of plenty of money; unlike Murrell, however, Kratz stood on the order of his going. He made the big fellows give him a large sum of cash, and for the fulfillment of their promise of more he waited menacingly in New Orleans. Supplied there with all he demanded, this council leader stepped across into Mexico, and has gone into business there on a large scale. With Kratz safely away the ring was nerved up again, and Meysenburg appeared in court with five well-known millionaires to give an appeal bond of \$25,000. "I could have got more," he told the reporters, "but I guess that's enough."

THE SHAMELESSNESS OF ST. LOUIS.

That was Missouri. What of St. Louis? Some years ago, when Butler was young in corruption, he was caught gambling, and with the charge pending against him St. Louis rose to challenge him. Meetings were held all over the city—one in the exchange down town—to denounce the political leader, who, an offence always, had dared commit the felony of gambling. Now, when he was caught and convicted and sentenced for bribery, what did St. Louis do? The first comment I heard in the streets when we all got back that day was that "Butler would never wear stripes."

Mr. Folk put on trial Henry Nicolaus, the brewer, accused of bribery. Mr. Nicolaus pleaded that he did not know what was to be the use of a note for \$140,000 which he had indorsed. And on this the judge took the case away from the jury and directed a verdict of not guilty.

The Meysenburg case was sent back for retrial.

Mr. Folk has work ahead of him for the two years remaining of his term, and he is the man to carry it all through. But where is it all to end? There are more men to be indicted, many more to be tried, and there is much more corruption to be disclosed. But the people of St. Louis know enough. What are they going to do about it?

In the midst of all these sensations, and this obvious, obstinate political rottenness, the innocent citizens, who must be at least a decisive minority, did not register last fall. Butler, the papers said, had great furniture vans going about with men who were said to be repeaters, and yet the registration was the lowest in many years. When the Butlerized tickets were announced there was no audible protest. It was the time for an independent movement. A third ticket might not have won, but it would have shown the politicians (whether they counted them in or out) how many honest votes were in the city, and what they would have to reckon with in the face of public sentiment. Nothing of the sort was done. St. Louis, rich, dirty and despoiled, was busy with business.

Another opportunity is coming soon. In April the city votes for municipal legislators, and since the municipal assembly has been the scene of most of the corruption, you would think boodling would surely be an issue then. I doubt it. When I was there in January the politicians were planning to keep it out, and their ingenious scheme was to combine on one ticket; that is to say, each group of leaders would name half the nominees, who were to be put on identical tickets, making no contest at all. And to avoid suspicion, these nominations were to be exceptionally, yes, "remarkably good."

THE BOODLERS ONLY WAITING.

That is the old Butler non-partisan or bi-partisan system. It emanates now from the rich men back of the ring, but it means that the ring is intact, alert and hopeful. They are "playing for time." The convicts sitting in the municipal assembly, the convicts appealing to the higher courts, the rich men abroad, the bankers down town—all are waiting for something. What are they waiting for?

Charles Kratz, the ex-president of the council, head and go-between of the council combine, the fugitive from justice, who, by his flight, blocks the way to the exposure and conviction of the rich, and influential men who are holding the people of Missouri in check and keeping boodling from going before the people as a political issue, this criminal exile, thus backed, was asked this question in Mexico, and here is the answer he returned:

"I am waiting for Joe Folk's term to expire. Then I am going home to run for governor of Missouri and vindication."

St. Louis Labor

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

ISSUED EVERY SATURDAY.

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SIX MONTHS.....25 Cents.
SINGLE COPIES.....2 Cents.

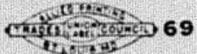
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address. Also state old address.

PRAYING FOR CANDIDATES.

Democratic and Republican Machine Pol- iticians at Their Rope's End.

The moralists of St. Louis are pray-
ing for political candidates "who are
broad enough to set aside party con-
siderations and rise above petty par-
tisanism." They pretend to believe
that a non-partisan house of dele-
gates and council would end the reign
of King Boodle in St. Louis. What
childlike simplicity or deliberate
hypocrisy. Kelly, the democrat, and
Kratz, the republican, and their re-
spective hoodle gangs were all broad
and tolerant enough to set aside pet-
ty partisanship. Butler, Lehman,
Kelly, Kratz, and all the Kellys, Den-
rys, Tamblyns and Uthoffs' yet to
come forth from the old rotten par-
ties will say amen to this talk of
broad, tolerant non-partisan office-
holders. If our would-be moralists
were not so stupidly prejudiced and
bigoted they would see that as party
lines disappear corrupt practices de-
velop, and that no man, nor set of
men, however strong in character,
will stem or withstand the flood of
corruption which inevitably sweeps in
where no deep fundamental principles
exist for the guidance of legislators.
The socialist legislators, whether
elected to the humblest or the high-
est place of power, whether to the
house of delegates or to the United
States senate, will be partisan to the
last ditch. They will be partisan be-
cause their party present to them
fundamental principles which, ap-
plied to any municipal, state, national
or international problem will point
the way and blaze the path leading to
their solution.

