

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

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PHONE: KINLOCH, CENTRAL 1577. NO. 416

## VAN CLEAVE'S LATEST SPASM

**His St. Louis Boycotted Buck Stove Alliance Sends Photographed Reproductions of Editorials From Montgomery County Register, Organ of the National Cash Register, Concern in Dayton, O.---"Stop, Look, Listen!---J. W. V.**

Mr. J. W. Van Cleave, president of the boycotted Buck Stove and Range Co. and high priest of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, had the kindness to mail us the photographed reproduction of the editorial page of the "Montgomery County Reporter," a sheet published by the National Cash Register Co., in Dayton, O., one of the worst labor skinning institutions in this country. Said Montgomery County Reporter publishes three editorials, filling nearly four columns, under the captions: "Samuel Gompers," "Gompers' Sentence," and "A Just Judge."

We quote part of these latest eruptions of Mount Van Cleave: **EDITORIALS FROM MONTGOMERY COUNTY REPORTER:**

**"Samuel Gompers.**

"Elsewhere we have used strong, even bitter, language in condemnation of Mr. Gompers and his colleagues.

"We realize, fully, that our position may seem extreme to many good and true friends of labor, but we have given expression to a conscientious conviction, and do not doubt that the near future will vindicate us by establishing the correctness of the position which has been taken.

"It is our deliberate judgment that Samuel Gompers and the official coterie that surrounds him, are the worst enemies the workingman, the wage-earning class has or can possibly have. Entirely destitute of patriotism, respect for duly constituted authority, or recognition of obligation to obey the law, they are the greatest possible obstacle to the development of a public sentiment which would demand and compel absolute justice and a sentiment of brotherliness for employes from employers.

"The evidences of a growing sentiment on the part of capital and labor, favorable to the existence of conditions which are mutually more equitable, just and kindly, are unmistakable; they are seen on every hand, at every convention, no matter what the subject of discussion or the object of the assemblage may be; they find expression in newspapers and magazines, and are manifest in shop management.

"The one serious obstacle to progress, to a harmonizing of interests which must be brought about by good will and kindly feeling, if at all, is this man of foreign birth, whose heart-throbs are not in sympathy with the United States, her flag or her form of government, and who seeks victory through war rather than success by peaceful methods.

"He is an alien graft on the tree of Liberty; and it were well if he could be transplanted to his native soil. If Americanism is to live, Gompers, Socialism and Anarchy must die. There is an irrepressible conflict between these principles, as much so as there was between freedom and slavery. One or the other will triumph, even though it be the result of war or through revolution.

"Gompers seeks to precipitate such a conflict. If successful, ninety per cent of the working class will oppose and defeat him, as they did in the recent attempt to betray them politically, and then, as now, he will be found pleading for clemency and shedding hypocritical tears in the presence of violated law.

"The crime committed by Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison was not associated with anything done or said by them prior to the issuance of the injunction. What they did was to defy an order of the United States Court. They did it openly and defiantly. In the language of the court: 'Everywhere, all over, within the court and out, utter, rampant, insolent defiance is heralded and proclaimed: unrefined insult, coarse affront, vulgar indignity, measures the litigants' conception of the tribunal's due, wherein his cause still pends.'

"Gompers and labor agitators everywhere, and some newspapers, act and talk as if the question at issue was the justice or legality of issuing the injunction a year ago, but this is not the question involved. That question is now pending in the upper court.

"The question before the court, and which now confronts the country, and involves the perpetuity of our form of government is: shall the law of the Federation of States or of the Federation of Labor be supreme?

"The talk about President Roosevelt pardoning these criminals is the vilest nonsense. No pardoning power is vested in the President in such cases. He has no jurisdiction in the matter and can neither pardon them or commute their sentences. This authority belongs to the trial court alone. Their offense was civil. The proceedings were instituted to defend and enforce the rights of citizens and to compel obedience to the order and judgment of the court.

"The Gompers case is a duplicate of the Debs case. Both were convicted of contempt of court for the violation of an injunction. In the Debs case the Supreme Court of the United States decided this same question, practically, and to the effect that a court, in enforcing obedience to its orders by proceedings in contempt, is not executing criminal laws, but securing to plaintiffs the rights which it has decided belong to them.

"No criminal ever felt the halter draw with good opinion of the law.

"Of course Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison and their law defying colleagues and the Socialists and anarchists among the rank and file of Organized Labor will raise a great outcry because the strong arm of the law has been laid upon them, and punishment for violated law awaits them.

"A review of some of the personal features of the case will be interesting, and we trust profitable.

"Gompers' personal and official record is one of defiance of law, and incitement of his followers to violate the law.

"If the court had disregarded its pain duty, had been intimidated by politicians, or officials high or low, by 'malefactors of wealth'—to quote the just and impartial (?) President—or malefactors of labor, and had turned him loose, given him license to preach treason and anarchy, what a jollification Socialists and anarchists would have had with Gompers as their leader, because he proclaimed himself in contempt and almost invited the court to open the prison door for him so that his martyrdom might be complete.

"In fact, it looked as if they wanted to go to jail—they certainly wanted to, before the election.

"But what a change. Could it be the result of the election; the virtual vote of lack of confidence and condemnation; a warning of the coming of the day of retribution when Gompers and his treasonable crew who have debased and debauched Organized Labor will be driven from place and power?

"What do we see when this great leader, this 'representative of 2,000,000 votes,' is brought face to face with violated law and outraged justice?

"When he claimed his right, as a convicted criminal, to address the court before sentence was passed upon him, he stood and, addressing the court, said:

"I am not conscious at any time of having violated any law

of the country. I would not consciously violate a law now or at any time during my full life.

"But the court knew the defendant, his principles and his record, and does not seem to have tempered justice with mercy. Debs says 'he gave it to him good and strong, but not too strong,' and Debs speaks from experience.

"The papers go on to repeat that when Gompers was making his plea 'he wept copiously,' and there was undoubtedly a great waste of eye irrigation.

"What hypocrisy! What a spectacle! Did the tears of thousands of wives, made widows, and tens of thousands of children made orphans by his followers ever touch his heart or produce any emotion? Was his voice ever raised or his influence ever exerted in condemnation of his fellow violators of the law who caused this distress and desolation?

"Gompers, 'the mills of the gods grind slow, but grind exceeding fine,' and wronged and outraged labor will grind the grist ere long, in recognition of the terrible wrongs committed on helpless women and children by the organization whose 2,000,000 votes you boasted you could control, but which repudiated you, and you and your class of anarchists will be the grist."

We shall not attempt to comment on the above Citizens' Industrial Alliance editorials. We leave it to our readers to make their own comment. Compare this latest propaganda circular of Buck Stove Van Cleave with his brotherly love letters which appeared on the first four pages of the St. Louis Republic of January 2, 1909, and in former issues of the same paper. There is but one verdict possible: "Guilty!" Could there be a more striking display of despicable hypocrisy! Who is any longer in doubt whether Buck Stove Van Cleave deserves his boycott medicine?

## The Socialist Party and Trade Unions

Editorial From Chicago Daily Socialist.

The relation which shall exist between the Socialist Party and the trade unions has been a subject of discussion at nearly every national and international gathering of Socialists since the two movements came into existence. We shall not attempt here to consider any of those phases of this question which have so long occupied the attention of such gatherings. They have adopted resolutions that give the result of their deliberations, and these resolutions must be the guide to any action by the Socialist Party. They have settled certain phases of the subject. It is now generally agreed that these two phases of the movement for the liberation of labor should and must work in harmony if there is to be success for either.

The trade unionists have at last come to admit the fundamental principle of the Socialist philosophy—that labor must use its political power or its economic organization will be destroyed.

The really great practical problem confronting the members of the Socialist Party is how best to bring the need of the co-operation to the attention of the trade unionists.

There was a time when the Socialist propaganda in trade unions was largely confined to introducing resolutions indorsing the Socialist Party and making soap-box speeches in their support. This stage has now passed forever. The Socialist within the union realizes that he is in the union for its own sake first and for Socialist propaganda second. It is now generally agreed that you can not "make Socialists by resolution."

The Socialist Party can make headway among trade unionists only as it can make headway anywhere—by showing that it is useful to the unionist. Socialism rests largely upon the principle that men are moved by their material interests. This being true, they will not support a political party unless they believe that it will do something for them.

The Socialist Party must take up the problems that are confronting the working class and whose solution is possible only through political actions. It must take these up with not for the unions. Workingmen who want someone to save them will never make Socialists, and if the Socialist Party comes in the role of a saviour from without the union movement it will never attract union men.

The Socialist press and speakers must take up every fight in which Organized Labor is interested, provided always that such a fight is not for something reactionary (which is almost never the case) and use its machinery in whatever lines it can produce the most effective results—always bearing in mind that no effective results can be secured by any abandonment of the Socialist position.

The present fight against "government by injunction" offers an opportunity for the Socialist Party. This fight can not be won by the working class without the use of its political party. The only organized expression of that power in America today is the Socialist Party.

If every Socialist local in America would hold mass meetings protesting against the attempt to elevate the courts above all other powers in American government, and especially against the recent outrages against trade union officials, such meetings would be infinitely more effective for the cause of Socialism than ten times as many doctrinaire lectures on the philosophy of Socialism.

Within the union the Socialists can constantly call attention to those broad questions which involve political action and show the need of a political party of labor and thereby bring the membership with him to the Socialist position, something very different from preaching Socialism at the members of the union.

