

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

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Workingmen of All Countries, UNITE!

You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains, and A WORLD TO GAIN!

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## The Dignity of Labor and the Labor Movement

From the Address Delivered by John M. O'Neill, Editor of Miners Magazine, at the Labor Day Celebration at Milwaukee, Wis.

Under our present industrial system, equality of citizenship is a delusion and a burlesque until the machinery of production and distribution is operated for use and not for profit. There can be no independence of citizenship while the Goulds, the Rockefellers have their "Joe" Cannons in the House of Representatives and their Simon Guggenheims in the Senate. There can be no independence of citizenship while the steel trust is dominated by an American czar. There can be no independence of citizenship while the legislative, the judicial and the executive departments of government are the property of industrial despots to hold in bondage the toiling millions of the country.

Organized labor is beginning to realize that the great bulk of the people are in chains. Unionism must be able to grapple with this question or it must go to pieces. It must be able to meet the Napoleon of commercialism and bury into a grave the despotism of plutocracy. Unionism in the past has built on poor foundations. Its walls must crumble under the canister of commercial despotism. The labor movement has been divided on the economic field and at the ballot box. The time has come when the scattered regiments of labor must come together to overthrow the Samson of organized greed.

The privileged few owning the natural resources of wealth are writing the laws which hold the multitude in slavery. The man who owns a thousand jobs to be distributed owns that many slaves.

Today the average Labor Day orator speaks of the dignity of labor; he points to the achievements of the brawn of labor; but he seldom tells you that you live in habitations that scarcely merit the term of home. Why is it that the workman lives in hovels, wears cotton and shoddy, and walks instead of rides? Why, producing all the wealth, is he disinherited, and endures the pangs of hunger? Simply because he has been drugged and robbed of the earth which should be the heritage of all mankind. The few will be powerful until the producers awake from the lethargy. All over this planet today can be heard the murmur of discontent. The slave is slowly awakening and is demanding that labor should receive the full products of its toil. The dignity of labor will not be accepted as security by a bank or as collateral for a loan. The very phrase is a burlesque that makes the devil laugh and a tragedy that makes angels weep. Labor cannot dignify man, but man dignifies labor.

Warehouses are groaning with the surplus products of labor through the inability of the masses to purchase back with their meager wages the wealth they have themselves produced. There is a commercial congestion through an inadequate purchasing power. The ultimate result of such a condition is inevitable. Diplomats will find a way to bring about war, so that the teeming warehouses can be emptied at profitable prices. War is simply a means to hold the workers in still greater bondage. There will be the inauguration of a conflict between nations, and the masses will participate under the guise of patriotism. If the intelligence of the masses will be able to arrest the cyclone precipitated by the capitalists, then will follow a panic.

Labor organizations are institutions that had their birth in the womb of oppression, and they exist as a protest against the defilement of women and the confinement of the children in prisons of profit. Our civilization is based on wrong economic conditions. We must unite on the economic as well as on the political field. A system that debauches men debases women. The whole world today is a wild ocean of misery in whose waves are washing human wrecks of despair, and no one grants lighthouses to give courage to the hopeless, sinking hearts.

The churches point to a golden realm beyond, and the church tells the poor to be contented with their lot. The churches are supported by the owners of the department stores and the factories. The church seems to be blind to the fact that we live in an atmosphere that contaminates morality. The physician who would treat a case of typhoid and not look to the causes of the disease would be immediately condemned. The church must cease prescribing palliative measures to restore the vitality of physical and moral manhood and womanhood.

## As Workingmen Must See It

By LOUIS POST, in The Public

Are there two kinds of law in the United States—one for the rich man and one for the poor man? Are the petty thief and the poor criminal to be promptly and adequately punished, while the rich thief and the powerful criminal go unpunished, save for an occasional fine during the stress of aroused public opinion? Are members of organized labor to be prosecuted for capital crimes on dubious testimony, while rich and powerful mine owners can bribe legislatures, can appoint governors and State supreme court judges, can openly, defiantly and violently trample under foot State and Federal laws, and with the aid of governor and militia—the latter confessedly in the pay of the mine owners—suspend the writ of habeas corpus, nullify all civil law, depose civil officers, deport citizens, suppress newspapers, destroy property, and create "lawful" anarchy—with absolute impunity and without even a pretense of prosecution by State or Federal authority?

From the viewpoint of organized labor and its sympathizers, those questions constituted the real issue in the Boise trial. This fact explains the deep and widespread suspicion and the expressed bitterness against "the State"—that is, the prosecution—in the Boise trial, and the denunciation of President Roosevelt for his untimely and unfortunate classification of the three accused men as "undesirable citizens."

It is "dangerous" and "unpatriotic" to minimize the revelations of the trial at Boise. Yet the labor troubles in Colorado and in Idaho are different only in degree from what happened in the street railway strike at San Francisco, from what happened in the Homestead tragedy, in the anthracite coal mining strikes, in the railway union strike at Chicago, and in a hundred other strikes of less impression on the public memory.

On the part of organized labor, what is the meaning of this unmistakable lack of faith in law and government, of this too ready resort to primitive and barbaric methods to obtain justice—as its members see it? On the part of organized capital, what is the meaning of this general insidious, but when necessary, flagrant and defiant violation and usurpation of law and government? Surely, it is not merely a contention between employers and employes as to whether or not wages shall be temporarily increased or reduced? Is not the present attitude of organized capital and of organ-

ized labor the outgrowth of a different method of doing business on a large scale, of a different spirit in industrial and in commercial enterprises—the different method and the different spirit being the product of the marvelous growth of corporations, especially of trusts?

Professedly, a trust is formed to reduce the cost of production and to establish and to maintain prices that will be just and fair to consumer and to producer alike. In reality, a trust is formed to crush out competition, to control the supply of the raw material and of the finished product, to reduce wages, to make the price of the product as high as the public will stand, and to limit the disbursements of profits to as few persons as is practicable—in short, to prey on the necessities of the people, to subordinate humanity to money.

Are not the violence of labor troubles in the last twenty-five years, and the almost universal and unanimous condemnation of the high-handed methods of railroads and all other monopolistic corporations—are not these an expression of a profound popular discontent caused by the glaring injustice of special privilege on the one side, and of constantly lessening industrial opportunity on the other?

Is not President Roosevelt's wonderful popularity due to the fact that he has called a halt on the abuse of corporate power, and has demanded at least the regulation of a few special privileges?

Are not the bitterness of organized labor and the strong popular feeling against monopolistic corporations patent proof that the world-old struggle is now being waged in this country more openly and more fiercely than ever before—the struggle between those who earn without getting and those who get without earning?

Do not the masses of the American people plainly see that now, as never before in our history, all men are not equal before the law?

## Lessons from the Congress

By A. M. SIMONS, in Chicago Socialist

The great gathering that took place at Stuttgart was something more than might appear to the casual observer.

**IT WAS THE GREATEST PEACE GATHERING THE WORLD HAS EVER SEEN.**

Not at The Hague, but at Stuttgart, were things being done that are even now bringing closer the day when war shall be no more, when workers will refuse to fight that maters may feed and fatten.

The ardent campaign against militarism which was organized there, based upon the drilling of the young for peace instead of war, sounds the coming of the time when the energy and enthusiasm and devotion that are now being exploited for murderous greed will be used to overthrow all exploitation.

The Stuttgart Congress was many fold the greatest international woman's suffrage gathering that ever assembled. When it is compared with the dilettante gathering of confusionists that met in Chicago last year in the name of woman suffrage the contrast is something striking.

At Chicago all was confusion and compromise and cowardice. The suggestion of a resolution of sympathy with the imprisoned officers of the Western Federation of Miners threw the delegates into a panic.

At Stuttgart the hundreds of women who met to discuss ways and means by which they could obtain their political and economic rights were troubled with no such scruples, were disturbed by no conflicting interests. They were proletarians, with nothing to lose but their chains, and without fear that if they told the truth and stood for justice that they might lose the support of those who are interested in the perpetuation of justice and falsehood.

It was the largest and most representative gathering of legislators that has met in modern times. At the Interparliamentary Congress that met during the sessions of the regular Congress more than three hundred members of the national legislative bodies of the world met to discuss the best means by which they could use their power for the benefit of the working class.

This same Congress was the largest gathering of trade union representatives that ever met in the history of the labor movement. There were representatives of more than six million organized workers upon the floor of the Congress, and these the most progressive, intelligent and revolutionary of the trade unions of the earth.

All these things was the Congress at Stuttgart, besides being the largest and most enthusiastic and representative gathering of Socialists that the world has ever known.

These things give some idea of the breadth and grasp of the Socialist movement of today. There were other almost equally important gatherings not mentioned here.

Sufficient has been given to show that today the Socialist movement has entered into and pervaded every field of working class activity.

The Socialist movement of the world has ceased to be a mere propaganda society to spread the truths of Socialism. It is still that and is doing this work on a tremendous scale. But it has become more. It is today the organ of every form of working class rebellion against capitalism, the instrument through which all the forces that make for progress are working.

The Socialist movement today is directing the revolution in Russia, fighting militarism in Germany and France, leading the battle on alcoholism in Finland and Belgium, battling for woman suffrage and a wider extension of the right to vote in a half dozen countries, and it is doing all these things almost as incidental to its onward sweep toward the emancipation of labor.

**IT IS JUST IN THIS WORK THAT SOCIALISM IS GROWING.**

Only where the Socialist movement has become choked in a bog of theory, and where it has deserted the field of active battle does it stagnate.

Where it is **FIGHTING** the class struggle and not **TALKING** about it there is progress.

**THERE IS NO MORE DEADLY ENEMY TO THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT THAN THE THEORETICAL POLITICIAN AND PHILOSOPHER WHO WOULD FIGHT ALL BATTLES WITH THE PAPER AND ORATORICAL WADS OF THEORY.**

It is from the fight that the working class draws strength. There is no conflict between exploiters and exploited in which the Socialists should not be in the front rank.

The moment that the Socialists draw out of the fight and go to painting pictures of a future society or quarreling about the theoretical basis of a philosophy Socialism suffers from dry rot and the working class suffers from lack of solidarity and intelligent direction.

It is in the shop and at the ballot box that the class struggle is being fought, and not in the meetings of Socialist locals and the columns of Socialist papers.

These locals and papers are the mightiest WEAPONS for the struggle, but they are only WEAPONS and not the struggle itself, and if we spend all our time polishing the weapons we will do little fighting and may wear out the weapons.

## The Second Week of Machinists' Convention

Considerable Business Transacted....Changes in Initiative and Referendum....Mass Meeting at Druid's Hall Addressed by Convention Delegates.

St. Louis, Wednesday, September 18, 1907.

The International Association of Machinists, in convention assembled at Druid's Hall since September 9, will probably have concluded their work by the time this paper comes off the press. The delegates are unanimous in saying that the convention has done splendid work which will result in much good for the further strengthening and building up of the International Association. It may also be stated that the delegates highly praise the local convention committee and the local unions of machinists for their work of arrangements and for entertaining the delegates.

Last Monday a public mass meeting was held at Druid's Hall, which was addressed by outside delegates. Owing to the intensely hot weather, the meeting was not as well attended as undoubtedly would have been the case had the temperature been about twenty degrees lower.

Of the principal business transacted during the last few days of the convention, we mention the following:

After a lengthy debate it was decided to amend the constitution of the order so that it will require 100 lodges—not more than 5 per cent of which shall be in any one state, province or territory—to change the constitution of the organization.

This means that hereafter any lodge desiring to change the laws of the order must first secure the indorsement from at least the required number of lodges before the proposition can come before the membership at large for a vote.

Thursday morning's session was taken up with a discussion of the powers and duties of the general executive board and the method of electing the members thereof.

At Wednesday morning's session of the Auxiliary, held in the parlors of the Southern Hotel, it was decided to take in all the women relatives of the delegates to the machinists' convention who are in attendance at this meeting, but who heretofore have not been members of the ladies' organization. This will be accomplished by making them members of the grand lodge direct.

It is the intention that these members shall return to their respective localities, and endeavor to organize locals of the auxiliary. All the visitors will be entertained.

Wednesday evening John Keegan, one of the vice presidents of the national union, and Frank Mulholland, national attorney for the order, addressed the meeting of the striking telegraphers and were warmly received.

The question of limiting the powers of the general executive board, with respect to filling vacancies in the offices of the International association, was brought up for discussion. The executive board did not desire to exercise the power of filling vacancies, and requested the convention to transfer this authority to some other body. After considerable discussion the matter was referred to the law committee for action.

One of the most important subjects to come up for discussion during the convention will be the eight-hour work day. The organization is trying to establish a uniform eight-hour day. An effort will be made also to shorten the hours of labor of the railroad machinists and to put into effect a uniform working schedule.

The piecework system is to be abolished if the machinists' organization has power enough to do it. Many of the machinists are employed on piecework. There exists what is known as the bonus system. After a mechanic has turned out a specified number of pieces in a day he has the privilege of making other pieces under the bonus system. For instance, if 30 pieces is the limit, he is entitled to a bonus, under certain conditions, for additional work, being paid for every third piece he turns out.

The machinists complain that under this system they have to make two pieces for their employer to get paid for the third piece. This, they claim, is making slaves of the mechanics. The convention will likely go on record as opposed to the bonus system.

After careful consideration it was decided to raise a huge reserve fund for defense. Every member will be assessed one day's pay each year for the next three years, bringing in at least \$300,000 yearly.

At the end of the three-year term the fund is expected to be over the \$1,000,000 mark. The rule will be in effect after January 1, 1908, on which date the president's salary will be raised from \$1,800 to \$2,400 a year.

The plan to divide the membership of the association according to the respective branches of the trade was rejected after the report of the Committee on Organization, of which Eugene Sarber, business agent of St. Louis Local No. 9, is chairman, had branded division as dangerous to the welfare of the organization. The report of the committee was adopted.

The strike of machinists on the Erie railroad for abolition of the piecework system aroused discussion, but no action will be taken until after the report of the Railroad Committee. The machinists have been on strike for months, and the delegates say the fight is a hard one. The strike on the Louisville & Nashville railroad and the Santa Fe system also came up. On the latter road the men have been out for three years.

A delegation of striking telegraphers with an appeal for assistance, was received and their petition taken under consideration. The delegation asked for financial and moral assistance from the machinists.

To the Erie railroad strikers, in addition to their regular benefits, the convention voted \$10.00. It was said by members that this action was taken to vindicate the honor of the association.

It was also voted to appropriate \$1,000 to the striking machinists on the Louisville & Nashville railroad.