Vote the Socialist ticket, not be-
cause of its good men, not because of
its broad and tolerant men, BUT BE-
CAUSE IT IS BASED UPON FUNDA-
MENTAL PRINCIPLES. L. E. H.

WHO IS RIGHT?

Mayor Wells or the Grand Jury?

Mayor Wells stated in an interview
published in the Sunday papers of
March 1, "Right now the conditions
are most unfortunately exaggerated.
The exaggerations about our election
laws and police system are particu-
larly unfortunate. THEY ARE
LARGELY UNTRUE. The reports
now being circulated about the po-
lice force, the election laws and mu-
nicipal corruption generally are too
exaggerated for their continuance to
be tolerated."

Hear the other side as reported by
the grand jury and submitted on Jan-

uary 13, 1901: "During election day,
bands of men to the number of fifty
to sixty drove from polling place to
polling place, formed in line, entered
the polls and to all appearances vot-
ed, although some of them were well
recognized as notorious characters,
known to live outside of the ward.
It is a significant fact that in one of
these precincts a squad of police ar-
rived almost simultaneously with this
band of men and remained at the
polling place about half an hour and
accompanied them when they left."

Who is right? Is it Mayor Wells
or the grand jury?

Listen to the report on election of-
ficials, registration, etc: "In refer-
ence to judges, the testimony given
before us showed that in numerous
cases they refused to permit party
challengers to remain during the tak-
ing of the vote, and gave orders to
the police to have them ejected, al-
though they are, by law, given the
right to be there as representatives
of their respective parties, and by
law given the especial protection of
the judges. The entire conduct of
the election, including registration,
failure to canvass, excluding chal-
lengers and a seeming protection to
bands of undoubted repeaters must
have emanated from a well-conceived
and carefully-planned movement. So
complete is the system of political
machinery in all its ramifications,
even to coalition of opposing fac-
tions, that there has been woven a
web of safety over frauds committed
—fraud in the registration of voters,
fraud in the returns of canvasses by
clerks, and fraud in the reception of
illegal ballots. The election frauds
have been many and the ways so
devious that this grand jury can not
follow them to a conclusion in the
time allotted to it."

The foregoing grand jury verdict
was indorsed by the following:

ISAAC W. MORTON,

Foreman, director Simmons Hard-
ware Co.

F. W. BROCKMAN,

Commission Merchant.

GEORGE BECK,

President Empire Carbon Co.

GEORGE COBB,

Undertaker.

CHAS. G. KNOX,

President National Stock Yards.

WM. G. FRYE,

Secretary Philibert & Johanning Man-
ufacturing Co.

OLIVER W. FIELDING,

Treasurer Union Steel Co.

HY. SIKEMEIER,

Vice-President Rumsey-Sikemeier
Manufacturing Co.

JAS. A. SMITH,

Feed Dealer.

WM. C. UHRE, Builder.

CHAS. H. STEINKAMP,

Soap Manufacturer.

CLARENCE C. JOHNSON,

General Manager Frost-Trigg Lumber
Co.

Mayor Wells would do well to read
the reports of the grand juries that
were published during the last two
or three years on the various kinds of
political corruption in St. Louis. Per-
haps he would then be more care-
ful in his remarks and utterances.

ASSIST THE BAKERS.

Resolutions of the Central Trades and Labor Union.

The St. Louis Central Trades and
Labor Union, in its regular meeting
of February 8, 1903, adopted the fol-
lowing:

RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, Bakers' Union No. 15 is
one of the oldest organizations repre-
sented in the Central Trades and La-
bor Union.

WHEREAS, Great sacrifices have
been made by said union during the
last 15 years to organize the journeymen
bakers and ameliorate their
deplorable condition.

WHEREAS, The Boss Bakers' as-
sociation of St. Louis is doing all in
its power to counteract the good
work of the union and break up the
organization, as has been demon-
strated most strikingly in the fight
against Welle-Boettler, McKinney
Bakery Co., and in the present strike
of our members and friends at the
Condon Bakery Co.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Central
Trades and Labor Union hereby
pledges its full moral and financial
support to the Journeymen Bakers'
and Confectioners' Union and takes
immediate steps to bring about an
early victory and permanent success
for the oppressed slaves of the bake-
shops by appointing special commit-
tees whose duty it shall be to visit
all unions and labor organizations in
behalf of said Bakers' Union.

RESOLVED, That this Central
Trades and Labor Union make imme-
diate arrangements to have this
propaganda and boycott agitation
properly advertised in all the labor
papers of St. Louis and vicinity, in
order to keep the matter before Or-
ganized Labor and the public in gen-
eral until a satisfactory settlement of
the difficulties can be effected.