The United States is the last great country to unite these two forms of working class activity—the union and the Socialist Party. It would now appear as if the hour of union was at hand.

## The Harvester Trust

The holders of the stock in the harvester trust, with the actual and par value of their holdings, as furnished by Mr. Edgar, follow:

	Shares.	Par value.	Fair value.
Cyrus H. McCormick	150,000	\$15,000,000	\$ 7,500,000
Harold McCormick	150,000	15,000,000	7,500,000
Anita McC. Blaine	150,000	15,000,000	7,500,000
Stanley McCormick	100,000	10,000,000	5,000,000
Mary V. McCormick	150,000	15,000,000	7,500,000
Nettie McCormick	150,000	15,000,000	7,500,000
William Deering	75,000	7,500,000	3,750,000
James Deering	75,000	7,500,000	3,750,000
Charles Deering	75,000	7,500,000	3,750,000
Richard F. Howe	25,000	2,500,000	1,250,000
W. E. Jones	10,000	1,000,000	500,000
John J. Glessner	25,000	2,500,000	1,250,000
Total	1,135,000	\$113,500,000	\$56,750,000

This table, according to Mr. Edgar, shows the holdings of the various stockholders on April 1, 1903, and the valuation is given at \$50 a share. April 1, in the two succeeding years, he says, a fair valuation would be \$60 a share, and April 1, 1907, \$75 a share. This would make a fair valuation of \$84,937,500. Mr. Edgar contends that there is due in back taxes for the years named \$4,500,000. The penalty provided by law for the failure of stockholders to pay taxes as they become due Mr. Edgar figures at \$2,500,000. This makes a total of \$7,000,000.

## THE "PARLOR A" CITY PARTY

**Its First Public Manifestation a Gross Violation of the Trade Union Principles--The Latest Political Formation in St. Louis Reform Politics--Non-Union Label Invitation Circular, Shaver Frazee Takes Leading Part in Conference, Fac Simile of the Call Sent Out by Invitation Committee.**

The latest birth in St. Louis reform politics is a "City Party," which first saw the light of day last Saturday at "Parlor A," Planters' Hotel. That there had been pregnancy of some kind somewhere was an open secret for some time, but the "happy mothers" failed to appear in public, for some reasons, known only to themselves. Nobody seemed to know who would secure the midwife job, until the following confidential invitation was circulated among "reliable citizens." This is a fac simile of the circular:

St. Louis, January 12, 1909.

DEAR SIR:

You are one of One Hundred Citizens invited to attend a conference at PARLOR "A," Planters Hotel, Saturday night, January 16, at 8:00 o'clock, for the purpose of organizing an independent municipal party. The basis of this party is to be the generally recognized principle that the city's business has no logical connection with national or state politics. The party is to be permanent. It will interfere with no man's political affiliations, but every citizen who attends this conference is understood to discard his politics so far only as all city elections are concerned, and to pledge himself to act with the others present in the nomination and support of a city ticket to be composed of the best citizens we can induce to accept, regardless of political affiliations, with the aim in view of securing a business administration, in the interest of all the people, and especially in favor of the immediate building of the free bridge.

This invitation is sent at the suggestion of a personal friend, on the theory that you will be in hearty accord with the above principles and policy and the action proposed. If you find yourself unable to accept this invitation on these conditions, will you kindly notify the secretary of the committee in order that the vacancy may be filled.

Yours truly,

Committee on Invitation of City Party Conference.

TOM. L. CANNON,  
WM. BAGGOTT,  
OWEN MILLER,  
DR. L. H. DAVIS,  
SHERIDAN WEBSTER,  
CHARLES L. MAURER,  
PERCY PEPOON,  
Secretary.

Phone, Bell Olive. 600. Kinloch, Central 700.

The above circular deserves the special attention of every Union man and woman of St. Louis.

At the very time when Van Cleave's Citizens' Industrial Alliance is making every effort to kill the boycott and send Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison to jail; at the very hour when the combined hat manufacturers of the country are straining every nerve to bury the Hatters' Union label; at the very hour when the Douglas Shoe Co. throws out the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union stamp; at the very hour when the International Typographical Union and the allied trades are still fighting for the recognition of the Allied Printers' Union label, we are surprised to find the first call of the "City Party" without the Printers' Union label.

Any Republican or Democratic ward politician would give more attention to Union principles. It seems that the gentlemen on the "Committee on Invitation" were boiling over with enthusiasm in the midst of their political midwifery and could not think of an insignificant thing like the Printers' Union label.

If signed by seven "land agents" like the gentleman whose name heads the list of the "Committee on Invitation of City Party Conference," the non-union label circular would not attract much attention. But we find among the seven political midwives the names of Owen Miller, President of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union;

Sheridan Webster, for years a member of International Typographical Union and delegate to Central Trades and Labor Union;

Percy Pepon, delegate of Typographical Union No. 8 in Central Trades and Labor Union, member of the Legislative and Political Action Committees of said body during the last presidential campaign.

These three names signed to a non-Union label circular must make a peculiar impression on serious-minded Union men.

## THE "CITY PARTY" CONFERENCE AS REPORTED BY THE DAILY PRESS.

(Sunday St. Louis Republic, Jan. 17, 1909.)

### NEW PARTY IS BORN IN STORMY SESSION.

Everybody Tells How to Free City From Control of Boss-Ridden Parties—Police Are on Hand.

Passing of Lie Starts Trouble "Show" at Planters and Amuses the Onlookers.

Oratory to an overflow; parliamentary law that has never before been known, and a wonderful diversity of opinion as to the best method of obtaining the same end, furnished entertainment to those who looked on at the organization of the new City Party at the Planters Hotel last night.

Stewart Scott was made chairman because, he said, he was independent in politics, "and no man could say he belonged to either the Democratic or Republican party." Thomas Meyers was secretary. Percy Pepon and Sheridan Webster were originally intended for spokesmen for the new party, but the meeting developed 100, there being that many present.

At frequent intervals about half the party was on the floor at the same time, and here the chairman demonstrated his ability by telling they were "all out of order."

Charles W. Frazee, who has a barber shop on Pine street, near Ninth street, was so much inspired by a desire to free the city from control of boss-ridden parties that he left his business on a Saturday night to be present at the meeting, and took such an active part in the proceedings that a motion was made for him "to sit down in the audience."

### Gathering of Night Riders.

Nicholas P. L. Rosch, one of the many supporters of David A. Ball for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination who were present,



asked the chair if it was a meeting of individuals or a gathering of night riders.

So exasperated was Chairman Scott at everyone present trying to speak at the same time that he arose from his seat and ejaculated: "I wish you gentlemen who know all about parliamentary law and politics would sit down and let one man at a time talk."

The argument followed an attempt by Mr. Frazee to amend a resolution of Mr. Pepon setting forth the purposes of the new party. Pepon's resolution provided for the organization of a committee of twenty-eight to perfect the new party organization, which was pledged to arrange for a convention of 280 delegates which would adopt a platform for a clean, progressive, business administration at the City Hall and the speedy completion of the free bridge.

Frazee wanted each section of the resolution taken up seriatim. He was termed, by some, an obstructionist, and for a time had difficulty in arresting the elusive eye of Chairman Scott. This, however, did not cease Frazee, who went up to the chair and asked permission to write his motion, which was granted.

Some one on the side saw Frazee sitting near the secretary, and fearing he might capture the meeting, shouted: "Mr. Chairman, I move that Frazee sit down in the audience."

"I am only here to write my motion; now you lay off," was the reply.

"I move that Mr. Frazee take a seat in the audience," said Sheridan Webster, who is one of the founders of the new party.

The motion coming from one of the founders of the party, caused Frazee to withdraw from the front seat.

**Police Restore Order.** Mr. Rosch was deprived of an opportunity of making a speech when the chairman recognized some one in the other part of the house.

So many attempted to tell at the same time how to form the party, and many have had experience before, that it was necessary to declare a five-minute recess. Only one-third of the voters of the new party went home during the recess, and the meeting reconvened in about five minutes.

When Frazee attempted to speak to his amendment a dozen were on the floor to declare him out of order. The chairman was inclined to agree with them, but Frazee demanded, under parliamentary law, the right to talk one minute to his motion.

"I'll give you thirty seconds," said the chairman, and Frazee made an eloquent address for thirty seconds.

It was finally agreed to leave the organization to the committee of twenty-eight and adjourn subject to the call of the chair.

Some one ruffled Frazee by insinuating that he had been sent to the meeting to start trouble, which he insisted was a lie. About that time four detectives, who were detailed to preserve order at the meeting, moved forward, but no further evidence of trouble was shown.

President Gray of the Board of Police Commissioners was invited to the meeting, and attended for a few minutes, standing in the room. He took no part in the deliberations and oratory, and explained he came to look on.

(St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 17, 1909.)

**CIVIC REFORMERS IN ROW.**

**Leaders of New Municipal Party Clash at First Organization Meeting—Fist Fight Is Averted.**

**Frazee and Wood About to Mix When Lie Is Passed—Rosch Calls Chairman "Night Rider."**

C. W. Frazee, former member of the State Barber Examining Board, and Edward E. Wood, brother of Joseph W. Wood, chief engineer at the City Hall, almost came to blows last night at the meeting held at the Planters' Hotel to organize a "Municipal Party" to "take the city administration out of politics." Wood made the statement during a stormy session of two hours that Frazee was believed to be an emissary of Harry Hawes sent to break up the meeting.