The machinists decided to send a national officer to take charge of the strike on the Santa Fe, and push it to a conclusion satisfactory to the strikers.

The Ladies' Auxiliary voted to place the international secretary and treasurer on a monthly salary at \$25. This will be the only salaried office in the order. A resolution was adopted giving the striking telegraphers moral and financial assistance. This is the first convention of the auxiliary, organized in Boston two years ago.

The auxiliary elected Mrs. George B. Johnson, of Springfield, Mo., president. Mrs. William Robinson, of Atlanta, Ga., was re-elected secretary and treasurer. These were elected members of the Executive Board: Mrs. H. Doran, Chicago; Mrs. E. A. Tinsdale, East St. Louis; Mrs. G. F. Sechler, St. Louis; Mrs. S. C. M. Hartman, Charleston, S. C.; Mrs. Hagebusch, Springfield, Mo.; Mrs. Burnside, Jackson, Mich. Mrs. H. Doran, the outgoing president, received a handsome set of cut glass.

At the recommendation of the Law Committee it was decided that hereafter no member of the Executive Committee should be eligible as a candidate for any other position, either in the local



lodges or in the International Association. In the last election several members of the board were candidates, and the resulting conflicts were responsible for the change. In the future members of the Executive Committee are to be allowed \$25 for expenses every quarter. Hitherto they have been putting in their time gratis.

It was also decided to clothe the board with additional power, giving them all powers delegated to the grand lodge, in the intervals between meetings. Beginning with next year no local or general strikes can be declared without the consent of the Executive Board. A proposition to elect a traveling auditor to inspect the books of the local lodges was defeated by a large vote, most of the delegates thinking that the office would accomplish no good, but would create ill feeling. Another proposition to give the locals the right to recall delegates and directors was defeated.

Tuesday it was announced in the convention that word had been received from the Washington headquarters of the association to the effect that the following officers have been elected for the ensuing term of two years:

James O'Connell, of Washington, D. C., re-elected; P. J. Conlon, of Washington, first vice president, re-elected; J. Sommerville, of Alberta, Canada, new officer, second vice president; J. D. Buckalew, of Little Rock, Ark., third vice president, re-elected; Thos. Wilson, of Cheyenne, Wyo., fourth vice president, re-elected; J. J. Keppler, of Chicago, fifth vice president, new officer; Walter Ames, of Kansas City, Mo., seventh vice president, re-elected.

Another vote will have to be taken to decide the contest for sixth vice president between A. McGillavry, of Birmingham, Ala., and William Hannon, of Davenport, Iowa.

The following were elected members of the General Executive Board: J. Reynolds, of Celveland, Ohio; Hugh Doran, of Chicago; Edward Tucker, of Washington, and A. E. Ireland, of Pittsburg, Pa.

A second ballot will be sent out to decide the contest for the fifth members of the board, the candidate being Samuel Grace, of North Platte, Neb., and R. G. Cook, of Bremerton, Wash.

The following were elected as delegates to the American Federation of Labor: Eugene Sarber, of St. Louis; A. F. Stark, of Rock Island, Ill.; Thomas Vanlear, of St. Paul, Minn., and R. G. Churchill, of New Haven, Conn.

## Tried Bribery to Settle Strike

### Bribe Money Is Now Locked in the Safety Deposit Vault of Union.

"I'll give you \$5,000 in cold cash, without incriminating conditions and no receipt, if you will appoint our man as third arbitrator." In the presence of witnesses concealed in a closet the above bribe was offered to Clarence O. Pratt, organizer for the Amalgamated Association of Steam and Electric Railroad Employees of America, on Saturday at his rooms in the Briggs House, Chicago. Pratt accepted the money and the briber, named Mathias Wengler, of Wengler & Mandell, manufacturers of cigars at 61 West Madison street.

Immediately the company's representative left the room Pratt and his witnesses took a fast train for Aurora, Ill., where a special meeting of the employees of the Aurora, Elgin & Chicago Electric Railway was in progress. Mounting the platform Pratt told of the bribe at the Briggs House.

"This is the 'fair' corporation which 'scoured' Chicago for a disinterested man to act on a board of arbitration. Five thousand dollars of this company's money now reposes in our safety vaults. I stand ready to return it upon a receipt and proper acknowledgment from the company of how it came into my possession and for what purpose. If I am wrong in my charges let them arrest me."

"Now are you going to arbitrate?" asked Pratt, finishing his speech.

"No, no," shouted the assembled street car men. "No more arbitration. Let the people arbitrate."

After the meeting Pratt said:

For some time the railroad company has been trying to bribe men to sell out the union, but the evidence was never secured against it before.

"The company has paid lieutenants to keep it informed of the doings of the union. The company has also formed a rival union—the Brotherhood of Interurban Railway Men—to fool the men of the third rail and then to cover Chicago.

"I was first approached last Tuesday. I put off the man and at once consulted with our counsel, Attorney Leboskey. Then I made an appointment with the briber at the Briggs House, taking care to have witnesses hidden near at hand. I asked the man what he was willing to do.

"He said, 'I'll give you \$5,000 in cold cash, without incriminating conditions and no receipt, if you will appoint our man as third arbitrator.'

"With my witnesses at hand, I accepted the money and the briber named Mathias Wengler. The company had tried to trap the union, but had fallen into a snare itself. Now, if you want more conclusive evidence, I have locked in a safety vault in Chicago 44 \$100 bills, 4 \$50 bills and 20 \$20 bills. Let's see if the Aurora, Elgin & Chicago Electric Railway Co. will claim its own."

Officials of the third rail system say the story is absurd. They display no inclination to claim their \$5,000, and it is a question what will become of this money. The union won't have it; the bribers dare not claim it.

In the meantime the electric car men are going forward with preparations for immediate settlement of their differences. After the attempted bribe exposure the company has been given to understand that a third man must be selected not later than tomorrow. The men are in no condition or mood for further delay, and unless a satisfactory settlement is made within 48 hours a strike of all the interurban employees on the Aurora, Elgin & Chicago system is anticipated.—Erie Union Labor.

## The Price of Capitalist Industry

### Labor's Death Roll: Half of Pittsburg's Mortality Due to Accidents.

Only those who study the statistics of coroners' offices have any conception of the terrible price in flesh and blood this country has been for years paying and is still paying to gain "industrial supremacy." And even such statistics do not furnish a complete record for the reason that many casualties in large manufacturing establishments are "hushed up" and never reach the notice of the civil authorities.

But the information obtainable from reliable sources is sufficient to stagger the sensibilities of all who hold human life as one of the earth's most valuable possessions, writes Joseph R. Buchanan in the New York Journal. When the story is heard one is prone to ask if, after all, progress, which costs so much, is a good investment for the human race.

Under the laws of Pennsylvania the various coroners in the state are requested to compile records of the deaths occurring from accidents in their respective jurisdictions, setting forth the details in each case. A correspondent has just been looking over the records in the office of the coroner of Allegheny county, which, he says, should bear the inscription, "Human lives sacrificed upon the altar of industry." This record is a volume which mutely proclaims what it costs besides money for Pittsburg and its district to maintain the title of "workshop of the world."

It shows that nearly 50 per cent of the deaths in Allegheny county are violent and are the result, directly and indirectly, of the rush and grind of the manufactories of the district.

The deaths resulting from accidents in the mills, mines and railroads of Pittsburg in 1906 reported by the coroner were 919.

Some of the victims were burned by molten metal, a blast furnace burst or a huge ladle was upset in the steel mills; others were caught in the rollers in a plate mill and some crushed in the machinery of the rail mills.

Many were killed in mines by falling slate, some by gas explosions, and others by falls from derricks, scaffolds and like structures. Not a few met their death while working about the numerous electric cranes—those huge mechanical arms that with almost human precision pick up massive pieces of structural steel about the plants and place them wherever may be indicated at the simple moving of a lever.

For the first five months of the present year there were 1,095 deaths, 344 of which may be classed as "sacrifices." For the same period in the preceding year there were 1,015 deaths, of which 350 may be put in the same category.

Comparing the loss of life by the accidents by the tonnage and production of the Pittsburg district, one life has paid for every 50,000 tons of coal shipped, and the annual shipment is about 50,000,000 tons. For every 3,800 cars that carry freight out of or into Pittsburg a life is lost. This is exclusive of cars that are carrying freight through to other points. Every 7,600 tons of the 7,000,000 tons annual production of iron and steel has been put out at the cost of the life of one of the manipulators somewhere in its manufacture, and of the 800,000 tons annual output of steel rails every 870 tons has been put upon the market only after some one of its producers has been killed.

If the statistics were obtainable it might be shown that Pittsburg does not exact a higher comparative sacrifice of life in the mad rush than many other industrial centers.

The packing district of Chicago, the sugar refineries of Brooklyn and the building industry of New York and other cities of skyscraping structures could furnish a record that would rival the "workshop of the world" in the race for industrial and commercial supremacy.

### NATIONAL SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1907.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 31, 1907.

Receipts.		Supplies	
National dues from State Committees:		Literature	\$ 73.25
Alabama	\$ 20.00	Buttons	464.38
Arkansas	40.00	W. F. Miners' Defense Fund	31.38
California	80.00	Nat'l Organizing Fund	1,505.00
Colorado	23.00	Miscellaneous	318.63
Connecticut	40.00		15.15
Florida	14.45	Total receipts	\$3,898.19
Idaho	4.00	Expenditures.	
Illinois	112.50	Exchange	\$ 3.20
Indiana	12.75	General expense	6.47
Iowa	60.00	Express and freight	18.95
Kansas	30.00	Postage	150.59
Kentucky	10.00	Telegrams	1.85
Louisiana	7.50	Wages.	
Maine	11.00	J. Mahlon Barnes	\$ 132.00
Maryland	10.00	W. W. Rihl, 5 weeks	90.00
Massachusetts	59.50	F. H. Slick, 5 weeks	90.00
Michigan	44.05	J. H. Brower, 5 weeks	90.00
Minnesota	36.40	M. Flaherty, 5 weeks	55.00
Missouri	40.00	Extra help	6.00
Montana	10.25		
Nebraska	5.00	Printing Bulletin	\$ 463.00
New Hampshire	5.00	Printing Lit. and Sup.	250.00
New Jersey	100.00	Literature	235.03
North Dakota	1.55	Speakers.	
New York	150.00	E. E. Carr	\$ 25.00
Ohio	51.00	John Collins	40.00
Oklahoma	115.00	I. Cowen	175.00
Oregon	20.00	M. Hendricksen	25.00
Pennsylvania	82.25	A. M. Lewis	184.38
Rhode Island	10.00	Guy E. Miller	30.00
South Dakota	.50	F. L. Schwartz	55.00
Tennessee	10.00	J. E. Snyder	60.00
Texas	32.30	Wm. A. Toole	11.00
Vermont	3.50	M. W. Wilkins	125.00
Washington	110.05		
West Virginia	5.00	A. M. Simons, Int. Del.	\$ 730.38
Wisconsin	75.10	Rent, July and August	200.00
Wyoming	13.55	Buttons	161.62
	\$1,454.20	Wrapping paper	9.00
Unorganized States.		Lighting	4.22
Georgia	\$ 2.00	Mimeo supplies	48.04
Nevada	17.00	Typewriter supplies	15.75
North Carolina	10.80	Stationery	11.08
Members at large	4.40	W. F. M. Defense Fund	1,505.00
Virginia	2.00		
Total for dues	\$1,490.40	Total expenditures	\$4,042.15

## The Socialist Movement in Canada

### From Official Report to International Congress in Stuttgart.

The Dominion of Canada comprises a territory almost as large as Europe, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Over this enormous expanse is scattered a population of not more than six millions.

This situation renders the work of propaganda and organization very expensive and difficult. Nevertheless, there are Socialist organizations in every part of the country.

Before the first of January, 1905, these groups were separate and unimportant, except those of British Columbia, which formed a strong provincial organization and has already won representation in (the provincial) parliament. It will be remembered that in the provincial election of 1903 J. H. Hawthornthwaite was victorious in the district of Uanaimo and Parker Williams in that of Newcastle. In Greenwood, Ernest Mills lacked but a few votes of election, and there is ground for more than a suspicion that his defeat was due to fraud. Good results were obtained in other districts.

In the general elections of 1904 five candidates were nominated and, though none of them were elected, great progress was shown.

At the end of 1904 a congress was held, at which it was decided to organize in the rest of the country and the Socialist Party of Canada was created. Since then considerable progress has been realized, more especially, this last year in British Columbia.

The cause of the rapid progress of the Socialist movement here is the fact that, owing to the nature of the country, the principal industries are not agricultural, as in the other provinces. Here are to be found mines, great smelters, building enterprises, fisheries, and other great capitalistic industries. For this reason the great majority is composed of proletarians.

At the provincial elections in British Columbia in February, 1907, the party nominated about twenty candidates and seated three in the Provincial Parliament—Comrades J. H. Hawthornthwaite of Nanaimo, Parker Williams of Newcastle and John McInnis of Grand Fork. In some other districts the party received a large number of

votes, but was beaten by small majorities. The general result showed great progress for the party, as well with regard to the number as to the quality of the votes.

Considerable activity has been displayed throughout the whole Dominion of Canada, though the organization is greatly hampered by the extent of the territory and by lack of funds.

Local organizations are now spread all over the country, from the Yukon territory to Newfoundland, and there are signs of such a general awakening that it will need only a few organization tours to rouse aggressive activity. The district of Toronto, the most active outside of British Columbia, has made very good progress at the recent municipal elections. Our candidate for the office of mayor received 8,200 votes, but was not elected.

The trade-union movement is very active in all the great working-class centers, but the members are not particularly sympathetic with Socialism and seem disposed to form a Labor Party as in Great Britain. This is not the case with the miners' organization, which is profoundly Socialist.

The farmers, nominally independent proprietors, who constitute the mass of the population of the Dominion, are actually reduced by the action of the great corporations to a condition as bad as that of the proletariat in the cities. They have begun to recognize where their interests lie and numerous locals of the party have been formed in the rural districts.

There is only one Socialist paper in the Dominion of Canada, the "Western Clarion," published weekly at Vancouver, British Columbia. This paper is the organ of the party and is edited by Comrade E. T. Kingsley. It had done much toward giving a clearly and frankly revolutionary attitude to the class-conscious proletarian movement of the country.

Canada is in touch with the universal movement and does not intend to be found wanting in the international struggle against capitalism. Our workers are as strong of heart and as intelligent as any in the battle for the establishment of Socialism.