JUDGE E. B. ADAMS.

[Continued From Page One.]

that this letter will also appear in
our special edition of St. Louis Labor,
of which 25,000 copies will be distrib-
uted among the union men and citi-
zens of St. Louis.

Assuring you that your injunction
decision against the railroad em-
ployes will tend to strengthen and
solidify the trades union movement,
I remain, as heretofore, a member of
Organized Labor and a freedom-lov-
ing citizen, always ready to defend
the rights of man as enunciated in

our American Declaration of Inde-
pendence.

G. A. HOEHN,

Editor St. Louis Labor.

22 North Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

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Only Bread bear-
ing this Label is
Union-Made.
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NO. 15.

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At CONCORDIA TURNER HALL, 13th and
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Saturday Evening, March 7th, 1903.

TICKETS 25c a Person. An Elegant Souvenir presented to Each Lady Attending.
The right to reject objectional persons is reserved.



New Union Factory on Randolph, near Jefferson.

HAMILTON, BROWN SHOE COMPANY.

New Union Factory.

Our Four Thousand employes spend
their wages in St. Louis stores. St. Louis
stores will increase St. Louis workmen's
wages and their own business by sell-
ing our Shoes.



THE ST. LOUIS CHRONICLE WANTS AN INDEPENDENT TICKET.

Why This Movement Will Prove an Absolute Failure.

"In the name of civic pride, the Chronicle urges an independent ticket for the house of delegates."

These are the column head lines of a front-page article in The St. Louis Chronicle of March 3, 1903, which reads as follows:

"In the name of civic pride and in behalf of St. Louisians' love of St. Louis and their desire to keep her fair name inviolate from further imputations of corruption, the Chronicle appeals to the patriotism of every honest citizen and urges that they place in the field at once for the spring election an independent ticket for the house of delegates.

"St. Louisians know too well the personnel of the present and preceding houses of delegates. No explanation of the fearless labors of Circuit Attorney Folk in that legislative branch is necessary. But Circuit Attorney Folk merely exposed the condition, a condition more or less necessary to machine politics.

"It now becomes the sacred duty of every good citizen to lend his best efforts to thwart the recurrence of such a condition, and unless the good citizens rise in their authority the great work of the prosecuting servants will have been in vain.

"Better had St. Louis never been exposed and held up to her neighbors in so shocking a light, if she is to settle back, apathetic and tolerant.

"The Democratic and Republican parties of the city have filed delegations for the house of delegates. The predominant man on each ticket is the saloon keeper. The saloon keeper, whatever his morals be, is not the representative of the citizens of St. Louis. Not all of the candidates on these two tickets are undesirable men, but the great majorities on both are, and the desirable ones are now inseparably connected with the undesirable ones.

"There is but one solution, and that is an independent ticket for the house of delegates, composed of one man from each of the 28 wards, whose honesty is unquestioned, whose business affiliations will not compromise the position, and who has the patriotism to place the welfare of St. Louis above his party politics.

"There are thousands of honest, enthusiastic and patriotic young men in St. Louis who stand ready to fight for St. Louis, and the Chronicle appeals to them with special emphasis.

"The Chronicle is not gagged by political machinery, but it appreciates that St. Louisians now have an opportunity to right their wrongs, and only by rising en masse can the machines be forced to yield in the interest of clean municipal government.

"Again the Chronicle urges that unless the representative citizens speak, St. Louis will have compounded a felony by having guilty knowledge of impending corruption with no attempt to check its recurrence."

We publish the Chronicle article in full so as to enable our readers to judge for themselves.

The Chronicle's appeal "in the name of civic pride" is well meant, but we doubt very much whether it will have any effect on the situation.

As a rule the "civic pride" of our leading business men begins and ends with their own pocket books.

Why, were there any more respected, more patriotic, more honest business men in the city than Messrs. Walbridge, Ziegenhein, Wells, Meysenburg, James Campbell, Hy, Nicolaus, Phil. Stock, Ellis Wainwright, Chas. H. Turner, Chas. Thuner, Chas. Kelly, Tamblin, Julius Lehmann, David Francis, etc.? Every one of these men was considered honest, respectable, patriotic.

The Chronicle may select another

set of the "best and most patriotic business men" to attend to the municipal legislation and administration work of St. Louis, but the results will not be much different from the results of the past.

"Patriotic business men!" What does this mean? Business is the alpha and omega of the average "leading business man," and successful business means successful money-making. Walbridge, Ziegenhein, Wells, Meysenburg, Campbell, Nicolaus, Turner, Thuner, Lehmann, etc.—all of these men are still good business men.

There will be an independent ticket in the field. It will be a working-man's ticket, the ticket of a party that stands for Organized Labor and for the interests of the working class—this is the ticket of the SOCIALIST PARTY. Work for it! Vote for it! It is your ticket.