The encounter between Frazee and Wood occurred immediately after an adjournment had been taken, without the meeting having accomplished anything besides adopting a tentative plan for calling a party convention. The lie passed between the two men, but they were separated just as it looked like the passage would come to blows.

Nicholas P. L. Rosch, Democratic candidate at the primary for circuit attorney, added fuel to the flame by demanding of Chairman Stewart Scott whether those present had come there "as individuals or as night riders." Personalities were dealt back and forth by the 100 men present until the chairman finally was forced to declare a five minutes' recess for the men to "get together" on whether to proceed with the adoption of three resolutions on the table or to adjourn.

Scott proved an aggressive chairman. He told the audience that "all you politicians and parliamentarians who know how to run this meeting can take your amendments and do as you please with them." He said the new party proposed to "clean up the town" and wouldn't be hampered by amendments. Secretary T. A. Meyers' voice was drowned out by demands for recognition from the chair, from persons with a flood of amendments to the resolutions providing for calling a convention to nominate a city ticket.

Scott was accused by some of those clamoring for recognition with recognizing only his political friends. Then Scott got mad.

"I deny that I belong to any political party," he shouted to his hearers. "I am an ordinary traveling human being."

**Rosch Attacks Chairman.** Rosch became so excited during the hubbub that he threw his lighted cigar against the wall and openly declared the chairman was dealing in personalities in "night-rider" fashion.

After two hours' wrangling, resolutions leaving the preliminary organization of the party in the hands of a committee of twenty-eight, who are to call a city convention to nominate a ticket for the April municipal election was adopted. Sheridan Webster, one of the committee who called the meeting, said the object of the new party would be to give the city a business administration and build the free bridge.

A committee selected to assist Chairman Scott in building up the new party are Tom L. Cannon, William Baggott, Owen Miller, Dr. H. L. Davis, Sheridan Webster, Charles L. Maurer and Percy Pepon.

(Sunday Post-Dispatch, Jan. 17, 1909.)

**CHALLENGES TO FIGHT END CITY PARTY MEETING.**

**New Organization Passes Three Resolutions in Three Hours of Bickering.**

The first meeting of the new City Party, which proposes to elect the next Mayor and all the city officers and members of the Municipal Assembly in April on a free bridge platform, concluded late last night with a challenge from some of the leading spirits for a fist fight.

One hundred citizens were invited to the meeting, held at the Planters', but about twenty of that number talked and talked until it took the others three hours to pass three resolutions. There was so much talk, and so much bickering, that the chairman of the meeting, Stewart Scott, declared that all the orators in town must be there. At one time things became so threatening that N. P. L. Rosch, a lawyer, arose to inquire whether "we came here as individuals or night riders."

A man named Frazee, said to be a barber, took a seat at the chairman's table and proceeded to run things until "Brother" Sheridan Webster ordered him yanked back into the audience. After the meeting "Brother" Frazee wanted to whip "Brother" Woods in the middle of the floor, because some brother had circulated the un-

brotherly report that "Brother" Harry Hawes had sent "Brother" Frazee to the meeting to break it up.

"Brother" Sheridan Webster had little opportunity to talk, although he was one of the prime movers of the meeting. While "Brother" Eisenberg was making a speech 17 other brothers arose to a point of order and stopped him in the midst of a flight of oratory. "Brother" Percy Pepon had such a rapid flow of words that he got in the resolutions that were adopted.

The resolutions provided that the chairman appoint a committee of twenty-eight to call a meeting of 280 citizens, to call a convention, to nominate a city ticket and to adopt a platform. There is also to be an executive committee of five. The resolutions declared in favor of an independent party on a free bridge platform.

(St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Jan. 19, 1909.)

**CITY PARTY WILL PROCEED TO NOMINATE A TICKET.**

**Chairman Scott Will Announce Committee of Twenty-Eight This Week.**

Chairman Stewart Scott of the newly organized City Party, launched amid considerable excitement at the Planters' Hotel Saturday night, will announce the organization committee of twenty-eight as instructed by the meeting, some time this week. The original committee of eight, who called Saturday night's meeting, have been dropped, according to E. E. Wood, who attended the gathering.

In discussing his tilt with C. W. Frazee at the Planters' Hotel meeting, Mr. Wood said yesterday that he was not called a liar by Mr. Frazee, but that Mr. Frazee said that the man who said he was there as an emissary of Harry Hawes to break up the meeting was a liar. Mr. Wood said he was not that man, but he resented Frazee taking such a conspicuous part in the proceedings.

The new party's committee of twenty-eight will call a convention to nominate a city ticket as soon as they are appointed and can get together.

(See editorial on "City Party" on page 4.—Editor St. Louis Labor.)

**UNFAIR LIST**

of the

**American Federation of Labor**

The following is the complete "Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor. Many of the daily newspaper readers who hear so much about the "Unfair List" during these days may be anxious to know what names of firms the A. F. of L. "Unfair List" contains.

Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of the labor press to keep its readers properly informed. What are papers published for if not for giving correct information?

It is for this reason mainly that we hereby present the "Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor:

**BREAD**—McKinney Bread Co., American Bakery Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Gordon & Pagel, Detroit, Mich.; The National Biscuit Co., branches throughout the country.

**CIGARS**—Carl Upman of New York City; Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer of New York City, manufacturers of the Henry George and Tom Moore Cigars.

**FLOUR**—Washburn-Crosby Milling Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; Valley City Milling Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.

**GROCERIES**—James Butler, New York City.

**TOBACCO**—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

**WHISKY**—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

**CLOTHING**—N. Snellenberg & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Clothiers' Exchange, Rochester, N. Y.; B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Chicago.

**CORSETS**—Chicago Corset Co., manufacturers Kabo and La Marguerite Corsets.

**GLOVES**—J. H. Cownie Glove Co., Des Moines, Ia.; California Glove Co., Napa, Cal.

**HATS**—J. B. Stetson Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; E. M. Knox Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Henry H. Roelof, & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

**SHIRTS AND COLLARS**—United Shirt and Collar Co., Troy, N. Y.; Van Zandt, Jacobs & Co., Troy, N. Y.; Cluett, Peabody & Co., Troy, N. Y.; James R. Kaiser, New York City.

**BOOKBINDERS**—Boorum & Pease Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.

**PRINTING**—Hudson, Kimberly & Co., printers of Kansas City, Mo.; Times, Los Angeles, Cal.; Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Bulletin; The Butterick Pattern Co., New York City.

**POTTERY AND BRICK**—Northwestern Terra Cotta Co. of Chicago, Ill.; Corning Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Co., Corning, New York.

**CEMENT**—Portland Peninsular Cement Co., Jackson, Mich.; Utica Hydraulic Cement and Utica Cement Mfg. Co., Utica, Ill.

**GENERAL HARDWARE**—Landers, Frary & Clark, Aetna Co., New Britain, Conn.; Brown & Sharpe Tool Co., Providence, R. I.; John Russell Cutlery Co., Turner's Falls, Mass.; Henry Disston & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; New York Knife Co., Walden, N. Y.

**IRON AND STEEL**—Illinois Iron and Bolt Co. of Carpentersville, Ill.; Casey & Hedges, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Lincoln Iron Works (F. R. Patch Mfg. Co.), Rutland, Vt.; Singer Sewing Machine Co., Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.; Pittsburg Expanded Metal Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; American Hoist and Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Standard Sewing Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Manitowoc Dry Dock Co., Manitowoc, Wis.

**STOVES**—Wrought Iron Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.; United States Heater Co., Detroit, Mich.; Gurney Foundry Co., Toronto, Ont.; Home Stove Works, Indianapolis, Ind.; Buck Stove and Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.

**BAGS**—Gulf Bag Co., New Orleans, La., branch Bemis Brothers, St. Louis, Mo.

**BROOMS AND DUSTERS**—The Lee Broom and Duster Co. of Davenport, Ia.; M. Goeller's Sons, Circleville, Ohio; Merkle-Wiley Broom Co., Paris, Ill.

**WALL PAPER**—William Bailey & Sons, Cleveland, O.

**WATCHES**—Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; Jos. Fahy, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Watch Case Co., Sag Harbor; T. Zurbrugg Watch Case Co., Riverside, N. J.

**WIRE CLOTH**—Thos. E. Gleeson, East Newark, N. J.; Lindsay Wire Weaving Co., Collingwood, Ohio.

**BILL POSTERS**—Bryan & Co., Cleveland, O.; A. Van Buren Co. and New York Bill Posting Co., New York City.

**HOTELS**—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

**RAILWAYS**—Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co.

**TELEGRAPHY**—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger Service.

D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind. Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.

**C. W. Post**, Manufacturer of Grape Nuts and Postum Cereal, Battle Creek, Mich.

**FIBRE WARE**—Indurated Fibre Ware Co., Lockport, N. Y.

**FURNITURE**—American Billiard Table Co., Cincinnati, O.; O. Wisner Piano Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Krell Piano Co., Cincinnati, O.; Derby Desk Co., Boston, Mass.

**GOLD BEATERS**—Hastings & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Keeley, New York City; F. W. Rauskolb, Boston, Mass.

**LUMBER**—Reinle Bros. & Solomon, Baltimore, Md.; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co., Tacoma, Wash.; Gray's Harbor Commercial Co., Cohmopolis, Wash.

**LEATHER**—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

**Socialist Sunday School.**

Fifteenth Ward Socialist Sunday School meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at 1823 Carr street.

**ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST MUNICIPAL TICKET**

**Elections: April, 1909**

- Mayor**—Frank L. Robinson, Printer.
- Comptroller**—Phil. H. Mueller, Cigar Maker.
- Auditor**—W. R. Bowden, Railway Clerk.
- Treasurer**—Joseph Glader, Brewery Worker.
- Collector**—Hubert Morrison, Electrician.
- Register**—W. W. Baker, Printer.
- Marshal**—Ed. H. Heilman, Cigar Maker.
- Inspector of Weights and Measures**—F. F. Brinker, Carpenter.
- President Board of Public Improvements**—Ed. Ottesky, foreman.
- President Board of Assessors**—J. K. Savage, Merchant.
- President City Council**—Chris. Rucker, Cigar Maker.
- Members City Council**—Carl Kilwinski, cabinet maker; William H. Worman, printer; L. F. Rosekranz, tanner; O. E. Nulsen, electrician; Gus Eckhoff, carpenter; Henry Huebner, modeler.

- Members of House of Delegates**, by Wards—First, Christ. Reuther, molder; 2d, A. C. Rapp, furniture worker; 3d, Lawrence Ryan, watchman; 4th, left to the Executive Board; 5th, William Kreckler, baker; 6th, T. E. Delmore, teamster; 7th, Frank Heuer, pattern maker; 8th, Nicholas Becker, carpenter; 9th, William M. Brandt, cigar manufacturer; Tenth, G. A. Hoehn, editor; 11th, William Klages, bottler; 12th, Jacob Dornier, carpenter; 13th, William Crouch, cigar maker; 14th, T. C. Stephens, undertaker; 15th, Carl Yahlem, dentist; 16th, Jacob Wunsch, laborer; 17th, Wm. L. Bachman, merchant; 18th, Henry Schwartz, cigar maker; 19th, C. F. Zautner, insurance agent; 20th, Fred Werner, carriage blacksmith; 21st, L. E. Hildebrand, manager; 22d, C. A. Oakum; 23d, Otto Pauls, clerk; 24th, Fred Wedel, carpenter; 25th, H. Siroky, tailor; 26th, E. J. Hilliard, clerk; 27th, Otto Kaemmerer, garment cutter; 28th, T. F. McLaughlin, merchant.

**Board of Education**—Long term; Emil Simon, physician; L. G. Pope, lawyer; Otto Vierling, physician; Joseph Barrett, journalist. Short term: Mrs. Evaline Hunstock, ladies' tailor; John Barshal, artist.

**St. Louis Socialist Municipal Platform**

**CITY CHARTER REVISION** In view of the fact that our present City Charter has become antiquated and contains many serious obstacles to a healthy growth and progress of our municipality; therefore be it

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party demands the immediate revision of said charter in conformity with the city's urgent needs;

**Resolved**, that we favor the election of thirteen freeholders, in accordance with the provisions of our State Constitution, who shall at once proceed with said charter revision work.

**MUNICIPAL FREE BRIDGE** Whereas, the citizens of St. Louis, in June, 1906, by a referendum vote, decided in favor of a municipal free bridge;

Whereas, for the last two years every possible effort has been made by powerful corporation interests to prevent the people of this community from carrying out the plan of building said free bridge; therefore be it

**Resolved**, by the Socialist Party in Convention assembled, to call upon the citizens of St. Louis to insist that said municipal free bridge must be finished and opened for public use not later than January 1, 1911.

**MUNICIPAL LIGHTING PLANT** The Socialist Party insists on the immediate establishment of a system of municipal stations for producing light, heat and power for public and private use, to be managed and operated on the same basis as our municipal water works system. The Municipal Assembly shall not grant any more new franchises to private corporations for light, heat or power purposes; neither shall the present franchises held by private corporations or individuals be extended.

**INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL EXTENSION** Whereas, the St. Louis Industrial School is badly in need of new building, school and other facilities for the safety and welfare of the children whose misfortune it is to become inmates of said institution;

Whereas, not only are the buildings of said Industrial School inadequate, but the present location of the institution is such that the much needed improvements cannot be satisfactorily carried out;

**Resolved**, that the Socialist Party proposes the removal of said Industrial School to some favorably located, healthful grounds in St. Louis County; upon which the so-called cottage or group system of buildings can be successfully established.

**MUNICIPAL HOSPITAL REFORM** For years it has been recognized that the system of management and control of our City Hospital and Dispensary service is exceedingly faulty and objectionable. The safety of the health and lives of the city's sick depends on the chance of political fortune, which is inhumane. We must guarantee to the sick poor the best possible care under every and all conditions; therefore, be it

**Resolved**, That the Socialist Party insists on the following reforms: (1) Separation of the Health Department from the Hospital Department; (2) Vesting of control over the hospitals in a Board of Trustees, similar to the School Board and elected by the people; (3) Provision for an executive superintendent; (4) Provision for a medical staff of experienced physicians, appointed by the Board of Trustees for a term of years; (5) Provision for an interne body of physicians, to be chosen on the basis of competitive examination conducted by the staff. Such internes shall be responsible to and under the guidance of the medical staff.

**MUNICIPAL PROGRAMME.**

- Municipal ownership of street railway service.
- Municipal home rule.
- Public toilet stations.
- More public bath houses.
- Rigid pure food inspection.
- Abolition of grade crossings.
- More small public parks and play grounds.
- A warm meal to be served at public schools during noon recess.
- Establishment of municipal lodging stations for the unemployed.
- Municipal ice plant in connection with City Water Department.
- Municipal employment bureaus; private employment agencies to be prohibited.
- Free medical inspection of all children attending all public and private schools.
- Free legal advice and service to wage workers in suits for wages and against mortgage sharks.
- City Forestry Department to have charge of planting of and caring for shade trees along residence streets.
- Residence building permits to be granted only on condition that dwellings be provided with bath and toilet facilities.
- Abolition of contract system in public works; eight hours workday under Union conditions, and civil service for all municipal employes.
- While the street cars are still operated by private corporations we insist on the enforcement of these rules: No seats, no fare; cars must be kept in good sanitary condition, well heated and ventilated; eight hours to constitute a day's work for all street railway employes.
- In order to relieve the serious condition of the thousands of unemployed in this community, we urge the inauguration and pushing of such public works as have already been decided upon or as may be undertaken, thus enabling these unfortunate wage workers to properly sustain themselves and those dependent on them.

**RESOLUTION.**

We reiterate our allegiance to the Socialist Party of the United States and endorse its platform. We appeal to the working class, and to all who are in sympathy with the principles above enunciated, to join in this great movement for economic and social freedom.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.



# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx.

### II.

In these branches of industry, therefore, the rate of profit would fall, not only in simple proportion to the general rise in the rate of wages, but in the compound ratio of the general rise of wages, the rise in the prices of necessaries, and the fall in the prices of luxuries.

What would be the consequence of this difference in the rates of profits for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, the average rate of profit comes to differ in the different spheres of production. Capital and labor would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the increased demand. This change effected, the general rate of profit would again be equalized in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities, the cause ceasing, the effect would cease, and prices would return to their former level and equilibrium. Instead of being limited to some branches of industry, the fall in the rate of profit consequent upon the rise of wages would have become general. According to our supposition, there would have to take place no change in the productive powers of labor, nor in the aggregate amount of production, but that given amount of production would have changed its form. A greater part of the produce would exist in the shape of necessaries, a lesser part in the shape of luxuries, or what comes to the same, a lesser part would be exchanged for foreign luxuries, and be consumed in its original form, or, what again comes to the same, a greater part of the native produce would be exchanged for foreign necessaries instead of luxuries. The general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, after a temporary disturbance of market prices, only result in a general fall of the rate of profit without any permanent change in the prices of commodities.

If I am told that in the previous argument I assume the whole surplus wages to be spent upon necessaries, I answer that I have made the supposition most advantageous to the opinion of Citizen Weston. If the surplus wages were spent upon articles formerly not entering into the consumption of the workingmen, the real increase of their purchasing power would need no proof. Being, however, only derived from an advance of wages, that increase of their purchasing power must exactly correspond to the decrease of the purchasing power of the capitalists. The aggregate demand for commodities would, therefore, not increase, but the constituent parts of that demand would change. The increasing demand on the one side would be counterbalanced by the decreasing demand on the other side. Thus the aggregate demand remaining stationary, no change whatever could take place in the market prices of commodities.

You arrive, therefore, at this dilemma: Either the surplus wages are equally spent upon all articles of consumption—then the expansion of demand on the part of the working class must be compensated by the contraction of demand on the part of the capitalist class—or the surplus wages are only spent upon some articles whose market prices will temporarily rise. Then the consequent rise in the rate of profit in some, and the consequent fall in the rate of profit in other branches of industry will produce a change in the distribution of capital and labor, going on until the supply is brought up to the increased demand in the one department of industry, and brought down to the diminished demand in the other departments of industry. On the one supposition there will occur no change in the prices of commodities. On the other supposition, after some fluctuations of market prices the exchangeable values of commodities will subside to the former level. On both suppositions the general rise in the rate of wages will ultimately result in nothing but a general fall in the rate of profit.