J. G. MORGAN,  
Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada.

### A GOOD CHANCE TO LEARN ENGLISH.

Comrades of St. Louis! Some of you may be acquainted with German-speaking Socialists and friends who are anxious to learn the English language and take lessons either at home or at the residence of the teacher. Comrade Mrs. Sherlie Woodman, an experienced school teacher of many years' practice, gives English lessons at any hour during weekdays and Sundays. Compensation reasonable. Write immediately or call. Address Mrs. Sherlie Woodman, 2601 Lafayette Ave.

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# Idaho's Unclean Expense Bill

By JOHN R. McMAHON, in *Wilshire's Magazine*

Many startling items that exceeded the wildest dreams of Socialists I found in the expense account of the Steunenberg prosecution, filed in the office of the State Auditor of Idaho, at Boise. The dry official records revealed more than enough to justify all the charges of conspiracy and crookedness made against the Pinkertons, Governor Gooding, Attorney Hawley and the rest. *Wilshire's Magazine* is not specially in the muck-raking business, and it does not blame the capitalistic press for getting left on such an important news matter; but here are the facts that will be of peculiar interest to the taxpayers of Idaho and the working class of the country.

It is hardly necessary to explain the cynical details of the official records. One can figure out for himself why Governor Gooding and an individual mine owner advanced thousands out of their private purses to prosecute Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. It seems natural—almost—that the militia of Idaho should be inspected and put in readiness by a Major Davison, and the costs charged to the Steunenberg case. We should not be surprised that Pinkerton detectives joined Socialist locals and labor unions in Idaho and contributed to the Western Federation of Miners' defense fund, and religiously jotted down the expense thereof. We knew before that Idaho had a press bureau, and so it is all right that the Governor ordered pretty photos of Harry Orchard to be made at the State's expense and presented to the "good" newspapers. It is pleasing to learn that Mr. James McParland was so economical with the State's cigars, only spending \$20 for official smokes in one month, while he charged a mere \$300 per month for services and slightly less than \$200 per month for board and lodging. The bills disclose that Idaho paid for the services of at least one notorious gun man, while apparently ignoring the claims of two professional thugs who did several months' work guarding Orchard and the jail. It must be concluded that this pair of man-killers, Meldrum and Barthell, while working for the State of Idaho, had their salaries paid by the Mine Owners' Association. One might not believe it possible that the expense of taking Steve Adams from Boise to Wallace and prosecuting him on the charge of killing two claim jumpers would have the remotest connection with the Steunenberg trial, yet the bills are filed with the rest, and Attorney Hawley, in sworn affidavits, declares that "the case against Steve Adams was incidental to the cases against Moyer et al." Adams had repudiated his confession in the Steunenberg matter; he was taken north and tried on a totally unrelated charge; whereupon Hawley swears that the expense was a legitimate part of the Steunenberg prosecution. This is indeed true in the sense that the claim-jumpers' prosecution was a bit of official "sweating" to make Adams repent of repudiating his confession extorted through the wiles of Orchard and McParland. The affidavits of Hawley will be of some service to the defense if Adams is ever tried again at Wallace.

It is comforting to learn that Bulkley Wells, mine owner and Adjutant General of Colorado, got some pin money from Idaho, perhaps for his services in helping kidnap Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

The bills on file in the State Auditor's office at the time I left Boise only covered the period from January 1, 1906, until July 16, 1907. Of the two legislative appropriations for the Steunenberg prosecution totaling \$104,000, there had been actually expended up to July 16, \$84,266.03; but the Auditor, Robert Bragaw, said that there were new bills in sight that would not leave more than six or seven thousand dollars; and undoubtedly by this time every cent of the appropriation has been expended. State's Attorney James H. Hawley drew \$30,041.50; the Pinkerton Detective Agency, \$20,839.71; Senator Borah, \$5,000; total, \$64,881.31, leaving \$19,384.72 for witnesses and others. W. Clayton Miller, general manager of Standard Oil's Federal Mining Company, in the Coeur d'Alenes, was reimbursed \$5,000, which he advanced to the prosecution. Harry P. Knight, a Wallace lawyer, got \$500 to prosecute Steve Adams. James Gyde, prosecuting attorney at Wallace, got \$300 to prosecute Steve Adams. E. P. Johnson, local detective, got \$1,644.05. C. H. Libby, defense stenographer, who reported the Haywood trial for the State, in view of the incapacity of the official State stenographer, got \$1,930.15.

H. C. Myers, Boise photographer, put in a bill for \$60 for 100 pictures of Orchard, stepping out of a cab to go to court (same as printed in "Collier's Weekly" and other publications), upon the order of Governor Gooding's private secretary. William L. West, alias Four-Gun Jack, who was tried four times in Elmore county, Idaho, for horse stealing and convicted twice, and killed a man in the Thunder Mountain country a year ago, got \$84 on Voucher No. 2152, and in a voucher put in by Hawley, received \$180 for the months of May and June, "watching Hawley's office and the jury." Rufe Bledsoe got \$135 for watching Hawley's office. John I. Wells, for watching jury two months, \$180.

Voucher No. 12,672, filed September 17, 1906: Expense account Major L. P. Davison, U. S. Army, retired, on duty with the organized militia of Idaho, instructing Southeastern Battalion, Second Regiment Idaho National Guard, seven trips, railroad fares; Pullmans, tips, livery, lodging, breakfasts and dinners, April 8 to May 20, 1906, \$230.50.

A large number of checks, mostly dated February and March, 1906, drawn on First National Bank, Wallace, by Governor Gooding, to Hawley, \$80.99; Detective Swain (Thiele Agency), \$1,000; Hawley, \$1,100; E. P. Johnson, \$211; J. S. Jones, \$125.75; Sheriff Angus Sutherland, \$102.50; Pinkerton Agency, \$1,000; Pinkerton Agency, \$655.64; L. S. Darrah, \$90; Andrew Johnson, \$80; Western Union Telegraph, in April, \$52.47; Hawley, in April, \$114.99; Sutherland, in May, \$130; Idanha Hotel, August, \$190.6, \$17.55.

In a Pinkerton bill, May 27, 1906, "Paid Titus for Toledo Socialist, 70 cents." Incidentals during the day seeking for information, 25 to 80 cents. June 20, 1906, donation for Socialists' hall, 50 cents; June 12, 1906, union dues for month of June, \$1.00. May 27, 1906, union dues for May, \$1.00. Several tips to Pullman porters at 25 cents are recorded. June 2, 1906, incidentals with Sheriff Corbett, under Sheriff Knous, for favors, 80 cents. June 3, 1906, cigars with Sheriff Corbett, 25 cents. May 1, 1907, 5 calls dated April 29, re book ("The Pinkerton Labor Spy") to be published by Seno. Friedman, 25 cents. May 2, to one call same as above (Friedman), 5 cents. January 21, 1907, horse and sleigh, taking Miss G. sleighing while seeking information, \$5. (In Colorado, Denver operator, L. D. A.) February 21, 1906, admission to theater, watching party, 75 cents. February 11, 1906, watching Mrs. Simpkins, 25 cents. May 2, 1906, union dues, \$1.00. (Spokane operative 21.) May 16, 1906, cash paid informant at Winkelman, Ariz., for services rendered, \$20. W. P. Hopkins (McParland's stenographer), 30 days, at \$6 per day, April 1, 1906. April 7, 1906, box of cigars for use in room (J. McParland), \$5. February 16, 1907, to supplies for trip with W. F. M. detective into Buffalo basin, \$4.35. April 23, 1906, cigars for Adams and magazines for Orchard, 75 cents.

McParland drew \$300 per month besides expenses. Operatives charged \$6 per day and expenses; assistant superintendents, \$8 per day.

March 1, 1906, fare for self and Mrs. Adams and children. North Powder to Huntington, \$5.15 (other similar items of cost of journey kidnaping Mrs. Adams to Boise penitentiary). February 28, 1906, incidentals to avoid suspicion, 30 cents. March 2, 1906, incidentals to avoid suspicion, 10 cents. March 1, 1906, ticket to theater, following party in, 25 cents. March 1, 1906, rent of bicycle, \$2.50. March 20, 1906, dues in W. F. of M., for March, \$1, by Spokane operative 21. J. McParland renders bill for four boxes of cigars at \$5 per box for use in room on March 4, 10, 17, 31, 1906. March 14, 1906, carriage hire for Warden Whitney and self (McP) to pen, 3½ hours, \$2.50. J. McParland, meals in room for March, 1906, \$192.95. Pinkerton Voucher 13,396, filed October 15, 1906, Operative

24-A, August 10, 1906, dues Federal Labor Union of Boise, \$3. August 1, 1906, Operative 21, day's pay for Social Campaign Fund, \$2.50. August dues to Socialist Party Local, 45 cents. Pinkerton account, November 30, 1906, Operative 21, rig for Homestead School Socialist meeting, held October 26, \$1. Union dues, November 2, \$1. October 28, 1906, Operative 24, one month's dues Socialist organization, 25 cents. Assessment to Socialist campaign fund, November 3, 1906, \$1. Voucher 14,265, filed December, 1906, Operative 21, October 3, 1906, dues W. F. M., for October, \$1. Operative 24-A, October 6, 1906, 3 months' dues Federal Labor Union, \$1.50. September 4, 1906, Operative 21, union dues for September, \$1. (Items showing this operative paid 30 cents fare to Caldwell, and therefore must have been at Nampa.) August 7, 1906, Pinkerton Operative 21, union dues for August, \$1. August 22, 1906, assessment for defense fund of W. F. M., \$1. Operative 21, Socialist Party meeting, rig, \$1. November 3, 1906, Operative 24-A, assessment of Socialist Party campaign fund, \$1; October 28, one month's dues Socialist Party, 25 cents.

The total contributions of Pinkerton detectives to labor unions, the Federation defense fund and the Socialist Party, were \$22.15.

Voucher No. 14,264, filed December 1, 1906, dated September 12, 1906, for taking Steve Adams from Boise to Wallace after he had repudiated his confession and needed to be punished therefor, "money advanced at the request of Governor Gooding, \$250." Hawley affidavit, November 28, 1906, says: "Case against Steve Adams was incidental to the case against Moyer et al." and Gooding advanced the cash. Voucher No. 2,153, filed March 16, 1907, paid by warrant 1,678, shows affidavit of Hawley, made March 16, 1907, stating a strong connection between Adams case and prosecution of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Voucher 13,524, filed November 5, 1906, dated September 19, 1906, pipe and tobacco for Adams for the purpose of making friends before meeting next morning, \$3.65. Voucher 14,265, Operative C. S., September 23, 1906, 2 dozen photos Simpkins and Adams, \$3. September 29, 1906, Operative S. C. T., to photos and plates of Gaffney, Easterly and Aikman, \$6.

March 7, 1906, paid Bulkley Wells, as per receipts attached, \$309.31. Hawley in sworn affidavit says that P. L. McCreary, Frisco witness, demanded and received \$150 per week above expenses; "it seems a hard bargain, but the witness was necessary." Hawley says: "The witness, John L. Stearns, though contracted with by the Pinkertons of Denver, insisted on having me advance him \$150 before he would come." Voucher 4,471, sub-voucher 14, dated June 14, 1907, Thowas W. Swan and Sadie Swan received \$442.75 for testifying for the prosecution, on agreement with Pinkerton agency, signed by McParland. Many similar agreements between witnesses and the agency vouched by McParland. Phrases used "per contract with Pinkerton Agency," also "per agreement" and "per Pinkerton agreement." Voucher 4,471 shows that Frisco witness P. L. McCreary got \$200 from Pinkerton Agency, \$50 from County Attorney Van Duyn, and \$200 from Hawley. Sub-voucher 13 shows L. D. Guibinni got \$386, "the above paid in accordance with the agreement made by Pinkerton's National Detective Agency and L. D. Guibinni for his attendance in the case of the State vs. Haywood, (signed) J. McParland."

Voucher 14,936, services Denver Operative J. N. L. (Londoner) November 1, 1906, \$230.45. Operative No. 21 and S. C. T. got \$6 a day. November 18, 1906, Operative 24-A, trip to penitentiary seeking information (Boise), 35 cents.

Voucher No. 4,808, filed June 29, 1907, claim Ida C. Hutson, \$638 to extending testimony in case People vs. Sherman Parker et al., tried in Teller county, Colorado, for use in Haywood case. O. K. by James McParland and F. W. Gooding. Lawyer R. M. McCrackin, July 1, 1907, got \$132.50 for a trip from Pocatello to Market Lake and return.

Among the Pinkerton operatives employed on the case were: 10 S. C.; 10 D.; 24; 34; H. H. M.; G. E. C.; C. A. S.; C. A. Siringa, alias Chas. T. Lloyd; Stenographer R. P. Shalleberger, 24-A; 21; S. C. T. (Theile); New York Operative M. H. M.; R. P. S.; W. B. Hopkins; 11; C. 9; G. J. H.; Denver Asst. Supt.; E. E. P.; H. F. C.; A. E. Carver, Asst. Supt. Denver; D. T. T.; Denver stenographer, E. L. M.; Denver Operatives, W. C. D.; H. B. Clark, Asst. Supt. Denver, and E. E. Prettyman, Asst. Supt. Denver office; Frisco Operatives H. D. B. and W. R. H.; Spokane Operatives C. S. and C. J. W.; W. D. C.; H. F. Cary, Asst Supt Denver office; E. A. Walsh, C. E. Howard, P. P. Robinson, A. F. Oswald. Bills were put in for several Pinkertons alleged to have worked on the case in and around New York City.

The Thiele Detective Service Company worked on the Steunenberg case in the early weeks of 1906, and on Voucher No. 10,227, filed April 18, 1906, put in a bill for \$2,092.75. Items: W. T. S. operating January 3 to 16, 1906, treating expenses with Goodwin and his friends in saloon at Caldwell, \$10. January 3 to 10, Operative T. H. M., treating expenses in saloon and sporting houses, \$6.40. Operatives A. S. P., January 7-16, amounts spent roping Goodwin and other suspects, \$18. Operative H. H. B. (from Chicago to Caldwell), January 7-15, treating expenses roping and securing evidence, \$10.30. Operative D. J. C., at Boise, February 18, 19, treating expenses cultivating miners and receiving information, \$16.35. Thiele Agency items for investigating Orchard's record and watching W. F. M. office January 8-19, 1906, \$66. Voucher 4,810, filed June 29, 1907, bill dated June 14, from Thiele Agency for \$13.50 for supplying copies of Miners' magazine to Senator Borah; cost of magazine, \$7.15, 1 day's time, \$6.