REGISTER! REGISTER!

Registration at Election Commissioner's Office in City Hall till March 13th.

DAY OF PRECINCT REGISTRATION MARCH 17

Don't fail to register. If you have changed your residence since last election you have to register. You may register at the city hall, election commissioners' office, between now and March 14th.

The precinct registration will be March 17.

Don't fail to register.

Cigar Maker's Masquerade Ball.

Cigar-Makers' Unions 44 and 281 will give a grand masquerade ball at Concordia Turner hall, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Saturday, March 7. This will be one of the grandest labor festivals of the season, and the union men and their wives and sweethearts are cordially invited to enjoy the blessings of life as guests of the Blue Label Cigar-Makers.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Meetings of the association take place every fourth Tuesday, at 8 p. m.

The board of directors meets every second Tuesday at 8 p. m.

The Commune Celebration.

Our this year's Commune festival will be a Socialist demonstration of which every comrade will feel proud. It will be held at Druid's hall, Ninth and Market streets, Saturday, March 21. Concert, Socialist speeches in English and German, and dance will be on the programme. Every comrade should sell a number of tickets; ten cents a person, children free. The celebration taking place about two weeks before the municipal elections, the comrades should not fail to make this a successful Socialist demonstration.

The joint arrangement committee meets every Sunday evening at eight o'clock at the office of ST. LOUIS LABOR.

HARD, QUIET, SYSTEMATIC propaganda and organizing work in the wards and precincts must be done now. Comrades, it won't do to waste very much of our time and energy in our central Butler wards, and neglect the more fertile work in the southern and northern Socialist and trades union banner wards.

ATTENTION, LABOR PRESS COUNCIL DELEGATES.

The next meeting will be held Thursday, February 12, at P. F. & W. Association hall. Don't forget the date, and be on hand. Fraternally, A. J. LAWRENCE, Secretary.

ST. LOUIS LABOR or Arbeiter-Zeitung should reach every St. Louis union man from now till election day. If not, why not?
* * *

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

For City Council:

ALBERT E. SANDERSON.

L. E. HILDEBRAND.

WILLIAM M. BRANDT.

W. T. SMITH.

PHILIP H. MUELLER.

T. L. SAVAGE.

SCHOOL BOARD:

A. J. LAWRENCE.

C. E. ARNOLD.

HENRY SCHWARZ.

WM. EGGEMAN.

Inspector of Weights and Measures

LEONARD STOLL.

For House of Delegates:

2 Ward: RICHARD STEELE.

3 Ward: FREDERICK RUEGER.

5. Ward: WM. VOEGE.

7 Ward: ALEX. HEINRICHS.

8 Ward: JULIUS RUDOLPH.

9 Ward: JAC. GABELMANN.

10. Ward: G. A. HOEHN.

11. Ward: E. M. PEABODY.

12. Ward: FRANK STRAJT.

13. Ward: WM. CROUCH.

15 Ward: THEODORE REESE.

16 Ward: J. P. LARKINS.

17. Ward: W. W. BAKER.

18. Ward: WM. E. KINDORF.

19. Ward: J. E. FITZPATRICK.

20. Ward: B. E. SCOTT.

21. Ward: F. BICK.

22. Ward: H. C. LANGE.

26. Ward: W. C. BOHANNON.

27. Ward: OTTO KAEMMERER.

Excursions to Millstadt, Ill.

LABOR UNIONS, ATTENTION!

Will you give an excursion during the coming season? If so, select the excursion town of the future—Millstadt, Ill. The Millstadt Brewery Co. is the only brewery in the vicinity of St. Louis using the Brewery Workers' union label. Millstadt has the Liederkrantz park, which excursionists will find a splendid place of enjoyment. Make your arrangements now. All further information concerning railroad rates, conditions, etc., will be gladly given by Mr. GEO. DISTLER, Manager Millstadt Brewery Co., Millstadt, Ill. MR. DISTLER is an old member of St. Louis Brewers and Maltsters' Union No. 6, and will do all in his power to advance the cause of organized labor.

Millstadt is situated on the M. & O. railroad, about 27 miles from St. Louis.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

The board of directors of the People's Fund and Welfare association meets the second Tuesday of each month. General meeting of the association on the 4th Tuesday of each month. All members are requested to attend.

L. P. TYSON, PAINTER,

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Federal Labor Union 6482, A. F. of L.

Meets every 2nd and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., at 22 N. 4th St., room 7.

L. E. HILDEBRAND, Secretary.

Every wage earner whose craft or calling is not organized should belong to this union.

Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME.

By Margaret Haile.