To stir up your powers of imagination Citizen Weston requested you to think of the difficulties which a general rise of English agricultural wages from nine shillings to eighteen shillings would produce. Think, he exclaimed, of the immense rise in the demand for necessaries, and the consequent fearful rise in their prices! Now, all of you know that the average wages of the American agricultural laborer amount to more than double that of the English agricultural laborer, although the prices of agricultural produce are lower in the United States than in the United Kingdom, although the general relations of capital and labor obtain in the United States the same as in England, and although the annual amount of production is much smaller in the United States than in England. Why, then, does our friend ring this alarm bell? Simply to shift the real question before us. A sudden rise of wages from nine shillings to eighteen shillings would be a sudden rise to the amount of 100 per cent. Now, we are not at all discussing the question whether the general rate of wages in England could be suddenly increased to 100 per cent. We have nothing at all to do with the magnitude of the rise, which in every practical instance must depend on, and be suited to, given circumstances. We have only to inquire how a general rise in the rate of wages, even if restricted to one per cent, will act.

Dismissing friend Weston's fancy rise of 100 per cent, I propose calling your attention to the real rise of wages that took place in Great Britain from 1849 to 1859.

You are all aware of the Ten Hours bill, or rather the Ten-and-a-Half Hours bill, introduced since 1848. This was one of the greatest economic changes we have witnessed. It was a sudden and compulsory rise of wages, not in some local trades, but in the leading industrial branches by which England sways the markets of the world. It was a rise of wages under circumstances singularly unpropitious. Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and all the other official economical mouthpieces of the middle class, proved, and I must say upon much stronger grounds than those of our friend Weston, that it would sound the death-knell of English industry. They proved that it not only amounted to a simple rise of wages, but to a rise of wages initiated by, and based upon, a diminution of the quantity of labor employed. They asserted that the twelfth hour you wanted to take from the capitalist was exactly the only hour from which he derived his profit. They threatened a decrease of accumulation, rise of prices, loss of markets, stinting of production, consequent reaction upon wages, ultimate ruin. In fact, they declared Maximilian Robespierre's Maximum Laws to be a small affair compared to it; and they were right in a certain sense. Well, what was the result? A rise in the money wages of the factory operatives, despite the curtailing of the working day, a great increase in the number of factory hands employed, a continuous fall in the prices of their products, a marvelous development in the productive powers of their labor, an unheard-of progressive expansion of the markets for their commodities. In Manchester, at the meeting in 1860, of the Society for the Advancement of Science, I myself heard Mr. Newman confess that he, Dr. Ure, Senior, and all other official propounders of economic science, had been wrong, while the instinct of the people had been right. I mention Mr. W. Newman, not Professor Francis Newman, because he occupies an eminent position in economic science, as the contributor to, and editor of, Mr. Thomas Tooke's History of Prices, that magnificent work which traces the prices from 1793 to 1856. If our friend Weston's fixed idea of a fixed amount of wages, a fixed

amount of production, a fixed degree of the productive power of labor, a fixed and permanent will of the capitalists, and all his other fixedness and finality were correct, Professor Senior's woeful forebodings would have been right, and Robert Owen, who already in 1816 proclaimed a general limitation of the working day the first preparatory step to the emancipation of the working class, and actually in the teeth of the general prejudice inaugurated it on his own hook in his cotton factory at New Lanark, would have been wrong.

In the very same period during which the introduction of the Ten Hours bill, and the rise of wages consequent upon it, occurred, there took place in Great Britain, for reasons which it would be out of place to enumerate here, a general rise in agricultural wages.

Although it is not required for my immediate purpose, in order to mislead you, I shall make some preliminary remarks.

If a man got two shillings weekly wages, and if his wages rose to four shillings, the rate of wages would have risen by 100 per cent. This would seem a very magnificent thing if expressed as a rise in the rate of wages, although the actual amount of wages, four shillings weekly, would still remain a wretchedly small, a starvation pittance. You must not, therefore, allow yourselves to be carried away by the high-sounding per cents in the rate of wages. You must always ask, What was the original amount?

Moreover, you will understand, that if there were ten men receiving each 2s per week, five men receiving each 5s, and five men receiving 11s weekly, the twenty men together would receive 100s, or £5 weekly. If there a rise, say by 20 per cent, upon the aggregate sum of their weekly wages took place, there would be an advance from £5 to £6. Taking the average, we might say that the general rate of wages had risen by 20 per cent, although, in fact, the wages of the ten men had remained stationary, the wages of the one lot of five men had risen from 5s to 6s only, and the wages of the other lot of five men from 5s to 7s. One-half of the men would not have improved at all their position, one-quarter would have improved it an imperceptible degree, and only one-quarter would have bettered it really. Still, reckoning by the average, the total amount of the wages of those twenty men would have increased by 20 per cent, and as far as the aggregate capital that employs them, and the prices of the commodities they produce, are concerned, it would be exactly the same as if all of them had equally shared in the average rise of wages. In the case of agricultural labor, the standard wages being very different in the different counties of England and Scotland, the rise affected them very unequally.

Lastly, during the period when that rise of wages took place, counteracting influences were at work, such as the new taxes consequent upon the Russian war, the extensive demolition of dwelling houses of the agricultural laborers, and so forth.

Having premised so much, I proceed to state that from 1849 to 1859 there took place a rise of about 40 per cent in the average rate of the agricultural wages of Great Britain. I could give you ample details in proof of my assertion, but for the present purpose think it sufficient to refer you to the conscientious and critical paper read in 1860 by the late Mr. John C. Morton at the London Society of Arts on "The Forces Used in Agriculture." Mr. Morton gives the returns, from bills and other authentic documents, which he had collected from about one hundred farmers, residing in twelve Scotch and thirty-five English counties.

According to our friend Weston's opinion, and taken together with the simultaneous rise in the wages of the factory operatives, there ought to have occurred a tremendous rise in the prices of agricultural produce during the period 1849 to 1859. But what is the fact? Despite the Russian war, and the consecutive unfavorable harvests from 1854 to 1856, the average price of wheat, which is the leading agricultural produce of England, fell from about £3 per quarter for the years 1838 to 1848 to about £2 10s per quarter for the years 1849 to 1859. This constitutes a fall in the price of wheat of more than 16 per cent simultaneously with an average rise of agricultural wages of 40 per cent. During the same period, if we compare its end with its beginning, 1859 with 1849, there was a decrease of official pauperism from 934,419 to 860,470, the difference being 73,949; a very small decrease, I grant, and which in the following years was again lost, but still a decrease.

It might be said that, consequent upon the abolition of the Corn Laws, the import of foreign corn was more than doubled during the period from 1849 to 1859, as compared with the period from 1838 to 1848. And what of that? From Citizen Weston's standpoint one would have expected that this sudden, immense and continuously increasing upon foreign markets must have sent up the prices of agricultural produce there to a frightful height, the effect of increased demand remaining the same whether it comes from without or from within. What was the fact? Apart from some years of failing harvests, during all that period the ruinous fall in the price of corn formed a standing theme of declamation in France; the Americans were again and again compelled to burn their surplus of produce; and Russia, if we are to believe Mr. Urquhart, prompted the Civil War in the United States because her agricultural exports were crippled by the Yankee competition in the markets of Europe.

Reduced to its abstract form, Citizen Weston's argument would come to this: Every rise in demand occurs always on the basis of a given amount of production. It can therefore, never increase the supply of the articles demanded, but can only enhance their money prices. Now the most common observations shows that an increased demand will, in some instances, leave the market prices of commodities altogether unchanged, and will, in other instances, cause a temporary rise of market prices followed by an increased supply, followed by a reduction of the prices to their original level, and in many cases below their original level. Whether the rise of demand springs from surplus wages, or from any other cause, does not at all change the conditions of the problem. From Citizen Weston's standpoint the general phenomenon was as difficult to explain as the phenomenon occurring under the exceptional circumstances of a rise of wages. His argument had, therefore, no peculiar bearing whatever upon the subject we treat. It only expressed his perplexity at accounting for the laws by which an increase of demand produces an increase of supply, instead of an ultimate rise of market prices.

(To be continued.)

### Carriage Drivers Elect Officers.

The Carriage Drivers' Union installed the following officers at an open meeting at 200 South Broadway: Robert Moore, president; Henry Raket, vice-president; Peter Straghtman, financial secretary and treasurer; Edwin D. Diehl, recording and corresponding secretary; George Palmerton, William Pierson and George Norman, trustees. After the installation, a banquet was given in honor of Robert Lewis, president for the last six years.

### DAY AND EVENING CLASSES.

Individual Instruction—2106 Lafayette Avenue.

If you want to learn English, thoroughly and quickly, join Mrs. S. Woodman's private classes. One course of private instruction will help you more than many months in the public night schools. Call on Mrs. Woodman, 2106 Lafayette avenue, for particulars.

"They Must; or God and the Social Democracy." By Rev. Hermann Kutter. Price \$1.00. For sale at Labor Book Department,

## TO THE PUBLIC!

Why is the St. Louis Bakery Trust opposed to Union Labor? For the same reason that the other trusts and corporations are opposed to having their employes join the ranks of Organized Labor.

Every workingman and woman is requested not to patronize any of the boycotted bakeries.

Give your grocery man to understand that he will lose your patronage if he will not insist upon the removal of the boycotted firms' bread boxes in front of his store.

This is a battle for the rights of the workingmen and women. The same old story is repeated: To crush the small master bakers out of the competitive field and force him to the wall of ruin and bankruptcy; next, to crush the labor unions in order that they may employ anybody and everybody they please, at whatever wages they please, under whatever conditions of labor they may dictate, and then place themselves in a position of might and power, which will enable them to declare: **The Public Be Damned!**

If your grocer is selling any of the American Bakery Co.'s products, please inform him that he can no longer have your patronage.