Among Thiele operatives were H. B.; W. W. C.; W. T. S.; J. C. S.; T. H. M.; J. M. M.; A. S. P.; F. G. S.; C. S. S.; G. M. T.; H. H. B.; C. H. W.; D. J. C.; each from 6 to 20 days, at \$6 per day.

Pinkertons were employed on the case in nearly all the Western States and in New York City and Mexico. However, Haywood was acquitted.

## Principles of Socialism

The Principles of Our Movement as Set Forth in the National Platform Adopted at Chicago, May 8, 1904.

We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic Parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unaware the right of the worker to vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulp and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public

teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything made is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right to power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist Party comes with the only proposition or programme for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employment and bettering the conditions of the workers' children, for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain of advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering, and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end, we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. (And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give and have given.) Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.



# LABOR.

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THE EDITOR OF LABOR welcomes and appreciates any recommendation or co-operation from any comrade or sympathizer tending to improve our paper, both as to its contents and its appearance.

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1888	2,000
1896	36,000
1900	122,000
1904	408,000

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867	30,000
1877	494,000
1887	931,000
1893	2,585,000
1898	4,515,000
1903	6,285,000
1906	over 7,000,000

## The Crime in Idaho

The Haywood trial is over. Haywood is a free man. Moyer is out on bond. Pettibone is still held for trial to sacrifice his health and life. The daily papers published the following dispatches:

Boise, Idaho, September 14.—George A. Pettibone, charged with complicity in the murder of Governor Steunenberg, was taken to the hospital yesterday in a critical condition, and an operation probably will be necessary. There will be no further prosecution of the case at present.

Boise, Idaho, September 17.—George A. Pettibone was unable to appear in the District Court today to have his case set for trial. An affidavit of the attending physicians states that Pettibone is suffering from an ulcer of the bladder, which, unless soon checked, will prove fatal. It says an operation may be necessary, but fears the patient will be unable to survive it.

Pettibone is as innocent as Haywood, and yet he is held a prisoner by order of the Rocky Mountain Mine Owners' Association. Moyer and Haywood were robbed of eighteen months of their life, and not only the health, but the life of Pettibone may be sacrificed on the altar of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance anarchy.

That Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were innocent, we were convinced of the very minute we read of their kidnaping, and deportation to Idaho. That these men would be acquitted by any jury of fair-minded men we never doubted a moment.

Will Organized Labor throughout the country sit silently by and see one of their representatives killed by long imprisonment? By unjust, unlawful, unconstitutional imprisonment!

We demand the immediate liberation of Pettibone! Let every labor paper in the country and every labor organization do the same. This demand is in accord with justice and fair play.

## Tar and Feathers

Last year the people of St. Louis, by an overwhelming majority, voted in favor of a free municipal bridge. Up to this hour nothing has been done to carry out the will of the people.

The Mayor of the city is opposed to the free bridge, because he is bound body and soul to the old private bridge monopoly and the Terminal Association managers.

In the House of Delegates the "Combine," composed of the majority of the House membership, is opposed to the free bridge for reasons best known to themselves and to the influential financiers of the Terminal Association.

At last Tuesday's session of the House of Delegates disgraceful scenes were enacted. Over two hundred citizens, mostly business men, were forcibly ejected from the meeting chamber before final action on the Bridge Committee's report was taken. Said report was to the effect that Chouteau avenue was not the suitable location of the bridge. In less than no time, and amid regular rowdy scenes, the report was railroaded through.

Unless the citizens of St. Louis take a more determined position and display more interest in the matter, the Terminal Railroad Association will have accomplished its work, and there will be no municipal bridge.

In connection with this free bridge controversy we cannot help mentioning the unnecessary "indignation" expressed in the editorial columns of last Tuesday's Post Dispatch. Said corporation organ gets very hysterical about the Tenth Ward Improvement Association, because at last Sunday's meeting of that association a member made a fool of himself by proposing tar and feathers for the House Bridge Committee members. The Post Dispatch may have good reasons to be indignant at such tar-and-feather talk, because some of the leading spirits of the "combine" in the House of Delegates had the undivided support of the P. D. at last year's municipal elections.

As to the gentleman who advocated the tar-and-feather treatment in the Tenth Ward Improvement Association, it may be said that he is not a common, "ignorant workingman," nor is he a Socialist. The gentleman in question is a 'law-abiding citizen,' wealthy, and one of the leading business men in the ward, and an old-time politician of the Ziegenhein-Kratz-Uthoff boodle machine. Men with his political relations and old-time affiliations should be the

last ones to propose the tar-and-feather treatment for corrupt public servants.

If the minority in the House of Delegates consisted of men, the free bridge question would have been settled long ago; but the minority delegates are mummies, afraid of themselves, and cowed by their political bosses, who in turn are doing the bidding of the capitalist corporations. With half a dozen Socialist members in the House of Delegates the free bridge question could not have been shelved for fourteen or more months.

Not tar and feathers will change the situation in the House of Delegates, but a good, strong Socialist vote, with a number of fearless, militant Socialists elected to the House. The tar-and-feather men should take a back seat. It is action that is needed, not foolish phrases, which are usually exploited by the enemy to the detriment of the people's welfare.

## Van Cleave on Socialism

In the latest issue of Mr. Van Cleave's official organ, "Industrial Exponent," we find the following article:

### SOCIALISM AS A WORLD CULT.

Investigation shows that between the earliest appearance of Socialism in the countries here named and the latest elections in those countries the Socialist vote has jumped from 30,000 to 3,350,000 in Germany, from 47,000 to 880,000 in France, from 49,000 to 215,000 in Italy, from 55,000 to 342,000 in Great Britain, and from 2,000 to 442,000 in the United States. In other countries, also, the gain has been large. The period covered by this increase ranges from forty years for Germany down to sixteen years for the United States and eleven years for Great Britain.

In all the great countries of the world and in many of the small ones Socialism has gained a place among the political forces which have to be reckoned with, although this is true to a smaller extent for the United States than it is for the other countries. In all of them, including the United States, it is increasing in numbers. Germany is the country in which Socialism made its earliest appearance, and in which it has acquired its greatest numerical strength, though in France it has a greater influence in the government.

Germany's Socialists are by far the largest party in the empire. They cast nearly a third of all the votes polled in the election of 1907. Through the gerrymander, however, which time has worked up against them, through the personal influence of the Kaiser and the whole of official Germany, and through the union of several of the other parties to fight them, the Socialists lost many seats in the Reichstag in the recent election, although they increased their popular vote about 250,000. They cast 50 per cent more votes in the recent election than did the next largest party, the Catholic Center, but the Center has more than double as many seats in the Reichstag as the Socialists.

It is in France, however, that the Socialists have the largest influence over the government, for in France, in a considerable degree, the Socialists are the government. They are a power in both chambers of the Parliament, and have several members of the ministry. Premier Clemenceau has leaned toward Socialism ever since that party was established. The Socialists have become so strong in Italy that Pope Pius X threw his influence on the side of Victor Emanuel's government in the late elections, so that, fighting the common enemy, the church and the state found themselves on the same side for the first time since the elder Victor Emanuel overthrew Pius IX as a temporal prince in 1870, annexed the states of the church to the kingdom of Italy, and placed the capital of the kingdom in Rome. Several Socialists are in the British Parliament, and British bankers, manufacturers, merchants and the conservative element in general see in Socialism a serious political and economic portent for their country.

In every country in Europe, though less so in France and England than in the others, there are popular grievances which justify the existence of Socialism. In Europe Socialism is directed against caste and class proscription, militarism, colonial adventure, extravagance in government outlay and the crushing burdens of taxation. These do not exist in the United States.

The concentration of vast interests in the hands of a few men, and the oppressive use which they have made of this power have been the leading inciting causes of Socialism in the United States. Thus the heads of our great industrial and transportation combines have been far more effective propagandists for the establishment and the spread of Socialism than Debs, Haywood, Corrigan and the rest of the Socialist chiefs ever could be. But by correcting the trust abuses the Socialists would put immeasurably greater evils in their place.

In conclusion, Mr. Van Cleave finds consolation in the following arguments:

"When we are asked to marvel at the growth of Socialism in the United States from 2,000 votes in the Presidential election of 1888 to 442,000 votes sixteen years later, we can point to the 1,000,000 votes which were cast for Weaver by the Populists in 1892, in their first Presidential campaign, and to the 6,500,000 votes which were given to free silver in 1896, and in the first canvass in which that policy was an issue. And where are Populism and silverism today? Like the far more formidable and attractive fads which preceded it, Socialism will be rejected by the American people, and become, like them, only a reminiscence."

We consider it waste of time and energy to argue with "The Exponent" as to the future of the Socialist movement. We are not in the business of clairvoyance, like Mr. Van Cleave, but we wish to say that if Socialism is a fad, it can never become formidable, and we see no sound reason why Mr. Van Cleave should waste the space of his editorial columns on this alleged fad.

The fact of the matter is that Socialism has become a worldwide labor movement, with a fixed program for economic and social reforms, and with the ultimate aim of transforming the capitalist system of exploitation of labor into a Socialist Republic of Labor and Industrial Co-operation, where the profit and wage labor system will no longer be known.

## Observations

OUR ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS have enrolled about 92,000 pupils. Municipal and public ownership is marching on in spite of all dark opposition and reactionary intrigues.

TWENTY-SEVEN PEOPLE were killed by an explosion on the Japanese battleship *Kashima*. This should not surprise anybody. Battleships are built for the express purpose of murder en masse.

SECRETARY OF WAR TAFT will demand from Congress three million dollars for the work of fortifying the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay for the better protection of Washington. Militarism in small doses!

THIRTY-TWO PEOPLE WERE KILLED on the Boston & Maine railroad near Concord, N. H. The divine commandment "Thou shalt not kill!" and the anti-murder laws of the State do not apply to railroad corporations. The latter are above all divine and State laws, and have no obligations or responsibilities toward the public.

MAYOR WELLS has several friends "on the road" gooming him for Congress in the Twelfth District. Why not for President of the United States? Mr. Wells would make an excellent corporation puppet in the White House.

IDAHO MUST PAY THE BILL, while McPartland, Hawley, Borah & Co. are looking for more graft. Don't fail to read the Haywood trial itemized expense account in this week's St. Louis Labor. It reads like a Paris hotel bill.

THE POSTAL SAVINGS BANK proposition is stubbornly fought by the private savings bank interests of the country. Naturally enough. Any and every reform for the people's benefit and security is opposed by private corporate interests.

SENATOR BORAH, indicted for being mixed up in a scheme to swindle Uncle Sam out of valuable lumber land in Idaho worth millions of dollars, insists on a speedy trial. The same Borah was only too anxious to postpone the Haywood trial indefinitely.

EVERY WORKINGMAN'S HOME should be provided with a good little library. Here is a chance to lay the foundation: Get some of the fine Socialist books at the Labor Book Department, 324 Chestnut street. Look over our book price list, published in the columns of St. Louis Labor.

OUR CHICAGO COMRADES in Chicago and New York have lately been fighting their battles for the right of free speech and free assemblage. Our St. Louis comrades settled the free speech question two years ago, after some desperate efforts on the part of the capitalist political machines to outlaw the Socialist movement.

A CERTAIN MAYO FESLER, secretary of the "Civic League," returned from his tour of inspection of European cities to inform the people of St. Louis that municipal ownership in Europe was a failure. At the same time he speaks of the municipal progress in Europe, but forgets to add that most of this progress is due to municipal ownership.

FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS is the net earning of the Standard Oil Company for the last seven years. This fact was brought out on September 17 at the hearing in the suit of the United States Government to dissolve the corporation. Wonder whether Rockefeller also has a contract with Satan to keep the fires of hell burning with Standard Oil!

THE ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH gets hysterical when a harmless individual in a South St. Louis ward improvement association talks about giving certain politicians in the House of Delegates the tar-and-feather medicine. The same paper fails to find one line of protest against the East St. Louis mob of 500 people who threatened the life of the street orators for speaking on the history of the Catholic Church.

"THE OLD BATTLE RENEWED for the Freedom of the Press," by Wilmer Atkinson. Philadelphia. Published by the Wilmer Atkinson Company. This pamphlet contains excellent arguments for the freedom of the press, with quotations from Murray, Cooper, Lord Erskine, Washington, Hamilton, Milton, Webster, and others, also the Federal and State constitutional clauses covering the freedom of the press. It is a splendid little booklet, which should be read by every newspaper man.

TWENTY-SIX CHINAMEN, most of them Christians and Sunday-school members, were arrested in St. Louis on charges of using the United States mails in conducting a lottery. Since gambling dens and lotteries are strictly Christian institutions, these newly converted Chinese brethren should be excused. Gambling is business, and it is perfectly proper and morally admissible to be a successful gambler and at the same time enjoy the reputation of being a good Christian. Thus John Chinaman gets in line with Christian civilization.

PATRIOTISM IS BOILING among the great business patriots in St. Louis. With the old-time Barnum circus advertising spirit, these business patriots herald the coming of Theodore Roosevelt, the desirable citizen, some time in October, to boom the "Deep Waterway to New Orleans." We recommend that President Roosevelt, while in St. Louis, also pay a visit to No. 1 Busch Place, where, in October, 1904, his friend, Vice President Fairbanks, succeeded in getting from Adolphus Busch, the \$21,000 check for the Republican campaign fund, for the express purpose of "saving Missouri for Roosevelt."

ORGANIZED LABOR of the country, after years of hard propaganda work, finally succeeded in compelling the general introduction of the eight-hour workday on all government work. On September 17 the War Department issued the following order: "Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all mechanics, laborers and workmen employed by the several staff departments. The service of mechanics and laborers employed by contractors in the execution of public works, including the construction of barracks, quarters, or other building on military reservations, is also limited and restricted to eight hours in each calendar day, and no officer or contractor shall require or permit any such laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency."

THE GLOBE MINER has made its appearance. This progressive and spirited paper is published in Globe, Ariz. Our best wishes and congratulations. May the Globe bring enlightenment and joy into the homes of the thousands of wage workers of the Arizona mining regions! In its first issue the paper says: "The Globe stands for a united ballot for workingmen as set forth in the principles of that growing, powerful-fighting and progressive organization—the Western Federation of Miners, because, having a united ballot, the hand of labor is all-powerful. As Industrialism and Civilization go hand in hand, so, industrially united, the workers must triumph against the aggressions of capital, always misdirected against labor. It becomes, therefore, a duty to advance civilization with fervored allegiance to the working classes, and upon this platform the Miner plants itself unequivocally for industrial unionism from masthead to deck. It will hew unswervingly to these lines."