This charge has been repeated over and over again by the opponents of Socialism, but, like all others of the same nature, has absolutely no reason for existence—except as a bugaboo by which those who do not truly understand what Socialism means can be frightened into voting against it. Those who make this charge have made no attempt to show in what manner Socialism would break up your home, providing you have a home, which you should have, and which many have not. They know, as we know, that there is nothing more sacred to the average man than his home, no matter how poor or humble that home may be, and when they charge the Socialists with attempting to inaugurate a state of society wherein the homes of the people would be destroyed, they know they are at once arousing a prejudice that will prevent them from listening logically to the arguments presented in favor of Socialism.

But this charge against Socialism is not only an empty one, but a false and malicious one. The hardest workers in the Socialist movement of the world are the most intelligent, the cream of the working class, and not only that, but Socialism is advocated among the most brilliant literary, scientific and artistic people of the world. You have heard of Francis Willard, for instance. Do you believe she was ignorant and degraded when she declared only a few months

before her death that had she her life to begin over again she would spend it in the cause of Socialism? Do you believe she would have said this if she had not investigated Socialism fully and believed it to be in accord with her character as a woman and her duty as a Christian? Do you think she would be in favor of breaking up the home?

But, as a matter of fact, capitalism, the present system of society, is already breaking up the home and destroying every tie, human and divine, that binds society together and makes happiness, peace and contentment for the race possible of attainment.

Socialism, the future system of society, will insure everyone who contributes, mentally or manually, by their labor, to the wealth of society, a home with perfect security and peace. And this we can have only under Socialism.

Those of you who have homes today know them to be insecure and unstable; you know you may lose your job at any minute and be forced out into the street. Socialists hurl back the charge of wishing to break up the home into the teeth of those who are trying to perpetuate a system which is breaking up the homes of the people every hour of the day and every day in a week, which is making the divorce courts of the land and abomination before high Heaven, and which is destroying manhood and corrupting womanhood.

Socialism will mean happy homes, security of employment, happiness and peace, better men and better women, happier children and a grander world!

Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

MACHINISTS' GOOD SHOWING.

Please Read This and Think About It.

What excuse has a machinist for remaining outside of the union?

There are, we are sorry to say, thousands throughout the country who are not on the inside.

The machinists are among the most skilled of mechanics, if skill counts for anything in these days of labor-saving, skill-destroying and independence-annihilating machinery, industrial and political.

Yet the wages of the unorganized machinists are about as low as the poorest unskilled workers receive and their hours of labor as long, and their very jobs depend on the whim or condition of the bosses' stomach.

On the other hand the union has done something for machinists despite all obstacles that have been encountered.

Here are some facts and figures:

Sixty thousand machinists gained a nine-hour day.

Seventy-five thousand machinists secured an increase in wages averaging ten per cent., amounting to \$18,750 per day, or approximately \$5,624,000 per year.

They have prevented the introduction of piece work in 214 shops.

They have prevented the introduction of the two machine system in 215 shops.

They have secured the proper regu-

lation of the number of apprentices to be employed in over one thousand shops.

They paid on account of strikes, lockouts, etc., \$170,000.

They paid in sick benefits, \$9,750.

They loaned on traveling cards, \$6,000.

They paid members out of work, \$12,225.

They paid in death benefits \$11,225.

Now what will a sensible man do when he has digested the foregoing?

Will he "knock" and continue to swear that "the union is no good?"

No. He will take his fellow-workers with him and visit some of the meetings that are being held in this city, join the union and assist in gaining still better conditions.

Injunction Resolution.

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION IN INDIANAPOLIS IN 1901.

"WHEREAS, The injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingmen.

"RESOLVED, That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class, and hostile to the interests of labor, and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket."

BAKERS' BALL.

The masquerade ball of the Bakers' Council at South St. Louis hall, last Saturday night, was a grand success.

Hiltenbrand

CAFE

514 Chestnut St.

POPULAR PRICES.

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Union Musicians.

Local No. 2, A. F. of M.

Local No. 8, N. L. of M.

A Roster of all Union Musicians in the City Always on File.

Headquarters, 18th and Olive Sts.

UNDER SOCIALISM the mental giant cannot impose on his inferiors any more than the physical giant now imposes on smaller men.

COLUMBIA BOX COMPANY,

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BOXES OF ALL KINDS UNION LABEL BOXES.



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DEALER IN ALL KINDS OF SALT

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Open Saturday
Evenings
Until
10:00
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DOUBLE
GUARANTEE.
All Clothing Kept in
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Are Not Satisfied.

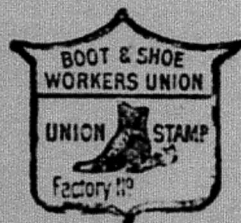
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Shoes Bearing This Stamp

Are the equal of others in quality of Material and are SUPERIOR IN WORKMANSHIP.

BUY THEM TO MAKE YOUR CONSCIENCE FEEL RIGHT.