Tell him that the following trust bakeries are unfair, and therefore not entitled to the support of union men and women or sympathizers with the labor movement:

Heydt Bakery Co.  
Condon Bakery Co.  
St. Louis Bakery Co.  
Freund Bakery Co.  
Welle-Boettler Bakery Co.  
Hauk & Hoerr Bakery Co.  
Home Bakery Co.

Do not buy any bread from the foregoing bakeries. They refuse to recognize Union Labor.

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Office open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., daily.

LABOR BOOK DEPT., 212 S. Fourth St., St. Louis, Mo.



# LABOR.

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## ALLIED PRINTING TRADES LABEL.

46



The Allied Printing Trades Council calls your attention to the above label. It is made in different sizes, and is furnished to the printing establishments employing union men. We request the cooperation of all union men, as well as the business men of the city, and ask that they insist upon it being in the office patronized by them, and that it appears on the printing.

## SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1900 for Debs and Harriman..... 96,931  
In 1904 for Debs and Hanford..... 408,230  
In 1908 for Debs and Hanford..... 423,898

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867..... 30,000  
1877..... 494,000  
1887..... 931,000  
1893..... 2,585,000  
1898..... 4,515,000  
1903..... 6,825,000  
1906..... over 7,000,000

## "CITY PARTY"

On the front page of this week's St. Louis Labor we publish the conference call of the latest political creation in St. Louis, under the name of "City Party." The party will interfere with no man's political affiliations, so the call says, but every man who lines up with this "City Party," must discard his politics, locally; he must pledge himself to the candidates of a "city ticket to be composed of the best citizens we can induce to accept," in order to "secure a business administration, in the interest of all the people, and especially in favor of the immediate building of the free bridge."

The mission of this new "City Party" is immense. It is to unite anybody and everybody on a bottomless basis. Everybody cut loose from his political affiliation, such as Bryan-Democracy, Jefferson Club, St. Louis Democracy, Merchants' League, etc., and join the "City Party." In other words, every good old capitalist partyite must temporarily cast off his political shell, like snails, and creep into the municipal reform skin of the "City Party," because the "College of Political Midwifery," which is responsible for this latest birth, fails to see any "logical connection with national or state politics."

There are persons who subscribe to such soap-bubble movements, because they are a fine means of blinding the great mass of the people. From the very start this "City Party" organizers were so over anxious in getting the soapboiler on the fire that they even failed to see any logical connection between municipal reform and the fundamental principles of Organized Labor. In this attempt to prepare the political hash and serve the same to the innocent citizens of St. Louis they forgot the most vital things.

The idea that the same political forces that line up on material class issues, class privileges and class interests in national and state politics, should disband and abandon their special class privileges and interests in municipal politics, is a childish dream, a political spiderweb. It remains to be seen how many flies will get near enough to get caught in the web by the spiders.

Will any man with common sense tell us that the capitalist corporation and class interests at work in the political state and national campaigns will remain dormant during municipal elections? In municipal campaigns the struggles for capitalist class interests are even more desperate. The political party machines must line up in defense of those interests, and if the interests of the working class, the great mass of the people, are to be protected, nothing short of a determined, well organized party, with a well defined program on working class lines, like the Socialist Party, can accomplish any real reform work.

The Free Bridge, Natural Gas, Cheap Gas and other municipal reform movements of recent years point plainly and conclusively to the absolute necessity of a strong Socialist party representation in the St. Louis Municipal Assembly.

## JOBS FOR JOBLESS

When two weeks ago the most severe snowstorm for years surprised St. Louis, keeping the thermometer down to the zero mark for several days, the capitalist dailies availed themselves of the opportunity to misrepresent and insult the thousands of unemployed proletarians who gathered in the police stations and in the Four Courts.

Most of the papers, especially St. Louis Republic and St. Louis Times, made it appear that the unemployed men sheltered at the Four Courts and police stations during the cold stormy nights, were too lazy to accept the jobs as snow shovelers offered by the Street Commissioner. The St. Louis Times published a mean editorial on the subject abusing the unfortunate victims of the industrial depression.

During the first two days of snowstorm the streets were almost impassable. Unless people were provided with good shoes, and heavy clothes, they certainly got the worst of it. Think for a moment: there were the poor wretches of jobless men, poorly clad, with shoes torn, physically weakened, with empty stomachs, freezing. These unfortunate creatures are expected to face the snow storm, at zero temperature, for eight or more hours a day. In case of accepting the job they find themselves without a nickel for a cup of coffee

in the morning, and when coming to the City Hall the Street Commissioner tells them that they must bring their shovels along, if they desire to shovel municipal snow.

Of course, the wise editors of our great capitalist dailies cannot see these things. It is none of their business to do justice to the unemployed wage worker. They must please their masters or quit their jobs.

The queer part of these capitalist newspaper write-ups about the lazy hoboes who refused to shovel snow is, that they were not true. On January 14 one daily paper published the following sensational report:

### "TRAVILLA ASKS FOR POLICE.

"Wanted to Keep Order in Largely Increased Force of Snow Cleaners.

"The Police Department has been asked by Street Commissioner Travilla to furnish a squad of police at the City Hall this morning to keep the applicants for snow shoveling jobs in order. When several hundred men and a hundred transient teams packed the streets at Thirteenth and Market yesterday morning traffic was tied up and the foremen of the gangs were unable to get their men in line for some time.

"Three hundred more men and 100 teams will be put to work this morning, providing the men bring shovels. Men employed yesterday numbered 672 and teams 277. This will be increased to 1,000 men and 375 teams. Travilla says his present organization will not be able to handle a larger force."

"The Lazy Hoboes" was the general topic of consideration on the cars leading to the aristocratic West End, in the hotel corridors, business offices and restaurants. How long will the organized wage workers quietly submit to this outrageous work of a servile daily press?

## TIMELY QUESTION

President Van Cleave of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis and the Napoleon of the Manufacturers' Association, has written a lengthy communication which was published in the St. Louis Republic of December 25th on the Gompers decision. After giving his personal views on the principles and honesty of purpose of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, he quotes indorsements of his organization penned by the Most Rev. John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis, the Right Rev. Daniel L. Tuttle, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, Brother Constantine, Vice-President Christian Brothers' College of St. Louis, Rev. Henry Stiles Bradley of St. Louis, Rabbi Samuel Sale of St. Louis and Rev. Robert S. Parkes Cadman of Brooklyn, New York. When the members of organized labor become acquainted with the fact, that such dignitaries of the church give their sanction and approbation to a labor-crushing association, can the church expect the working people to gather in the so-called temples of God? The hierarchy of the church can little longer delude the great mass of the people by promises of reward in the "Kingdom Come." The working people are commencing to demand a "kingdom" here, where man, woman and child shall enjoy liberty and no longer wear the chains of industrial slavery. The church must be Christianized or the church is destined to fill the same grave as capitalism.—Miners' Magazine.

## Editorial Observations

Please tell me with whom you associate and I'll tell you who you are.—(Proverb).

No matter what we think of President Roosevelt for one thing we must give him credit: He knows how to make dirt fly in Washington!

John I. Beggs, the chief of the North American monopoly that owns practically all of the public utilities of St. Louis, is laying his political wires for the Spring election.

The workingman who buys a non-union hat is in line with the work of the United Hat Manufacturers, who are now attempting to disrupt the Journeymen Hatters' Union.

Remember the Protest Meeting in behalf of the Mexican revolutionists at Druids Hall, Sunday, January 31. Mother Jones will speak. Watch next week's announcement in St. Louis Labor.

Read Up On Socialism and the Labor Problem. Get Some pamphlets and books at the Labor Book Department. From the A B C pamphlets to the scientific works of Marx and Engels, anything you want.

Marshall Field saved his money! Just read this!

Chicago, Jan. 17.—The exact value of the late Marshall Field's property was placed at \$83,459,032 today when the appraisers' report was filed in the county court. A score of appraisers have been working on the report since Mr. Field's death.

The Special Committee of the Legislature which was sent to St. Louis to recount the vote for Lieutenant Governor discovered that in the first ten out of the twenty-eight wards in St. Louis 98 Socialist votes had not been counted. In three precincts of the Second Ward 68 Socialist votes for Lieutenant Governor had been counted for the old parties. In the Tenth Ward 14 Socialist votes had not been counted.

The "City Party" is the "choicest" political conglomeration ever known in St. Louis. Indeed, so many-sided is the new creation that it is not even known where some of the constituents come from or what interests they represent. Why the name of the proposed movement is City Party instead of "Natural Gas Party" we cannot understand. It is a political gas proposition, nothing else. You can always smell it, but you fail to see it. Just like any other gas!

Here is the latest news from local political headquarters: The Democratic party will nominate a clean ticket for the April elections, and the Republican party will nominate none but clean and good men for the same elections. This Democratic and Republican determination may cause an increase in the price of soap before the days of the nomination conventions. If both parties wish to get clean by that time much dirty wash water will yet have to flow toward the Gulf of Mexico.

The Czar's murder machine is still in motion. Statistics, as published by the newspapers, show that during the Russian year just ended 1,957 persons were sentenced to death in the Empire and 782 executed. The largest number of executions were in Warsaw and Kiev, being more than 150 in each place, and in Yakaterineslav 100 put to death. Sixty-three newspapers were suppressed in the Empire and others fined to the aggregate amount of \$530,000.