REACTION REIGNS SUPREME at the Vatican, judging from the contents of the following cablegram: Rome, September 16.—Alarmed by the spread of extreme Liberalism even among the Roman Catholic clergy, Pope Pius X today issued an encyclical in condemnation of "modernism," attacking the ideas of the new theology. He said: "Modernism is a peril for the church. Its reforms in faith, philosophy, theology and history are all errors, and drive those who believe in them to atheism. Boundless curiosity, pride of individualism and disregard of true Catholic knowledge and discipline actually have spread modernism among the clergy." The encyclical decrees that philosophy and theology hereafter must be taught in the Catholic schools and universities in the complete spirit of the Catholic Church and in accordance with the rules of the church. It is decreed that all teachers imbued with the spirit of modernism must be dismissed, and bishops must compel the clergy and the faithful to abstain from reading papers inspired by the spirit of modernism or advocating the new theories. A board of censors is to be established in every bishopric to revise and edit all Catholic publications. The ecclesiastics are forbidden to send papers through the mails or otherwise directing them without the consent of the bishop. The ecclesiastics also must keep a close watch upon their assistants to prevent violation of this ruling. Clerical congresses are forbidden except in cases when dangers of modernism and laicism arise. A board of supervision is to be formed in every diocese to prevent the spread of "new errors." All bishops are instructed that they must forward to the Pope individual reports regarding the matters covered in the encyclical. The encyclical has caused a stir throughout Europe, and is regarded by far the most important issued during the present pontificate. It is regarded in some circles as liable to arouse as much controversy and discussion as the famous promulgation of the dogma of the immaculate conception by Pope Pius IX.



# The World of Labor

"In Union There Is Strength! United We Stand; Divided We Fall!"

## TEAMSTERS' CONVENTION ADJOURNED.

Rochester, N. Y., Sept. 16.—The delegates to the annual convention of the United Teamsters of America are returning home today. The following is the result of the annual election: President, John Sheridan of Chicago; first vice president, A. L. St. Claire, St. Louis; secretary-treasurer, W. H. Ashton, New York. The new charter of the organization was adopted. The next convention probably will be held in St. Louis.

## MINERS FIGHT TO A FINISH.

The iron ore miners of the Northwest are going to fight the United States Steel Corporation to a finish. Articles of incorporation of the National Co-Operative Mercantile Company have been filed with the Secretary of State of Minnesota. The company has an authorized capital stock of \$100,000, and its headquarters are to be in Duluth. The company will supply the miners with food at cost while the latter lay siege to the trust's defences.

## MEAT WAGON DRIVERS STRIKE SETTLED.

The strike of the meat wagon drivers of New York against the Employers' Association has been settled upon the following terms: Wages are to be the same as before the strike; there is to be no discrimination for or against union or non-union men; sixty-five hours is to constitute a week's work, and all grievances and the question of overtime are to be left to arbitration. None of the competent strike-breakers are to be discharged to make room for the strikers.

## GENERAL BOILERMAKERS STRIKE.

A general strike of boilermakers on the Chicago Great Western, the Great Northern, the Omaha, the Northern Pacific and the Soo railroads was called, and it is expected that the shops of the entire systems of these roads will be tied up. The boilermakers are aided in their fight by their helpers, and in the case of the Great Western the machinists in the big shops at Oelwein went out in sympathy. The strike of the boilermakers followed a refusal of the railroads to accede to a demand for 45 cents an hour east of the Missouri river and 47½ cents west of that river.

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS ISSUES CALL FOR TELEGRAPHERS.

Washington, September 16.—As the result of recent conferences, President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, will issue tomorrow an appeal for aid for the striking telegraphers. Discussing the address, Mr. Gompers said today that the document had been completed and would be given to the public tomorrow. "It will be," he said, "a general request to organized labor for assistance, both financial and moral, in accordance with the pledge made at the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the Federation."

## GENERAL STRIKE IMMINENT IN ENGLAND.

London, Sept. 13.—The long struggle between the British railway companies and the Railway Men's Union threatens to end in a general railway strike in the United Kingdom. Mr. Bell, M. P., secretary of the Railway Men's Union, will announce at Manchester on Saturday the decision of the executive of the union in regard to the points in dispute. It is understood that the decision is that the union men will give the companies a week's time in which to officially recognize and deal with the union, otherwise the men will strike immediately.

## KATY TRAINMEN IN SESSION.

The general committees of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, employed on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, met at the St. James Hotel last Monday, beginning a week's session. At the meeting were W. G. Lee, of Cleveland, Ohio, assistant grand master of the trainmen, and L. E. Shepard, of Cedar Rapids, Ia., first vice president of the conductors. The meeting is for the purpose of adopting the concessions made April 6 at the Chicago meeting. When the conductors and trainmen, last March, threatened to strike concessions were made by the roads in the Western Association. These concessions included a 10 per cent increase for freight conductors and trainmen and a flat increase of \$10 a month for conductors on passenger trains.

## VICTORY FOR COLORADO COAL MINERS.

Coal miners in the northern field of Colorado have forced another coal company to abolish the company doctor graft, as the following, taken from the Lafayette News will show: "The employes of the Standard mine on Saturday last came to a final understanding with the superintendent in regard to the company doctor. Beginning with September 1 no more check-off dues will be exacted from the men, and each one will be entitled to employ whatever physician he may choose for himself and members of his family. This will give a free-for-all for physicians and remove the last vestige of suspicion of company domination over the affairs of the men. It is believed that the Standard was the last mine in District 15 where this practice survived."

## VAN CLEAVE AND THE UNFAIR LIST.

The Dayton Eight Hour Advocate, speaking of the "Unfair List," says: "President Van Cleave, of the Manufacturers' Association, and the head of the Buck's Stove Works, in St. Louis, Mo., doesn't take kindly to the unfair list, and is willing to take the matter up to the United States Supreme Court. He will find organized labor defending the unfair list whenever it is legally tested. Mr. Van Cleave has personally experienced the power of the unfair list, as it affects his non-union stove works. He has refused to grant the demands of the union molders formerly in his employ, and as a result the Buck's stove is unfair to organized labor. There are plenty of stoves that are made by the union molders, and all union men should remember that fact when purchasing stoves. Remember the fellow that is working along the same lines that you are. Patronize his label and promote prosperity among your own class. When you do that, such men as President Van Cleave will be compelled to recognize the justice of union principles and the equity of union wages and conditions. When you do that there will be no call on the part of President Van Cleave for \$1,500,000 to further reduce the wages and conditions of the working people of this country. You have it in your power to prevent such reduction."

## TO ORGANIZED LABOR AND ITS FRIENDS.

On September 4 a committee composed of stove mounters went to the office of Mr. Van Cleave, of the Buck Stove and Range Company, and requested an answer to their demands, which had been forwarded to the firm by mail by the Stove Mounters' Union. We, the stove mounters, can well understand that Mr. Van Cleave was suffering with high fever, as three wagon loads of ranges had just been sent back to the Buck Stove and Range Company as a result of the effect of Union Labor's "Unfair List." Since then Mr. J. W. Van Cleave discharged two of the four committeemen outright; then he discharged one man of the union whom he considered an agitator. The other man was not discharged because he was president of the Stove Mounters' Union and an organizer. All these union men could be charged with what they did their duty in accordance with the instructions from their constituents. For this "crime" they were discharged. J. W. Van Cleave is president and organizer of the Manufacturers' Association, but he don't get discharged for doing his duty as an organizer. Now we may ask: Have workingmen not the same right to organize as Mr. Van Cleave has? He acts like a despotic ruler, trying to break up Organized Labor, while he himself is traveling all over the country as the great organizer of the day.

Stove Mounters' Union No. 86, of St. Louis.

By order of the President.

## LONGSHOREMEN STRIKE IN NEW ORLEANS.

The labor situation on the river front in New Orleans has developed into a serious contest that threatens to be long drawn out. There are about 6,000 men now on a strike, all told, including the longshoremen, freight handlers, teamsters and screwmen, who have been asked to handle 200 bales a day. The steamship agents and stevedores have asked the commercial bodies to take a hand, and promised to abide by their decision on the merits of the question. Tuesday the exchange conference heard the version of the stevedores and steamship agents, and Wednesday they heard from the labor organizations. Then they took the matter under advisement, a special committee being appointed to digest the question and reach some conclusion that they deem equitable to both sides, and which will protect the port from further loss of shipping. The ship agents declare that if their view is not accepted they will agree to whatever is decided on, but that they are under no obligations to the city and will send the majority of their ships to the cheapest port, which they say is Galveston, where the screwmen load 300 bales a day. Later: The levee labor crisis has been passed, the longshoremen adopting the form of agreement for three years framed by the conference of commercial bodies. The agreement is in the nature of a compromise giving the shipping agents and longshoremen some of their demands. The conference committee will now endeavor to settle the differences with the screwmen.

## VAN CLEAVE'S SCHEME MADE PUBLIC.

New York, September 14.—The National Association of Manufacturers today made public the purpose of the \$500,000 fund which is to be expended annually by the association. The raising of this large sum was authorized at the recent convention of the association in this city. Considerable mystery was made of the fund at the time, and since then President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, has publicly denounced it as a "war fund," which is to be used in "crushing union labor." The fund, according to a statement made by Atherton Brownell in American Industries, the official organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, is to be used as follows: "To establish a federation of all the associations of citizens, merchants and employers of labor and to maintain a great council of this federation. To support for the federation a literary bureau and a speakers' bureau. To continue the educational work of the different separate organizations in a far larger and more effective way. To aid members of Congress and of the State legislatures against the attacks of organized labor. To employ a corps of lawyers, who shall advise local organizations on all local questions, report the violations of all State and national laws affecting industry and trade, and the State and national governments in the prosecution of offenders. To create labor bureaus, operate a labor clearing house and help in the better distribution of immigrants. To aid and promote the establishment of industrial schools."

## CHURCH USED AGAINST STRIKING WORKMEN.

The Union factory workers of Tell City, Ind., have been out on strike for some time and professional strike-breakers, police, troops and injunctions have been used against the strikers, but all to no effect. Then the church was called upon. The Rev. Hoon, pastor of the English Methodist Episcopal church, Tenth and Mozart streets, preached a sermon on "Trades Unionism." He said: "Laboring people have no right to organize. The Bible says, 'Servants, obey your masters.' Labor unions are a curse to the country. You working people should go back to the factories, stay there and do as you are told." A Catholic priest, Father Siebert, said: "I'm going to give you workingmen your choice between two alternatives. Either you give up your labor union or you give up your church. This church has no place for the dirty, low-down trash found in the labor unions. I shall excommunicate every member of this church who dares retain membership in a labor union." But one minister, Theodore Schlunt, of the Lutheran Evangelical church, did not bear the seal of the capitalists. He told his congregation that the employers' association was responsible for the death of William Dauffer, one of the strikers who was killed. He said they were murderers and assassins, and one of the Tell City employers, a political boss, sat in his pew and listened to that terrible denunciation. Then this worthy Christian, politician and labor exploiter got busy with the church board and the minister who dared to defend the oppressed workers was forced to resign.—Peoria Socialist.

## MASONS STRIKE AT HAVANA.

The Masons' Union in Havana, Cuba, are out on strike. One of our Havana subscribers reports: "The Masons' strike has begun in Havana and to judge by the 'manifesto' issued by the union, bids fair to be as determined a fight as the cigarmakers' recent brave stand for Uncle Sam's money. The masons want eight hours of work and \$1.50 per day for the assistants. Following is an extract of the masons' address to the working people and the general public: "We have been long agitating the necessity of bettering our condition, and think that the time has arrived to present our claims and set forth the reasons which justify us in taking this stand. "Words are not sufficient to convince the public of the real nature of our steady and daily work under the burning rays of the sun, which exhaust our strength and prostrate the stoutest laborer. This would be sufficient to justify our demands, but there are other causes not less worthy of consideration. When the workday is excessively long, many hands remain idle and many families unsupported. A feeling of solidarity, therefore, also impels us to take this attitude. Another consideration which the public should not lose sight of is the enormous profit now derived from real estate, which certainly is not in proportion to the wages paid to the masons. The physician, the lawyer, the engineer, fix the price of their work, and nobody disputes their right to do so. Why should not the laborer be free to do the same? We trust and hope that the people will lend their support to our just cause."

## ST. LOUIS LABOR TEMPLE COUNCIL.

After almost two years of agitation among the unions of St. Louis a permanent Labor Temple Council was formed at a meeting of representatives of the various unions held in Walhalla Hall Sunday. The Organization Committee of the Labor Temple Company heretofore consisted of ten representatives from the two parent organizations of labor, five each from the Building Trades Council and the Central Trades and Labor Union. This committee has been enlarged to 15, five representatives from the local unions direct having been added. They are: W. H. Burklen, Web Pressmen; E. L. Brunson, Elevator Constructors; L. Woodward, Retail Clerks; Miss Maggie Meara, Garment Workers; S. P. Doyle, Pattern Makers. According to the report of Secretary John Spangler, the following local unions have signified their willingness to take stock in the enterprise: Metal Polishers, No. 13; Upholsterers' Local, No. 21; Brass Workers, No. 99; Pattern Makers' Association; Electrotypers, No. 36; Web Pressmen, No. 2; Elevator Constructors, No. 3; St. Louis Mailers, No. 3; Garment Workers, No. 67; Millwrights, No. 602; Carpenters, No. 45; Brushmakers No. 3. A letter was read from the machinists' unions stating that on account of the strike which the men of that trade have been engaged in since May 1, the unions of machinists will not take any additional stock at this time. The officers elected at the meeting are: Owen Miller, president; John Spangler, secretary; J. G. Schwarz, treasurer; J. H. Ebling, sergeant-at-arms. The next meeting of the Labor Temple Council will be held on the third Sunday in October, probably at the musicians' headquarters, 3535 Pine street. The officers of the Labor Temple Company say that they now expect to see their hopes of a home for labor realized, and the work of interesting the local unions that have not taken stock in the enterprise will be pushed forward rapidly.