Buy them to get the BEST SHOE for your money.



Our Special Campaign Edition

WILL GO TO PRESS

Wednesday, March 9, 1903.

COMRADES OF ST. LOUIS,

AT LEAST 30,000 COPIES SHOULD BE ORDERED AND DISTRIBUTED.

Per 1,000 Copies, \$5.50.

ORDERS FOR SPECIAL CAMPAIGN EDITION.

The following orders for the special campaign edition of St. Louis Labor have been received:

R. E.	3,000
G. A. H., for Tenth ward.....	3,000
David Allan	1,000
Otto Kaemmer	1,000
City Central Committee for distribution in the Trades Union.....	5,000
Twenty-seventh ward, Eleventh precinct club	250
North Central Agitation Club.....	1,000
Wm. Voegel	200
Seventh and Eighth wards	1,000
Thirteenth ward	1,000
Mt. Pleasant Club, Eleventh ward.....	500
Carondelet club, Eleventh ward	500

All orders must be in by March 9. This special edition will contain excellent reading matter and, above all, timely articles on the local political situation. It will be nicely illustrated. Comrades, push the good work. Send in your orders immediately. Every voter in St. Louis should receive a copy of St. Louis Labor.

MAYOR WELLS' HYPOCRISY.

The Gentleman Has the Audacity to Talk About Exaggeration Concerning Municipal Corruption in St. Louis.

Honorable Mayor Rolla Wells shows himself to be of a very hypocritical kind of capitalist politician. According to the gentleman's logic it would be for the "business interests" of St. Louis to make Mr. Folk shut his mouth and to cease fighting the political corruption. Mayor Wells should not forget the fact that it was for the "business interests" of some of the "leading citizens" of St. Louis to buy up the hoodlers in the city hall and to secure valuable franchises. And the "leading citizens" that were instrumental in buying the hoodlers—Messrs. Charles H. Turner, Phillip Stock, Ellis Wainwright, Henry Nicolaus, etc., are still the lions of the day in commercial circles and are even recognized as directors of the World's fair and most intimate friends of Ex-Gov. Francis, Rolla Wells & Co.

These are hard, cold facts, Mr. Wells.

The Post-Dispatch of March 1, 1903, contained a significant and characteristic article of which we republish the following extracts:

MAYOR DECLARES CITY IS MALIGNED

He Suggests Mass Meeting to Declare True State of Affairs.

MAGAZINE ARTICLES STIR EXECUTIVE RESENTMENT.

"Shamelessness of St. Louis" and Similar Publications Injure City's Reputation and Business Interests, He Believes.

"During an interview with the Post-Dispatch yesterday Mayor Wells suggested that a public mass meeting to express the indignation of the citizens of St. Louis would be in order if exaggerations concerning municipal corruption in St. Louis now being printed in eastern newspapers and magazines continued to circulate.

"Mayor Wells was moved to make this suggestion by reading an editorial in a New York newspaper entitled 'The Plight of St. Louis,' which commented on a magazine article by Lincoln Steffens entitled 'The Shamelessness of St. Louis.'"

"It is unfortunate that exaggerations concerning municipal corruption in St. Louis should be circulated

in the east as they are. It is unfortunate for the fair name of the city and for its business interests as well.

"A representative of a New York paper asked me a few days ago if I thought the people of St. Louis were becoming callous in regard to municipal corruption.

"I say 'no' to any such question. I know that the people of St. Louis are almost unanimously against municipal corruption. The action of our recent grand juries in the corruption cases showed that. And the very fact that the defendants in the corruption cases applied for changes of venue showed that they feared the people of St. Louis had not become callous."

We ask Mayor Wells one question.

If the article "The Shamelessness of St. Louis" by Lincoln Steffens in McClure's magazine was an exaggeration or misrepresentation of facts, as Mr. Wells claims it was, why has the public press of St. Louis not taken the matter up? It is true, every daily paper of our city denounced Lincoln Steffens and his article in McClure's, but none of the sheets had the moral courage to tell the people of St. Louis what Mr. Steffens had said.

St. Louis Labor is the only paper in St. Louis that is doing what the other papers were too cowardly to do. In this issue of St. Louis Labor we publish the main parts of Steffens' article "The Shamelessness of St. Louis" and we leave it to the citizens of St. Louis to decide whether the article is an exaggeration or not. We claim that the article is not even strong enough and the writer was in some respects lenient in picturing the boodler and corruption.

Why! while Mayor Wells was denouncing the "exaggerations" he could smell the fragrant flowers of another field of corruption. The police headquarters' investigation was already in progress and the "shamelessness of St. Louis" was once more shown up by the grand jury and Mr. Folk.

THE COMMUNE celebration committee is doing some hard work in order to make this general festival of the St. Louis Socialists and progressive union men a success.