Every labor union should contribute to the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison defense fund. Don't let any constitutional technicalities interfere with this important work. Suspend your Union constitution, if necessary, and make an appropriation, for this is an exceptional case and exceptional means are required to get the matter before the United States Supreme Court.

Buck Stove Van Cleave is working overtime just now. Within the last week he mailed to our address three documents dealing with the Gompers case: the editorial page of the scab National Cash Register Co's organ, then an expensive pamphlet entitled "One Against Two Million," and last a four page circular containing paid editorial write-ups against Organized Labor in connection with the Gompers case.

The Whole Trend of Human Endeavor, the Whole Force of the great masses of labor is pressing steadily in the direction of one goal. It has but one object to accomplish: The complete emancipation of every man, woman and child from the fear of want and poverty. The movement is world-wide, is gaining in strength every day and marching step by step in the direction of universal Fatherhood and the Brotherhood of Man.—Machinists' Monthly Journal.

Keir Hardie's speech printed in full on page 5 of this week's St. Louis Labor, should be carefully read by every Socialist and Trade Unionist. Hardie has given his life to this movement and his voice should be heard. At the age of eight years Keir, the little Scotch boy, accompanied his father into the mine a thousand feet deep and there worked ten and more hours a day. As an organizer in the Trades Union and Socialist movement Hardie has done the work of a giant.

The Real Estate Exchange is after the deadbeats; i. e., after the poor suckers who can't pay their rent. It is impossible to go after the rich deadbeats, because that would include many a gentleman connected with the Real Estate Exchange and similar institutions. The Real Estate Exchange is preparing a black list for the use of its members, and this will contain the names of all those who have been hauled into a justice court as bad tenants. The list is being prepared from the court files and will be as complete as such information will admit. Assistant Secretary Warren McGinnis is preparing the list. All court cases of the kind since the 1st of January are already tabulated and the suits during 1908 will be tabulated from back files of the Daily Record. Here is an officially prepared system of blacklisting, which seems to be legal, perfectly legal, because big grafters are persecuting poor suckers.

## Hypocrisy of the C. I. A.

By W. W. Baker.

"Did you see 'Old 1808' the other day, the edition which contained all the letters of the 'C. I. A.' bunch?" asked the cigar maker, as he took a seat among those waiting to be shaved at the barber shop.

All admitted they had either seen it or heard of it.

"How many of the letter writers are known as liberal employers?" asked the bricklayer.

"I looked over the list carefully, and found a number who are known to pay bottom wages," said the fireman. "I think very few, if any of them, employ union labor."

"Well," remarked the butcher, "I don't see why they haven't as good a right to their position as the union workingmen. When I want to hire a man it doesn't make any difference to me whether he belongs to a union or not. A man ought to have the right to work if he can get it, and if he can work for a dollar a day, that's his business. If he wants to work ten or twelve hours and call it a day's work, why shouldn't he do it?"

"Let me put that another way," suggested the carpenter. "Your competitor has a right to sell sauerkraut at four pounds for a nickel if he wants to and can afford it; or he has a right to sell beefsteak for a nickel a pound, or any other commodity he has in stock for any price he may see fit to put upon it. It makes no difference to you, I suppose, if your competitor disorganizes the trade by lowering prices and making conditions impossible for you to meet. You have no use for the price-cutter in business, I know; but you are not a workingman depending upon the consent of some master to work, and thus you can not see the injury the non-union man does in disorganizing the conditions in the shop, the mill or factory. The union man is upholding wages and trying to shorten the hours so that more men may be employed. You would rather have a workingman's trade who has a lot of money to spend and has a good job than the trade of a man who gets but a pittance. The man who gets \$3.50 per day does not haggle about the price of a soup bone. You sell it to him, and the sale is easy, and you make your profit, but the poorly paid non-union man has from a dollar and a half to two dollars a day and sometimes is defrauded of that. You don't sell him much. His small wages have to be divided among a lot of people, and he can't spend much with anyone, because he don't get much."

"I don't think either of you see the inconsistent position of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance," said the machinist. "In their platform they claim that in order to secure to the community industrial peace and to themselves and posterity the individual freedom guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, they believe that the laws and statutes of the country and state are the will of the majority, as well as the protection of the weak, and must not be violated; that no self-constituted body of men has the right to usurp the power of arbitrarily dictating to others their course in the following of their trade, occupation or business, and oppose any limitation upon their rights in so doing. It appears to me that this desire to establish industrial peace is very one-sided. The majority of members would exclude from their employment any man who has ever been involved in a strike, for whatever cause. A man who strikes is an industrial rebel, in their opinion, and the easiest way to dispose of him is to starve him, and his family to death, by blacklisting him. That is legal—to deny a man the right to work. When a man is out of work and can find no one to employ him he is pretty weak. The best thing to strengthen him is a job where he can earn a living for himself and those dependent upon him. Are the members of the C. I. A. in favor of laws which will guarantee men the right to work? Not so that you can notice it? Who are the strong? The men who own the opportunities to work—the jobs. And still they say no self-constituted body of men has the right to arbitrarily dictate to others their course in the following of their trade. If they are sincere, why don't they give the unemployed the opportunity to work? Why don't they allow the workers a voice in fixing the compensation, and the number of hours of work? They deny the right of any organization to limit the opportunity of a man to better his condition by honest labor or the right of the American youth to follow the trade of his choice. Is the C. I. A. not an organization? Are they not doing this very thing? Suppose a young man was to present himself at Van Cleave's foundry and say he chose to be a molder and desired to learn the trade. Do you suppose he would get the opportunity? He might insist that poor wages would not better his condition, however honest his labor. It would have no effect on a member of the C. I. A. He would be told that they dictated the terms of employment and the compensation, and reserved the right to decide whether employment was to be granted or not. Don't you see the sham?"



# KEIR HARDIE'S NEW YORK SPEECH ON LABOR'S REVOLT

The Leader of the British Labor Party Addresses Immense Audience at Carnegie Hall Under the Auspices of the Civic Forum. Toilers of Great Britain Awakening on Political and Economic Field Lessons for American Trade Unionists and Socialists. The Working Class to Push Ever Onward.

## Carnegie Hall Crowded.

Men and women in all walks of life and of diverse social movements filled Carnegie Hall Tuesday night of last week to hear Keir Hardie, member of the British Parliament and leader of the Labor Party, relate the struggles and aspirations of the workingmen of Great Britain. Held under the auspices of the Civic Forum, the meeting was attended by an audience that was a truly representative one. Yet to nearly everybody the story of the awakening of the masses of England and throughout the civilized world was inspiring as well as interesting.

Dressed in plain clothes, his face wrinkled and hair gray, Mr. Hardie was the picture of a grizzled veteran of the industrial struggle. Short of build and with a massive head, the speaker stood in the center of the stage and faced the large audience, which was partly oppositional, partly indifferent and partly sympathetic, and in steady and clear tones gave utterance to the voice of the depths.

Mr. Hardie told of the practical achievements of the Labor Party of England, and of the fight they are vigorously making for other measures to ameliorate the conditions of the toiling masses and of the goal of Socialism toward which they are striving. In simple yet powerful words he pointed out to the American working class the lessons to be learned from the experiences of its brothers across the sea.

## Chairman Aked's Address.

Dr. Robert Erskine Ely opened the meeting as temporary chairman.

In introducing the speaker, Mr. Aked, who was formerly pastor of a church in Liverpool, England, paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Hardie as a citizen and a man, in the course of his remarks saying:

"We of the churches are responsible for you. We are responsible for you individually. You men, the leaders of the labor movement, the spokesmen and the prophets of the labor movement, the members of the House of Commons, who are espousing the labor cause—we of the churches are responsible for you. You are trained in our Sunday schools. You have been deacons and elders in our churches. You have been lay preachers in our pulpits. You are the product of our work. And looking at you tonight we are proud of our handiwork.

"And having produced the leaders of the labor movement, the leaders of the labor movement, proceeded to reproach us of the churches and to teach us. The reproaches are deserved, and for them and for the teaching, too, we pay them in heartfelt gratitude, for they have taught us what the churches were in danger of, forgetting that men have bodies as well as souls, and that it is useless for us to dream of fitting men for the life hereafter unless we have made it possible for them to lead a decent life here below. (Applause.)

"And they have spoken their warnings, and for those warnings, too, we are grateful. When a civilization shelters the rich and crushes the poor, when a civilization hates love and loves hatred, when it enthrones Mammon and denies God, when it says to gold 'Thou art my confidence,' then we need to hear the voice of the prophet once more in rebuke and in denunciation and in warning."

## Keir Hardie's Speech.

Mr. Hardie spoke as follows:

Dr. Aked, Ladies and Gentlemen—My task was none too easy before, and the words from Dr. Aked have not lightened it. It recalls to my memory an incident that occurred when I first visited your shores some fifteen years ago. On that occasion I had as a fellow passenger the Duke of Marlborough, who was coming to the United States on a certain business which was at the time entirely successful (Laughter), and the morning following our landing one of your great daily papers informed its readers that upon the previous day two distinguished Englishmen had come to the United States. One was "the famous Duke of Marlborough" and the other "the notorious Keir Hardie." (Laughter and applause.) I should not be at all surprised if the reputation for notoriety still lingers in a good many minds.