## THE ANTI-BOYCOTT BOYCOTTERS.

The Indianapolis Union reports the following interesting boycott case: There is an instance in Indianapolis that should command the attention of Mr. Van Cleave, his Manufacturers' Association and all those who are enlisted in the fight against the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and the further use of the boycott. We are sure that these gentlemen are in this movement only through the most patriotic impulses; that personal interest is not in the least the impelling cause. Of course Mr. Van Cleave is president of the Buck Stove Company, and the boycott on the Buck range is the reason for the injunction prayed for, but this is just a matter of circumstance, and has no connection whatever with the real purpose of the campaign. It is leveled against the boycott per se, as our fellow townsman, Mr. Parry, might say. It was not, however, with this phase of the case that we sought to dwell at present, but to call the attention of Mr. Van Cleave and the other anti-boycotters to a circumstance here, somewhat different to the cases they have taken up, but one nevertheless that all good anti-boycotters should take an interest in. And we are sure that Mr. Van Cleave will take notice and will immediately divert enough of the million and a half to this section to insure proper attention on the part of the court. We therefore will set out the facts in the case just as they have been given us, and will refrain from comment thereon, believing that this is unnecessary. As will be remembered, the printers were called out of the composing rooms of this city two years ago this month. Among the firms that refused to grant the eight-hour workday, as asked for by the printers, were the Commercial Reporter, a paper that is printed in the "interest" of the courts and the commercial life of the city, and whose circulation is somewhat doubtful, and Levey Bros. & Co. Naturally, the Typographical Union has undertaken to convince both firms that much better results could be obtained through union conditions; but the success of the union has not been entirely successful. In its campaign of education the union has endeavored to show the advertisers of the Commercial Reporter just what the conditions were—what amount of returns the advertiser got for his money. Many of the banks of the city were advertisers in the Reporter. Among them was the Columbia National Bank. On the board of directors of this bank was Louis H. Levey, president and principal proprietor of the Levey Bros. & Co. printing house. When the request of the union that the Columbia bank cease advertising in the Commercial Reporter was brought before the board of directors of the bank, Mr. Levey announced that if this were done he would resign. The directors decided to remove the advertisement, and Mr. Levey's resignation followed. Then the matter was taken up by the allied employers' associations, and it was decided to boycott the Columbia bank. If this is not a case for Mr. Van Cleave we do not know where he will find one. Mr. Levey is one of the high guns in the association; he is foremost in all the good work proposed, and he is one of the largest contributors to the million and a half that is to be used to bring industrial peace. We are sure that his antipathy to the boycott would lead him to lend his influence to have Mr. Van Cleave take notice thereof. And it would be in entire keeping with the work of the Manufacturers' Association to see the law-abiding anti-boycotter American Louis H. Levey prosecuting the law-defying boycotting un-American L. H. Levey.

## THE STRIKING TELEGRAPHERS STICK.

In St. Louis, in Chicago, in New York—everywhere—the striking telegraphers are making a gallant fight. A few weeks ago the watchword of the striking telegraphers was "Stick!"—stick until the strike should be won. This watchword has most magnificently been followed. The solid, unbroken ranks of key men have presented a spectacle that will long be an inspiring one to fellow workers. Today the cry has gone further. It takes in other workers. From the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor has come the encouraging shout that all the workers shall stand together. The striking telegraphers are men and women with stomachs to fill and heads to cover and bodies to clothe—many of them with families whose necessities must be met. From their own scanty wages they have been saving against the hour of battle. Now that this battle has become a long and bitter war, it is time to call up the reserve resources. From the other millions of workers who, if this battle is lost to labor, will find themselves forced to fight tomorrow must come the funds that are now needed. It is a principle of military strategy so elementary that no books are needed to teach it that fighting forces are effective only when they are at the point of combat. Today the telegraphers are on the most far-flung point of the advancing battle line. If they are driven back, the brunt of the battle will fall at once upon some of those who are now quietly resting on their arms. The defeat of one union is the signal for an attack on half a dozen others. With an industry that occupies such a vital position in our industrial life as the telegraph system a defeat would be the signal for a general attack all along the line. That is why the new watchword must now be sounded—stand together! The telegraphers are winning. They have paralyzed the electric communication of news in America and sent the industrial world back to the days before Morse annihilated space and time and made it possible for a world to think together. They have maintained their ranks unbroken. They have led those ranks in a determined and victorious attack upon the enemy. Today that enemy is in full retreat, but behind it lies the exhaustless resources exploited from an army of workers during the past half century. With those resources they hope to prolong the conflict until the pitiful sums that the workers were able to accumulate from their scanty wages shall have been exhausted. If this is permitted it will be to the everlasting disgrace of the working class of the United States. **The defeat of the telegraphers will be a defeat for every union man in America.** It will send a thrill of joy through the hearts of Van Cleave and the Citizens' Alliance. It will put new energy into the deceptive and tricky Civic Federation. It will carry discouragement to millions of present and prospective union men. **Therefore, it must not happen.** The telegraphers have done, are doing, their share in this battle, their battle, your battle, our battle. It is time to bring up the reserves of labor. Thousand of union men will read this editorial. When you have read it take it to your union hall. Read it there along with the call which has been sent out from the national headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for help for the telegraphers. Then see to it that that call is met, and met in such a way that the capitalists of America will realize that there is a genuine solidarity in the American working class that will not idly stand on one side and see a single man or a single union fighting alone against the combined powers of capitalism. **Stand together!**

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Always Insist that the

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# EVERY LOAF YOU BUY



# Socialism and Militarism

**Resolution Adopted by the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Aug. 16-24, 1907.**

The Congress confirms the resolutions by the former international Congresses against militarism and imperialism, and it again declares that the fight against militarism can not be separated from the Socialist struggle of classes as a whole.

Wars between capitalistic states are as a rule the consequence of their competition in the world's market, for every state is eager not only to preserve its markets, but also to conquer new ones, principally by the subjugation of foreign nations and the confiscation of their lands. These wars are further engendered by the unceasing and ever increasing armaments of militarism, which is one of the principal instruments for maintaining the predominance of the bourgeois classes and for subjugating the working classes politically as well as economically.

The breaking out of wars is further favored by the national prejudices systematically cultivated in the interest of the reigning classes, in order to turn off the masses of the proletariat from the duties of their class and of international solidarity.

Wars are therefore essential to capitalism; they will not cease until the capitalistic system has been done away with, or until the sacrifices in men and money required by the technical development of the military system and the revolt against the armaments have become so great as to compel the nations to give up this system.

Especially the working classes, from which the soldiers are chiefly recruited, and which have to bear the greater part of the financial burdens, are by nature opposed to war, because it is irreconcilable with their aim: the creation of a new economic system founded on a Socialistic basis and realizing the solidarity of the nations.

The Congress therefore considers it to be the duty of the working classes, and especially of their parliamentary representatives, to fight with all their might against the military and naval armaments, not to grant any money for such purposes, pointing out at the same time the class character of bourgeois society and the real motives for keeping up the antagonisms between nations, and further, to imbue the young people of the working classes with the Socialist spirit of universal brotherhood and with class consciousness.

The Congress considers that the democratic organization of national defense, by replacing the standing army by the armed people, will prove an effective means for making aggressive wars impossible, and for overcoming national antagonisms.

The International can not lay down rigid formulas for the action of the working classes against militarism, as this action must of necessity differ according to the time and the conditions of the various national parties. But it is its duty to intensify and to co-ordinate as much as possible the efforts of the working classes against militarism and against war.

In fact, since the Brussels Congress, the proletariat in its untiring fight against militarism, by refusing to grant the expense for military and naval armaments, by democratizing the army, has had recourse with increasing vigor and success to the most varied methods of action in order to prevent the breaking out of wars, or to end them, or to make use of the agitation of the social body caused by a war for the emancipation of the working classes: as for instance the understanding arrived at between the English and the French trade unions after the Fachoda crisis, which served to assure peace and to re-establish friendly relations between England and France; the action of the Socialist parties in the German and French parliaments during the Morocco crisis; the public demonstrations organized for the same purpose by the French and German Socialists; the common action of the Austrian and Italian Socialists who met at Trieste in order to ward off a conflict between the two states; further the vigorous intervention of the Socialist workers of Sweden in order to prevent an attack against Norway; and lastly, the heroic sacrifices and fights of the masses of Socialist workers and peasants of Russia and Poland rising against the war provoked by the government of the czar, in order to put an end to it and to make use of the crisis for the emancipation of their country and of the working classes. All these efforts show the growing power of the proletariat and its increasing desire to maintain peace by its energetic intervention.

The action of the working classes will be the more successful, the more the mind of the people has been prepared by an unceasing propaganda, and the more the Labor parties of the different countries have been stimulated and drawn together by the international.

The congress further expresses its conviction that under the pressure exerted by the proletariat the practice of honest arbitration in all disputes will take the place of the futile attempts of the bourgeois governments, and that in this way the people will be assured the benefit of universal disarmament which will allow the enormous resources of energy and money wasted, by armaments and by wars, to be applied to the progress of civilization.

In case of war between imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilizing the economic and political crisis created by the war, in order to arouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downfall of the capitalist class rule.

## British Working Woman on American Delay

In an interview before returning to England after a six weeks' visit to this country, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of Great Britain, stated that she considered America about thirty years behind Great Britain in matters pertaining to labor questions. She said further:

"In some respects the Women's Trade Union League of Great Britain is without a counterpart in this country. The organization which bears the same name will probably in time occupy the same relative position, but it certainly does not do so at present. Our league is a labor union, as it is called, but to be strictly accurate one should speak of it as a federation of unions. It is not as yet self-supporting, as we depend on voluntary contributions to a certain extent, which with the per capita tax of 6 cents a year for every 250 women workers help us maintain permanent headquarters in London, with four salaried officers, who are under my direction, and one salaried organizer, who does outside work in systematizing and arranging new branches. Besides these we have a number of what we call 'temporary organizers,' who are appointed as local conditions or requirements may suggest their need.

"In addition to the organization of the wage earning women and the assistance that we give them when they strike for better wages and for improved conditions, the league maintains as well a legal advice department for the women workers who are the victims of accidents in factories. Whenever an infraction of a factory law is discovered this department takes up and prosecutes. Last year, with a few exceptions, we won our cases, some of them peaceably, others through the courts.

"It is not only the men in the labor party in Parliament that help us, but a great deal of our success is due to the support that we receive from the unions of men. I have found out in this short first trip here that our British unionists seem to treat the women union-

ists quite differently from the way your men of the same class treat the women in the United States who have organized. So far as I have learned, it seems that the Women's Trade Union League in the United States is looked upon either with indifference or at least with good natured tolerance. In Chicago they say that it is a fad, and the fact that a good many women who are affiliated with it are not active wage earners has not tended to improve this viewpoint. Everywhere the men complain that they are being supplanted by women who are satisfied to work for less wages, but they make no effort apparently to help the women organize or to assist them after they have organized and place them on an equal footing.

"In Great Britain the union men not only lend their active support to the women's unions, but they do more than that—they contribute largely from their treasuries to help the work. The result is that we have 140,000 women workers at home organized for mutual benefit, while I am told that you have not half that number here, where opportunities are so much greater.

"That 140,000 represents a certain small percentage of the 5,000,000 women wage earners who, roughly speaking, exist in Great Britain today; but when you consider that of that large number many are in domestic service and in other avocations where organization is not at present necessary or practicable, the percentage is not so small as it would seem at first sight. We have about 11,000,000 male workers, and only 2,000,000 of these, approximately speaking, are organized. The men have been organized for a hundred years, while this same problem has only confronted the woman worker within the last generation."

Concerning the different trades represented, Miss Macarthur recited a long list ending with those in the city of London, which includes telephone girls, clerks, assistants, typists, stenographers, milliners, tailoresses, dressmakers, bookbinders, boxmakers, cigarmakers, cigarette makers, capmakers and tea packers. "It would be impossible at a moment's notice to enumerate the hundreds of miscellaneous trades, like upholstery, pen making, and many allied with the manufacture of textile fabrics, etc., which are represented in the 140,000 women organized.

"And great as the work is that has been done by the trade unions in the way of improving general conditions of wages, time, in giving legal advice, in rendering mutual aid to the members, a greater work is accomplished and they perform an even more forceful function as schools of social and economic education."

Miss Macarthur spoke of Parliament as "the registering machine of the matured thought of the people," and regarding the attempt of a certain section of the women suffragists of England to admit the ballot to the holders of property, she said:

"Politically I feel the disqualification of class is more real than apparent, while the disqualification of sex is more apparent than real."

### ORGANIZED LABOR GAINS.

In a Labor Day article, President Lynch, of the International Typographical Union, said: "As compared with four years ago, I believe that the condition of organized labor has been much improved. And the condition of organized labor four years ago, as compared with that four years previously, will also show wonderful improvement. Four years ago the members of the International Typographical Union working at the book and job branch of the trade were laboring nine hours per day, 54 hours per week. Today these members are working not more than eight hours per day, or 48 hours per week. Wages in our trade during the past four years have been materially advanced, the total increase representing millions of dollars. We find that wherever the eight-hour day has been in effect for a year or more wage increases are forthcoming, and with comparatively little friction. As a general proposition, of course, wages have not increased in proportion with the upward trend in the cost of living. The advance in the cost of living has been by leaps and bounds, but through the trades union movement we have at least been able to lessen the burden of that increased cost to our members. It is the unorganized wage earner who is suffering because of the unprecedented increase in the necessities of life. His wages remain stationary. As to the future, a vast amount of work requires attention. We still stand for the complete attainment of all of the reforms advocated by the labor movement. We must continue to agitate for free schools; free textbooks and compulsory education; the abolition of all forms of involuntary servitude, except punishment for crime; we oppose the abuse of the injunction process; we demand universal workday of not more than eight hours, six days to constitute a week's work; nationalization of the telegraph and telephone lines; the passage of anti-child labor laws in States where they do not now exist, and their rigid enforcement in States where they are on the statute books. In short, labor's program is comprehensive, and is inherently right. The International Typographical Union will continue to press, and even more forcibly, for improved sanitary conditions in composing rooms. We are enlisted in the war against tuberculosis. The great white plague has been allowed free rein in our craft; we propose to curb the disease, and as nearly as may be possible stamp it out. We also have under consideration certain benefit features that will greatly strengthen our union, because they are just and humanitarian. The first of these, an old-age pension scheme, will shortly go to a referendum vote. We believe that wages and hours, important as they are to our material welfare, are not the only subjects in the ken of trade union action, and we intend to consider, and eventually make effective, measures that will make for the greater comfort and happiness of our membership. In short, we intend to be a most pronounced factor in the development of society along correct lines."

## Socialist Party of St. Louis

Executive Committee meets every second and fourth Monday evening at 8 o'clock, at 324 Chestnut street. Otto Kaemmerer, Secretary.