DRINK ONLY UNION BEER.

[See Smiles of Our Label.]



This label is pasted on every barrel and box as a guarantee that the contents are the product of Union Labor.

Suits to Order from \$12.00 Up.

Pants to Order from \$3.50 Up.

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WE EMPLOY UNION TAILORS ONLY.

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OUR GUARANTEE:

Should lining, binding or any part of garment not wear satisfactory or rip, we will repair or renew the same free of charge, for one year (silk or satin lining excepted.) Will also press garments gratis at any time within one year.

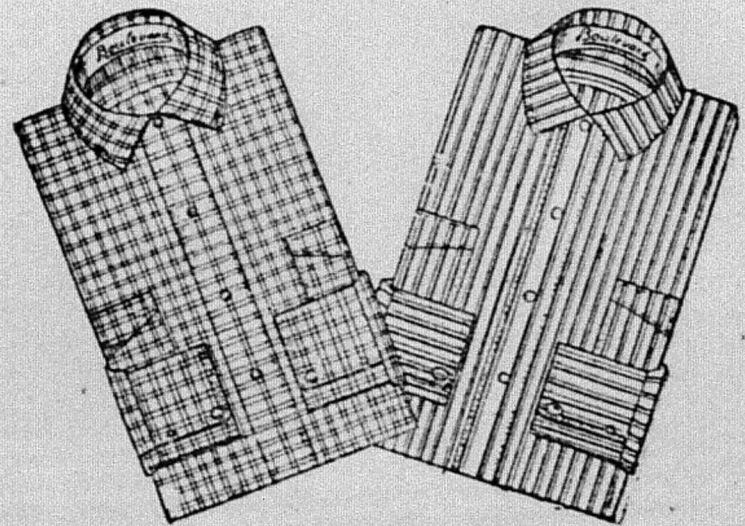
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INTERNATIONAL SHIRT, WAIST AND LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION, which can be found on all Shirts made in the celebrated Boulevard Shirt Factory, 616 N. Seventh Street, by the best skilled UNION LABOR, under fair conditions. If you can not get them from your DEALER, kindly call or write us and we will gladly make them for you.

The Boulevard Shirt Co.,

616 NORTH SEVENTH STREET.

STRICTLY UNION.

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Concordia Turner Hall,

Thirteenth and Arsenal Streets.

HALLS FOR RENT FOR BALLS, CONCERTS, MEETINGS, Etc'

Bar Supplied With Finest WINES, LIQUORS AND CIGARS.

I. J. BAUER, Manager.

Comrade Vierling Objects to Misrepresentation.

St. Louis, Mo., March 1, 1903.

Editor of St. Louis Labor:

My Dear Comrade—Comrade Goebel's article in last week's Worker contains references to the change of name of our party name last year, and also to the supposed change of name of the Missouri Socialist. I blame Comrade Turner and his friends for the wrong impression most of the national committee men took away with them concerning these events. Comrade Mills introduced Comrade Turner to strange comrades as "THE MAN WHO SAVED THE PARTY NAME IN MISSOURI." Where did Mills receive his information? Here was an excuse for Goebel, Critchlow and others for some of their votes in the committee, of which they need not be proud. Had they inquired of any local comrade, BE HE FOR FUSION OR NOT, they would have learned that Missouri Socialist was the state organization paper. At our last state convention, NEARLY TWO YEARS AGO, it was decided that any local in the state could have a local edition any time it so desired, and was to be called "Labor." Thus, if Springfield published a local paper it was to be called "Springfield Labor;" if Kansas City, then "Kansas City Labor," etc. That is the reason there was and is a "St. Louis Labor." The state paper, the "Missouri Socialist," died for want of support from locals outside of St. Louis; it was wholly supported by St. Louis, else the comrades in the state would not have received it as long as they did, gratis. St. Louis Labor is still in existence and in good condition since its reorganization. The name of Missouri Socialist was not changed. It continued as Missouri Socialist till its death. As to the change of name of "Socialist Party" to "Working Class Party." Our ticket was filed under the name SOCIALIST PARTY. The S. L. P., taking advantage of a recently-enacted law to the effect that no two parties in the state could use the same name, OR PART OF NAME, objected, and engaged a prominent attorney to make a fight. This attorney is law partner to recently-elected United States Senator Wm. J. Stone, of gumshoe and egg-shell fame. The secretary of state decided against us, of course, and we filed under the name Working Class Party, because it was but a few weeks until election day, and we could not risk a battle with a notoriously rotten political machine that would give any judgment, no matter what it was, that would hinder, delay and finally defeat our purpose of putting a ticket in the field UNDER ANY NAME. The only reason we had a ticket in the field at all, and IT under the name "Socialist Party," was because of THE PROMPT ACTION OF THE STATE ORGANIZATION AND LOCAL ST. LOUIS. Does anybody who is at all acquainted with the political machine methods of those in control doubt for an instant what would have been the fate of Comrade Turner's mandamus proceedings, had not our previous actions been what they were? Therefore it was not Comrade Turner's actions that saved the name to us, but the timely actions of the state and local St. Louis organization, who correctly judged the state government's intention toward us.