(Ward Club)	Place and Time of Meeting.	Secretary.
First—444 Fenrose st., second Tuesday	every Tuesday	Paul Schurig
Second—3033 N. Broadway, first and third Wednesday	.....	Fred Rosenkranz
Fifth—(Unorganized; meet with the Sixth.)	.....	.....
Sixth—S. E. cor. 13th and Chouteau ave., 1-3 Sunday, 10 a. m.	.....	E. L. McCormick
Seventh—1504 S. Seventh st., first Wednesday	.....	Frank Heuer
Eighth—2215 S. 10th st., (second) Thursday	.....	G. Bolting
Ninth—2575 S. Seventh st., every Tuesday	.....	Wm. M. Brandt
Tenth—Southwest Turner Hall, 1st and 3d Thursday	.....	F. F. Brinker
Eleventh—7801 S. Broadway, third Saturday	.....	Rud Stentzier
Twelfth—2623 Lemp ave., first and third Monday	.....	Dr. Emil Simon
Thirteenth—Gelr's Hall, Mississippi and Chouteau, 1st & 3d Wed.	.....	W. H. Worman
Fourteenth—(Unorganized); meet with the Fifteenth.)	.....	.....
Fifteenth—1316 Franklin ave., first and third Friday	.....	F. F. Brinker
Sixteenth—1446 N. Nineteenth st., first and third Thursday	.....	J. S. Siemers
Seventeenth—S. E. cor. 22d & Madison st., 1st and 3d Friday	.....	W. W. Baker
Eighteenth—2108 N. 14th st., second Tuesday	.....	Wm. E. Kindorf, 1946 Herbert St.
Nineteenth—North St. Louis Turner Hall, 2d and 4th Friday	.....	F. W. Groetke
Twentieth—2701 Franklin ave., 2nd and 4th Tuesday	.....	Frank Mittendorf
Twenty-First—(Unorganized); meet with Twentieth.)	.....	.....
Twenty-Second—2651 Washington ave., 2d and 4th Friday	.....	H. E. Lindsay
Twenty-Third—(Unorganized); meet with Thirteenth.)	.....	.....
Twenty-Fourth—3139A Morganford road, 1st Friday	.....	Otto Mehl
Twenty-Fifth—Chouteau and Boyle ayes, 4th Thursday	.....	David Allan
Twenty-Sixth—3948 Easton ave., (Turner Bldg.), 1st Friday	.....	Max Duerhammer
Twenty-Seventh—(North Br.)—2318 Gilmore ave., 1st and 3d Thursdays	.....	Hy Gerdel
Twenty-Eighth—(South Br.)—5524 Elston ave., 1st & 3d Wednesday	.....	Geo. White
Twenty-Ninth—815 N. Kingshighway, third Tuesday	.....	Louis D. Goodman
Women's Socialist Club—2741 Dickson st., 2d and 4th Thursdays	.....	Mary U. Devore

### CIRCULATION NOTES.

WHEN HE IS NOT busy collecting fares for a railroad corporation, Comrade Phillips gets busy collecting subs for Labor. As he delivered his newest one he said it was clear to him that we must have a local paper firmly established in all the big cities if we are to ever accomplish anything. To fight effectively your Socialist paper must be right on the spot.

L. A. SHERMAN SENDS IN a shoe maker for treatment, and G. Hay, who works at the same trade, orders the same medicine—Labor.

AS USUAL, COMRADE CROUCH brings in several new ones, with Comrade Delmore a close second, while F. F. Brinker also crosses the plate with a couple.

ALWAYS REMEMBER: Just as our circulation grows so will our vote grow. The rare cause and effect, and no divorce is possible in this case.

COMRADE SHIRLEY PILOTS a street car with care and gets subs among his fellow workers in spare moments, thus assuring their political salvation.

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# Missouri Federation of Labor

## Annual Report of President Sheridan Read to Delegates in Annual Convention.

Sedalia, Mo., Sept. 17.—The Missouri Federation of Labor opened its annual convention in this city yesterday. There are about 100 delegates present, among them the following from St. Louis: Thomas Kinsella, Peter Beissel, Percy Pepon, Charles Kassel, W. E. Kindorf, Charles Altheide, Stanley Crane, Ed. Springmeyer, A. W. Biggs, C. P. Connolly, M. W. Campbell and Warner Springer. The convention will be in session four or five days.

President Sheridan's report was read and attentively listened to. Mr. Sheridan is a single tax advocate, and his report is surely not a "No-Politics-in-the-Union" document.

President Sheridan says: "The years of the past decade have been suggestive of thought. During this period we have seen the list of the greatest combinations of capital that the world has known. Fortunes fabulous in amount have been made in one day by individuals and corporations, while the general tendency of wealth to concentrate in the hands of the few has been accelerated by the formation of trusts and monopolies. Prices paid by the laboring people for the things they consume have advanced rapidly in order to feed the appetites of these monsters. The advent of the trusts and monopolies presents new problems to the American people, the solution of which will require deep thought and earnest consideration. Inasmuch as the federation in this State represents the class most injuriously affected by these combinations, the problems they present are properly before the convention.

"The people of the State have an opportunity at the next general election to vote for a constitutional amendment for direct legislation. The last convention of the Federation instructed the legislative committee to prepare a bill involving this principle and have it presented to the last General Assembly. In his message to the Legislature, Governor Folk recommended the adoption of the initiative and referendum and had Senator McAllister introduce a bill to this effect. The legislative committee found that the administration measure was superior to the one it had presented, and for this reason used its influence to have it adopted. The bill was amended in the Senate in a manner that improved the administration measure, so the law that was finally passed is very acceptable to us.

"This constitutional amendment is the most important that has been submitted to the people in years, and the Federation should do everything in its power to secure its adoption. It gives a small percentage of the people the right to initiate a law or constitutional amendment, and the filing of the petition with the proper State authorities makes it compulsory upon them to submit the law or amendment to the voters at the next general election. It also gives a small percentage of the people the right within 90 days to petition for a referendum vote upon any measure adopted by the State Legislature, and upon the filing of the petition within the specified time, the measure does not become a law until it is approved by a majority of the voters.

"The adoption of this amendment will remove many of the defects in our present system of making laws. The political corruption that has been exposed from time to time is not due primarily to the defects in human nature, but is due to the defects in the present system of representative government. The people elect men to legislative offices, but have no right to pass judgment on the laws enacted by their agents. This fact furnishes a field for the corruptionist. Corporations seeking special privileges find it profitable to bribe legislators to accomplish their ends. This has been done to such an extent in the past that today the people find themselves in the power of trusts and monopolies of the most pernicious kind. The most valuable privileges have been given away for little or nothing in return, and every effort of the people to again get control of them has been successfully resisted by the same means.

"Under the influence of trusts and private monopolies lawmaking has become a trade. Some men are maintained in the legislative bodies for the purpose of defeating the people's will. Whenever the sentiment of the people is strong enough to compel the enactment of a particular law, these paid men attach amendments to it that kill the force and effect of the bill, or insert a 'joker' that makes the courts declare it unconstitutional.

"The initiative and referendum will change this condition. The voters of the State having the right to review and pass upon the laws enacted by their representatives, will reject any act that gives away their rights or property. They can, independent of the Legislature, enact any law or reform that appeals to their wisdom and judgment.

"The convention should instruct the incoming legislative committee to organize a labor campaign throughout the State, and invite the unions in the different legislative districts, to elect local labor representation committees to act in conjunction with it in having active trade unionists brought forward in the different political parties, nominated and elected to the State Legislature. Every candidate promoted should be required to pledge himself to vote for the laws desired by the Federation before he receives its endorsement. Once a candidate is nominated, the Federation should do everything in its power to secure his election. Trade unionists should be appealed to to discard partisan affiliations so far as this office is concerned, and vote for the trade unionist candidate. This conservative plan will enable organized labor in this State to have several members in the next General Assembly."

President Sheridan concluded his report with a recommendation that the body place an organizer in the field permanently.

Secretary Fear of the Legislative Committee, reported the result of the work carried on at the last session of the Legislature. The report made several recommendations to organized labor of Missouri. In part the report says:

"The members of the State Legislative Committee desire to recommend that organized workmen of the State become active in the political party with which they are affiliated, with the purpose of having men from the ranks of labor nominated and elected as members of the State Senate and State House of Representatives. To secure desired legislation this is absolutely necessary. In the ranks of labor can be found conservative, fair, reasonable and aggressive men who will look after the interests of the whole State as well as the toilers. We would therefore urge that all central bodies and local labor unions demand of the political parties places on the legislative ticket for members of organized labor."

Jefferson City, September 17.—Owen Miller, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Musicians, arrived here from St. Louis as a convention delegate.

President Sheridan, in speaking of the telegraphers' eight-hour law, enacted by the last General Assembly, said it was not being enforced by the State officials, and he reached the conclusion that the railroads and other powerful corporations can violate the law with impunity. The annual reports of Secretary-Treasurer J. T. Smith, of Kansas City, and Statistician W. T. Wall were read and approved.

Tomorrow resolutions will be offered for adoption in opposition to the American Tobacco Company employing child labor, and against the convict labor system as practiced in Missouri.

To our report on the opening session we may add the following:

E. T. Behrens, for a number of years president of the State Federation, and secretary of the Sedalia central labor body, followed Mayor Collins' address with an address of welcome on behalf of the labor organizations of Sedalia. Mr. Behrens in his talk said, in part:

"In welcoming you to the sixteenth annual convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, I greet you in behalf of the two thousand organized workmen and women of Sedalia. We extend the hand of trades fellowship, and in doing so open wide the portals of our homes."

Continuing, he stated that all were wedded to the cause of industry and that they longed for and cherished hopes for a better day for organized labor.

In speaking of Sedalia, he said: "We believe that Sedalia has those things which go to make up an ideal city with ideal homes. Sedalia is situated in Pettis county, standing among the highest of the counties in the State in taxation and financially, but with all its wealth Sedalia has not a millionaire within its confines. Sedalia possesses some very fine residences, has beautiful streets, parks, greenwards upon which the children gambol and make merry, but, withal, we are all Missourians, and will show you.

"Sedalia is designated as a city of churches, and with all her educational advantages, 30 per cent of the children of school age are out of school, working in some factory or other place."

In conclusion, Mr. Behrens said: "Sedalia is the home of the Citizens' Alliance, but that organization has practically gone out of business as far as Sedalia is concerned. Your presence here in our midst will leave its impression, and the influence that this convention will make on the labor movement will make its mark for years to come. I again bid you welcome on behalf of Sedalia."

President Sheridan responded to Behrens' address, and stated that the sentiments expressed were deeply appreciated by the delegates, and he gave assurance that the hospitality extended would not be abused in any way. Mr. Sheridan spoke briefly on labor affairs, and said that organized labor was here to stay, despite all efforts to cause its downfall. After he had stated that everyone appreciated the spirit in which the welcome was extended, he said that all would make their stay in Sedalia as pleasant as possible for the city as well as for themselves.

The following officers and committees were appointed: E. T. Behrens, Cigarmakers, Sedalia, assistant secretary. J. J. Schmidt, Barbers' Union, Sedalia, sergeant-at-arms. Henry Murphy, Bartenders' Union, Sedalia, assistant sergeant-at-arms.

Committee on Credentials—Stanley E. Crane, St. Louis, chairman; Richard Giblin, Painters' Union, Joplin; J. L. Bingham, Theatrical Employees, Kansas City; T. G. Rhoades, Typographical Union, Springfield; Elmer E. Johnson, Plumbers' Union, St. Louis.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—David Lennox, Plumbers' Union, St. Louis; P. S. Jamerson, Cigarmakers' Union, Sedalia; N. A. W. Jureman, Cigarmakers' Union, Springfield; J. J. Kearney, Leather Workers' Union, St. Joseph; L. M. Nance, Telegraphers, St. Louis.

One hundred and six delegates were seated. A question was raised among the members of the Credentials Committee as to the eligibility of Isaac Taylor, representing the Industrial Council of Kansas City, a protest being filed against his being seated by a delegate reporting that he was an employer of labor. The matter was discussed at some length in the convention and was finally referred back to the Credentials Committee.

President Sheridan appointed the following committees: Committee on Officers' Reports—Walter Stotts, Percy Pepon, J. E. Lewis, W. S. Bonner, Hugh L. Dixon.

Committee on Finance—John J. Pfeiffer, Burt Leedom, J. F. Altheide, P. H. Murphy, C. W. Lawrence.

Committee on Strikes—George H. Imbri, J. W. Burch, Byron McGuire, Emmett Finkhein.

Committee on Boycotts and Labels—L. Swanson, Charles Kosel, Peter Beisel, P. J. Burke, George Kauffman.

Committee on Legislation—Charles A. Summer, H. H. Small, W. M. Holmes, H. A. Fratcher, J. C. Roberts.

Committee on Resolutions—Collis Lovely, Paul Winkle, A. G. Roberts, Harry S. Sharp, J. J. Nolan.

Committee on Constitution—Charles W. Fear, Ed McGary, C. B. Dysart, Owen Miller, Charles Wilkerson.

Committee on Organization—M. C. Hughes, A. Dumaw, Isaac Taylor, M. S. Corman, William Montgomery.

After the appointment of these committees the visiting delegates were given a trolley ride over the city, visiting during the afternoon the State Fair Grounds, both the Missouri Pacific and M., K. & T. shops, and other places of interest.

They were accompanied on the trolley ride by the Second Regiment Band, which played soul-stirring music while they were being shown Sedalia the beautiful.

Monday evening a public mass meeting was held in the Court House, which was addressed by Owen Miller, C. P. Connolly and Percy Pepon, of St. Louis; E. E. Johnson, A. Duncan, and others.

## Great Men in History Robert Ingersoll at the Tomb of Napoleon I

A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon, a magnificent tomb of gilt and gold, fit almost for a deity dead—and gazed upon the sarcophagus of rare and nameless marble, where rests at last the ashes of that restless man. I leaned over the balustrade and thought about the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world.

I saw him walking upon the banks of the Seine contemplating suicide. I saw him at Toulon. I saw him putting down the mob in the streets of Paris. I saw him at the head of the army in Italy. I saw him crossing the bridge at Lodi with the tricolor in his hand. I saw him in Egypt, in the shadows of the pyramids. I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him at Marengo, at Ulm and at Austerlitz. I saw him in Russia, when the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipsic in defeat and disaster—driven by a million bayonets back upon Paris—clutched like a wild beast—banished at Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where chance and fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king. And I saw him at St. Helena, with his hands crossed behind him, gazing out upon the sad and solemn sea.

I thought of the widows and orphans he had made, of the tears that had been shed for his glory, and of the only woman who ever loved him, pushed from his heart by the cold hand of ambition. And I said I would rather have been a French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut, with a vine growing over the door, and the grapes growing purple in the amorous kisses of the autumn sun; I would rather have been the poor peasant, with my wife by my side knitting as the day died out of the sky, with my children upon my knees and their arms about me; I would rather have been this man and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust than to have been that imperial personation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great.

## Missouri Socialist Party

COMRADES AT URICH apply for a Goebel date, and Local Sedalia does likewise. The applications received so far are as follows: St. Louis, Jasper County, Milan, Mountainview, Sedalia, Novinger and Urich. Locals having engaged H. L. Call should not hesitate on that account about securing Comrade Goebel for one or more days. Comrade Call will not be here until December, some time after Goebel has finished.

ELDON AND UNION will have Goebel wake things up, and comrades in these places feel sure of starting locals when he gets there.

A LOCAL OF 10 MEMBERS has been organized at Holland, in Pemiscot county, by Wm. Tucker. Socialist lightning strikes most anywhere these days, it seems.

STONE COUNTY is getting restless under Bourbon rule. Comrades at Cape Fair want to organize, and write for instructions

how to go about it. Also, two Galena comrades apply for membership at large.

R. E. SHANEYFELT, of Warrensburg, says he is through voting the Republican ticket, and applies for membership. Efforts will be made to organize this point.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS COUNTY has appointed a committee to study the new primary law and its application to that county. Secretary Tschirner reports continued activity in the county, and prospects of organizing new branches.

"I FIND THAT the workingman is much better off in Europe than here," writes Secretary Knecht, of Poplar Bluff, who has just returned from a three months' trip across the ocean.

STATE SECRETARY, OTTO PAULS, 324 CHESTNUT ST., ST. LOUIS, MO.

National Committeemen.		Secretaries.	
G. A. Fiehn, 324 Chestnut st., St. Louis	Ed. T. Behrens, 110 E. 3d st., Sedalia	Aquilla	Claude Walker
Delhi (P. O. Leaburg)	J. S. Mercer	Ava	E. J. Lewis
Burlington Junction	W. Nightingale	Bevler	A. Hildebrandt
Chillicothe	E. D. Wilcox	Burlington Junction	W. L. Garver
Collins	W. B. Sifton	Delhi (P. O. Leaburg)	J. J. Benzick
Dexter	J. W. Sprinkle	Elk River (P. O., Noel)	Ivan Hall
Flat River	G. W. O'Dam	Greenfield	Mrs. H. McInturf
Grimmett (Route 4, West Plains)	F. S. Morey	Hannibal, 107 Grace st.	F. Foster
Jasper Co. (309 Byers, Joplin)	T. W. Gibbens	Kansas City	J. M. Brazel, 1 Park Pl.
Keota	F. W. Furley	Leadwood	H. A. Thomas
Liberal	Martha Mellor	McCracken (Kenton P. O.)	M. B. Davidsok
Milan	R. D. Morrison	Monett	U. S. Barnesley
Mountain View (Route 1)	C. B. Hamilton	Myrtle (P. O., Jeff)	J. U. Lionberger
Nevada (Route 4, Box 106)	W. S. Peters	Novinger (Box 336)	F. D. Bisbee
Phelps (Route 2, Miller)	F. A. Bryant	Pineville (Sulphur Spgs., Ark.)	N. A. Barton
Poplar Bluff	Carl Knecht	Rushville (Route 1, Poplar Bluff)	A. F. Ruser
Rushville (Route 1, Poplar Bluff)	H. Stredwick	Scholten	Wm. H. Tattershall
St. Joseph (1002 S. 10th)	F. B. Moser	St. Louis (324 Chestnut st.)	O. Kummerer
St. Louis Co. (P. O., Ferguson)	J. F. Williams	Springfield 841 New st.	A. Tschirner
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# Socialist News Review

## HOW OUR ENEMIES HELP US.

Since the 28th of July, the day on which the police of Hancock, Mich., broke up the Socialist parade, the Finnish local has admitted 102 new members.

## GOEBEL ORGANIZING ON PACIFIC COAST.

National Organizer George H. Goebel during July organized locals at Lakeport and Big Oak Flat, Cal., and reorganized Sparks, Goldfield and Tonopah, Nev.

## A SUCCESSFUL PICNIC

Was given under the auspices of the Ninth Ward Socialist Club at Wolz's Groze last Sunday. Quite a number of Socialist families attended and enjoyed a pleasant day.

## THE FIRST WARD SOCIALIST CLUB

Held a successful open-air meeting on North Broadway in Baden last Saturday evening. Comrades Pope and Rosenkranz were the speakers, whose remarks found the general approval of the audience.

## ANNIVERSARY OF LA SALLE'S DEATH.

Sunday, Sept. 1, thousands of Socialist men, women and children in Breslan went to the cemetery, where 43 years ago the great Socialist agitator, Ferdinand La Salle, was buried. The grave was covered with beautiful wreaths, flowers and red ribbons in honor of the pioneer Socialist.

## PROPOSED REMOVAL OF NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

The management of the Chicago Daily Socialist has submitted to the national executive of the Socialist Party a proposition, according to which the national party headquarters shall be removed to the Daily Socialist building. The monthly rent is to remain the same, namely \$100 a month.

## SOCIALIST MEETINGS IN STAUNTON.

The Socialist comrades in Staunton, Ill., held a public propaganda meeting at the Staunton city hall last Saturday, which was well attended. Comrade G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis spoke on the subject, "What Is Socialism?" On Sunday afternoon the Staunton comrades gave a family picnic at the Reservoir, which was a very pleasant social affair. Comrade Hoehn also spoke there, his subject being: "Socialist Party Tactics."

## COMRADE KAEMMERER BACK IN ST. LOUIS.

After all, "there's no place like home!" thought Comrade Kaemmerer, when he reached New York from Europe. He forgot all about the Jamestown Exposition and other "world wonders" he intended to see on his way west, and after a boat trip up the Hudson to Buffalo and a day's sojourn at Niagara Falls, he hurried back to St. Louis and reached home Friday evening of last week. Judging from his healthy appearance, it seems that Comrade Kaemmerer could stand the "millionaire tramp" life with as much ease and personal benefit as any parasitical aristocrat.

## ARRESTED FOR STREET SPEAKING.

Comrade Beecher Moore was arrested Sept. 11 in Minneapolis, Minn., for street speaking. An order has been issued by the chief of police forbidding all meetings except those of the Salvation Army. Comrade Ada Crouch Hazlett was arrested Sept. 7 in Spokane, Wash., for street speaking. It is reported that 2,000 persons gathered about the police station and protested against the arrest. Ed J. Lewis was arrested at the corner of North Clark and Aldine in Chicago Sept. 11. The next night ten other comrades on the same corner. At each of the above places the locals have decided to press the cases to the limit.

## HEADACHES ABOUT SOCIALISM.

The editor of the Southwest American, published at Fort Smith, Ark., thinks that "the theory of Socialism is a delusion," but objects to the nomination of William D. Haywood for president by the Socialists. This remarkable interest in the Socialist nomination for president by an individual who thinks Socialism a delusion is not so delusive as the editor of the American evidently wishes to make it. The Socialists of this country will nominate their candidate for president, and they will do that without consulting the editors of those republican and democratic organs who look upon Socialism as a "delusion."

## SOCIALIST SPEAKERS ARRESTED FOR "VAGRANCY."

Chicago, Sept. 13.—Ten Socialist speakers were arrested in Chicago last night under the new "vagrancy law" that enables the police to arrest "suspicious characters" under that charge and hold them for three days without trial. J. M. Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Party; A. M. Lewis, national organizer, and H. G. Frankel, secretary of the party in Cook county, were among the prisoners. The police made a regulation raid on the place of speaking and grabbed everyone they could catch. The trial was set for this afternoon, but the Socialists demanded a jury and declared their intention of fighting the cases.

## COMRADE MRS. HAZLETT IN JAIL.

The secretary of Local Spokane, Wash., writes as follows: Comrade Mrs. Hazlett arrived in Spokane on Saturday afternoon, according to program, and had not been in Spokane three hours before she landed in jail. I believe she has sent you a paper with the account that we had a nice time; it was not good financially, but for propaganda work it was immense. They arrested her just as we were going to take up a collection. But thousands followed her to the police station. She was in there about half an hour till we could arrange bail. The case was called, but postponed till a later date. We had a splendid meeting last night. Our small hall was packed, and being Sunday, we could not get a bigger one, but the crowd of Saturday night had started the whole town. It certainly was a hot time. In a later letter from Spokane we read: Mrs. Hazlett is making history in Spokane. The crowd of 5,000 Saturday night protesting against her imprisonment was laid in the shade tonight by a multitude of twice that number, and all who could get near enough to hear remained throughout the two hours' talk.

## DOINGS OF THE MILWAUKEE SOCIALISTS.

Resolutions were introduced by Alderman Melms (Social Democrat) in the last meeting of the Milwaukee city council to investigate the conduct of certain justices of the peace and constables, and to impeach them if the investigation proved certain charges against them. The charges are that these justices have entered into partnership with collecting agencies to fleece the workmen. They are charged with issuing garnishee processes against workmen contrary to the law, and thus tying up their wages. The constables in the game are charged with making false returns, claiming that the workmen are "not found" at their homes, and therefore the garnishee processes can not be served. Thus the wages of these unfortunate workmen are tied up until they are forced to settle in order to release their wages. Such frauds and wrongs against the working class are going on all the time, and they are never investigated or punished, unless the workmen have some representation, as in the case of the Milwaukee city council. Until the wage-workers elect their own men, they can not expect to see their wrongs redressed.

## TRIED TO KILL POLISH SOCIALIST DAILY.

We read in the Chicago Daily Socialist: Republicans took another radical step Saturday to help the proposed charter to success. It was nothing less than an attempt to suppress and ruin Dziennik Ludowy, the Polish Socialist daily, published at 627 Milwaukee avenue. The press work for this newspaper, until Saturday, was done under a contract in the office of the Catholic Gazette, owned and published by State Treasurer Smulski, a large cog in the republican machine. It is Smulski's duty to "line up the Polish vote" and the Socialist daily was getting into the game with both feet." Smulski likes the money he received from the Socialists, but he was or-

dered by Busse and other large republican bosses to throw out the Socialist daily. This he did, summarily, Saturday afternoon. The idea was to make it impossible for the "Ludowy to get another set to work and today their daily appeared as usual. "I can't print press, but the plot failed. With their accustomed energy, the Poles your paper any more," said Smulski Saturday afternoon. The statement came like a bomb and the Poles were "knocked out" for a moment. "Will you not give us a week in which to get another press?" they asked. "Not a minute," said Smulski. "The republicans are getting sore because I allow you to print that Socialist paper here and you must get out." The editors got. All day Sunday and before daylight Monday the force was on duty, and the paper appeared, printed on a smaller press. It will come out every day and will continue its efforts to arouse the Polish working class, which has fallen into the clutches of self-seekers of the Smulski type.

## KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PETTIBONE CASE.

Luella Twining writes in The Worker: The fear is daily increasing that the state of Idaho will make a desperate fight on George Pettibone and will convict him if we are not on the alert. Political oblivion faces Gov. Gooding and Senator Borah of Idaho should all three men escape the gallows, for these officials said from the first that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone should never leave the state of Idaho alive. Senator Borah is now traveling through the country soliciting funds to prosecute Moyer, Pettibone and Steve Adams. We must not lapse in our duty nor allow our energies to subside. The mine owners think the working people are not watching Idaho now that Haywood is free. Remember, Pettibone is still imprisoned. We have won the first battle only. Our victory must not be turned into a defeat. Our work has just begun. It will take our utmost efforts to save the Western Federation of Miners. The trial of Wm. D. Haywood cost \$200,000, of which \$101,000 was paid into the defense fund, leaving a debt of \$9,000. The trials of Moyer, Pettibone and Steve Adams will take place in September and October. The Western Federation of Miners can not stand the terrific expense without your assistance.

## The Rev. Dr. Bradley— The Kingdom of Man— Socialism in the Bad Sense

THE REV. DR. BRADLEY, of St. John's M. E. Church, South, preached recently to his fashionable audience on Kingshighway, taking as his subject, "The Kingdom of Man," basing his statements on the biblical declaration that God gave to man dominion over all things. Much attention is given to "the Kingdom of God," therefore a little attention to man's kingdom and his conquests might be proper. Dr. Bradley is an evolutionist, and cited proofs of evolutionary progress in nature, made by man, his conquest of his natural enemies in brute form, also vegetable progress, floricultural, etc. This he followed by evidences of man's own development, and declared that by mingling of races, by travel and dissemination of ideas, man shows great improvement; and, said he, here is man's highest duty—the development of the race. All at once he electrified his audience by this startling declaration: "I am not a Socialist, in the bad sense of the word—that is, a leveling down of men—but I am a Socialist as to raising all men up to the heights and best that is in man." Dr. Bradley is too intelligent a man to believe that Socialists teach "leveling down," and must, therefore, have used the term, knowing that his hearers ignorantly believe they do.

Dr. Bradley is undoubtedly aware of that fact that his congregation believe they are the highest and best, and should his urgent demand that all join in the uplifting business, what a bright future there is for the downtrodden whom they reach! Had some Socialist agitator, "with soul afire to uplift," been present and looked around upon that fashionable audience, and seen the glittering diamonds, the ornaments of gold and silver, and all the elegant apparel (doubtless some made in Paris), he would have rejoiced in the possible evolutionary possibilities of some, now among the "submerged tenth," to the level of "the highest and best" of the Doctor's audience.

Furthermore, what a change for some of the children of the slums! Think of "Glen Echo Club grounds" instead of the filthy gutters, alleys and courtyards into which they are now crowded, and from whence they emerge to factories, workshops and stores, operated by the "highest and best" to make profits to be turned into diamonds, automobiles, etc.!

For the coming evolution any "Socialist agitator" might gladly wait "till the year after next," that he might realize "heaven begins below."

AN ANTI-LEVELER.

## The Materialistic Conception of History By FREDERICK ENGELS

The materialistic conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political evolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connection?

The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class today, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of subordination which constituted the framework of its social organization. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalistic mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine jus-

tice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working class.—By Frederick Engels.

## THE ARIZONA MINERS' STRIKE

is still being conducted with the usual vigor. The Copper Queen, with its allies, has scoured the country in the hope of filling the places of the strikers, but has met with poor success. The mines are in a dangerous condition, as the material secured as strike-breakers know but little about mining. Recent reports from the committee having the strike in charge are very encouraging. Stay away from Bisbee, Ariz.

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