Should the existence of the present St. Louis Labor depend on as much effort in its behalf as was given to the defunct Missouri Socialist by Comrade Turner and his colleagues, it would share the same fate. Rather than misrepresenting past events to comrades outside our state, he would be better employed in apologizing to the members of the Missouri Socialist Party for his violation of our national constitution by his vote on the question of removal of headquarters; and also concerning the removal of the local quorum without a hearing, the vote on one being as unsocialistic as the other. It is consoling to know that he represented very

few beside himself in so doing; also that the Mo. S. P. will shortly have an opportunity to show that it was misrepresented. Fraternally,
OTTO VIERLING.

11th WARD CAMPAIGN.

Energetic Work of the Socialists in Carondelet.

The Socialists of the Eleventh ward are making the best of the few remaining weeks preceding election. Owing to the immense territory covered by the ward it was found impossible for one club to properly carry on the work. So on the 26th ult. the Mt. Pleasant Socialist club of the Eleventh ward was organized, and will meet every Thursday evening at Wigger's hall, 4601 S. Broadway, Wm. Reim, of 4527 Oregon avenue, is organizer, and Eugene Schmidt, 4716 Minnesota avenue, secretary.

The First and Second precincts of the ward polled at the last election 65 Socialist votes, and from this material the comrades should be able to build up a good club. It will be a good idea for members of other clubs to visit the meetings of the Mt. Pleasant club, and by their presence lend encouragement to the new organization.

Friday evening, February 27, a meeting was held at Carondelet Turner hall, under the joint auspices of the Carondelet Business Men's league and Carpenters' Local No. 5. Ever since the street railway strike of 1900 the citizens of Carondelet have suffered the greatest inconvenience from the inadequate car service of the St. Louis Transit Co., and it was to discuss this question that the meeting was called. Jos. L. Hornsby, president of the city council, gave a fairly satisfactory report of the efforts of that body to temporarily improve the conditions, and laid most of the blame upon the house of delegates.

Edward Koeln, present member of the house from the Eleventh ward and republican candidate for re-election, offered as an excuse for his opposition to certain street railway bills which had been passed by the council, that that body and the house were not on good terms. He pleaded as an excuse for opposing one bill that he had not understood its meaning.

He claimed that one bill (H. B. 126) was all that could be desired, then when the official record was read and showed that he had twice voted against this same bill, he gave the childish excuse that it was because a certain member—Mr. Karbe—had actively favored it. After a spirited address by Wm. M. Brandt, wherein the speaker showed that the only remedy for street railway abuses was in their collective ownership, the audience adopted strong resolutions censuring Koeln for his conduct.

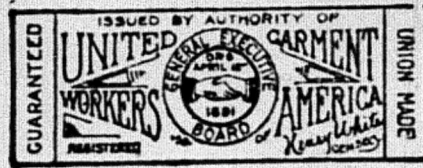
Mother Jones will help the Chicago Socialists in their municipal campaign.

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- GROCERY—Esseibruegge Mercantile Co., Groceries and Liquors, 5133-44 N. Broadway.
- GROCERY—Hermann Rinderknecht, Groceries, Feed, Provisions, Wines, Liquors and Cigars, 6130 N. Broadway.
- HARDWARE—Chas. Blasberg, corner Linton and Carter ayes. Hardware, Glass, Paints, Oils, Stoves and Ranges.
- SAND—Charles Vahrenhold, Molding Sand, 4201 N. Twentieth St. Phone, Kinloch D 440.
- SALOON—John Loumann, 5134 N. Broadway. The choicest always on hand.
- SALOON—Bloemecke & Co.'s Branch Saloon and Boardinghouse, 4230 N. Broadway. Our service alwas best.
- SALOON—Henry Holtkamp, Saloon and Bowling Alleys, 4214 N. Broadway. Fine wine and liquors always on hand.
- SALOON—The Cobweb Bar. Fine Liquors and cigars. Andy's Place, 9th and Pine. Bell, Main 1923; Kinloch, A 989.

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UNIONS AND SOCIETIES wishing to find a beautiful place for their excursions during the coming season should

MAKE IMMEDIATE ARRANGEMENTS for EXCURSIONS to MILLSTADT, ILL.

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COMMUNE CELEBRATION

Concert, Socialist Speeches, Ball,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

ST. LOUIS LABOR AND ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, Saturday, March 21, 1903,

At DRUIDS' HALL, 9th and Market Streets, Commencing at 8 p. m. Tickets 10c a Person. Children Free.

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