I am very glad to have the opportunity of speaking from a neutral platform to tell what is happening on the other side of the Atlantic in connection with the labor movement. I was rather pleased than otherwise to hear that there are no Socialists among the directors of the Civic Forum. I feel like a missionary among the heathen (Laughter and applause), and it would not have been worth my while to come and speak, nor yours to come and listen, if we had been of one mind. Whether people agree or disagree with the labor movement, it is at least well that they should understand it.

## The Old Doctrine Passing.

It has been subject for comment that a revolutionary change is coming over British politics, that the old liberal and free trade doctrine concerning the state and its functions is passing away. During the greater part of the last century the state was almost regarded as an unclean thing. It was an essential part of the doctrines of the great leaders of liberal thought that that was the best state which governed least; that the business of the state was to protect life and property and not seek to interfere in the relations between employer and employed, or between citizens and the consequences of their own acts.

"The greatest good for the greatest number" was the form in which the doctrine was usually summed up, and it is recorded that on one occasion Lord Palmerston, at a dinner, on being asked what was meant by the "greatest number," replied "Number One." (Laughter.)

Men like John Bright and William Ewart Gladstone in politics, and Herbert Spencer in philosophy, laid down the doctrine clearly and emphatically that the less the state had to do with the regulation of the lives of the people the better for them. Their theories have since not inaptly been summed up as being a condition of "anarchy plus the police baton."

## The Rise of the New Party.

Now, however, all that is being changed. Legislation is being enacted in ever-increasing volume which violates every canon of the doctrines I have been enumerating. For a quarter of a century the working class in England, in Great Britain had been in possession of political power and had used their power to return one or the other of the great historic parties.

At the election of 1906, however, a new party made its appearance, consisting of 29 workingmen who had been returned to the House of Commons neither as Liberals nor as Conservatives, but independent of and in many cases in opposition to both of the old parties; and it is to the influence of the men of this new labor party that the social legislation which is now forming so distinctive a feature of our British laws has to be traced.

The Labor Party in Great Britain is a combination, an alliance between the trades unionists and the leading Socialist organizations.

The basic of the alliance is that the trade unionists support the Socialist candidates and the Socialists support the trade unionists candidates, on the understanding that when each has been returned to the House of Commons they there form part of a separate and distinct political party, pledged to sit in opposition to every government until it can form a government of its own. (Applause.)

## Some Striking Figures.

As showing the strength of the new movement, let me give you these figures: In the constituencies where there were labor candidates the total number of electors was 859,000. The number of these who voted for labor candidates was 323,000, a proportion of something like 37 per cent, and it is a safe assumption that had there been

a labor candidate in every industrial constituency in Great Britain the proportion would have been maintained throughout.

The party is entirely financed by the working class (Applause), is entirely controlled by the working class, and allows no outside interference, either from politician, parson or publican. (Applause.) Let me just enumerate briefly a few of the measures which have this year been enacted, and indicate one or two which we anticipate will be placed on the statute books in the very near future.

## Some Measures Secured.

There is first of all the act to enable the educational authorities to provide food at the public expense for destitute school children. We had for years the spectacle, the tragedy of tens of thousands of innocent children being compelled to undergo the pangs of hunger. Every educational authority has now power to provide meals for all the children attending schools and to pay from the public funds for those children whose parents are too poor to provide the necessary cost. (Applause.)

This year persons over seventy years of age have come into an old-age pension. (Applause.) There is no taint of pauperism about it. It realizes the aspiration of John Ruskin that the day would come when the veteran of industry, bent and worn with toil, would draw his pension from the state as freely and as honorably as the general who had conquered in battles. (Applause.)

About the middle of this year an act limiting the hours of miners to eight per day comes into operation.

During the present year we anticipate—and I am now entering into the region of prophecy; dangerous ground—that two further measures of ours will become laws. The first of them is a bill to establish wages board for certain sweated industries.

In a great free republic like this you can not be expected to know anything concerning the horrors of sweating such as we have in the old country, but when I tell you that it is common for women to be employed fourteen and sixteen hours a day for a wage which seldom exceeds \$1.50 a week, you will realize the need there is for

## THE FACT IS

the Court of Equity of the District of Columbia declared against the boycott and ordered the American Federation of Labor to discontinue in the columns of the American Federationist under the "We Don't Patronize" list the name of

## The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

This court decision does not make this nor any other unfair concern fair; neither does it make the Union men and women of America forget the fact that Mr. Van Cleave is still fighting the Labor Unions, and that so long as he is pursuing his present Union-killing work he can not expect them to forget the fact that he

## Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

Judge Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, to whom the case was appealed, sentenced

## GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON

to twelve, nine and six months' jail imprisonment for alleged violation of the injunction, which would mean that Organized Labor shall be deprived of the freedom of press and speech and that a union man or woman would not even be allowed to think of the possibility to

## BOYCOTT THE BUCK STOVE & RANGE CO.

or any other firm that may be unfair to Organized Labor.

drastic action of some kind. We are therefore agitating, and expect this year to succeed in obtaining a measure to have by law established a certain minimum wage in those industries, so that women who toil at them shall be able honestly to live on the output of their labors. (Applause.)

## The Most Important Bill.

The next measure and the one to which personally I attach most importance is the bill conferring the right to work. (Applause.) We were told in the House of Commons recently, when discussing this question, that the state does not recognize the right to work. We knew that before, but we also know that the state never recognizes any right until it has been forced upon it. (Applause.) There was a time when there was no right to vote, but our fathers in Scotland, England and Wales suffered and endured until the right of citizenship has been won, and in like manner we now claim that the state establish the right of every man and every woman who is able to work to have the means of working placed within their reach. (Applause.)

We regard the right to work as being the foundation upon which the right to live exists (Applause), and when the state professes to guarantee the protectorship of life we ask that it shall carry the doctrine to its logical conclusion and place the means to obtain the wherewithal to live within the reach of every citizen.

## For Human Freedom.

Well, these then, indicate the lines upon which the party works and the objects for which we are striving. But the activities and interests of the party don't end there. We realize that if labor is to become, as we intend it shall, the ruling and dominating power in the state, it must touch life at every point in its policy, and so when our country or other countries are oppressing subject or weaker races abroad we never fail to enter our strongest protest.

We stand by the people of India in their claim for a controlling influence over the affairs of their own country. (Applause.)

When King Edward was about to pay his visit to the Czar of Russia we, who had been horrified and still are horrified by the brutalities and atrocities perpetrated by the Russian government, entered our protest from the floor of the House of Commons. (Applause.)

## Labor Against Militarism.

When war estimates are being discussed we stand for their curtailment. You, Dr. Aked, have said that we of the labor movement are the products of Christianity. Would to God that the Christian churches had as clean a record in regard to militarism as we of the labor party have! (Applause.)

We regard war and all the burdens of war not merely as being an obstacle to progress and an injustice in itself, but an outrage on every principle of Christianity. (Applause.)

Just now we are hearing, and you here are also hearing, about the difficulty which the government will encounter in raising the £7,500,000 necessary to pay for the old-age pensions, but you never hear of any difficulty in raising all the money necessary either for the conduct of war or preparation for war. In every country of Europe, and—I regret to have to admit it—in the new countries which are growing up in other parts of the world the burden of militarism is an increasing one. Take the following figures as illustrative:

In the year 1888 Germany spent £2,500,000 on its navy. In 1908 she spent £17,000,000 on her navy. In 1888 Great Britain spent upon naval armament £11,000,000. Last year we spent £31,000,000 upon the navy, and still the cry is for more money and more ships of war. What applies to the navy applies equally to the army.

But there is growing up in Europe and in America a power which shall forever make wars impossible. Whatever else the labor movement may fail to accomplish, this much it shall do, by welding the peoples of the world into one great fraternal brotherhood, put an end to war and all that pertains to war. (Applause.)

## For Woman's Enfranchisement.

The Labor Party also strongly supports the agitation for the political enfranchisement of women. (Applause.) Being a labor party is necessarily democratic, and I am—I regret to have to say—old enough to remember the time when it was seriously argued in Great Britain by responsible statesmen that the working class were not endowed with sufficient intelligence to make them capable of exercising a vote, and now the same argument is being applied to the women.

I have been asked many times since landing in this city when the movement for the enfranchisement of women is going to succeed. That I can not say, but this much I can say with certainty: that the agitation now being conducted is of a kind to make it impossible for any party to much longer withhold the vote from the women of the country. (Applause.)

When I was in India one of the inspectors of schools in the United Provinces told me this incident. He was examining a mission school in Bible history in India and the subject was the creation of woman. And one little Indian boy gave this version: "In the beginning God got some clay and made a man. Then he made the man sleep and took out his backbone and made a woman." (Laughter.) The way things have been going of late at home somewhat inclines me to believe that the boy's version wasn't far out.

## The Ideal of the Labor Movement.

Now I come to the ideal which underlies the labor movement. The reforms I have spoken of are in the main of the Red Cross Brigade order, reforms which are necessary, and yet the product of, or rather necessitated by, some deep underlying cause. The object of industry, we are told, is to enable communities to supply themselves with the necessities of life. If that be the object of industry it has lamentably failed of its purpose in Great Britain.

The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman made himself responsible for a statement which has never been seriously questioned, to-wit, that there are within the British Isles thirteen millions of people who are always living on or under the "poverty line." Thirteen millions of people; one-third of our entire population!

## The Disgraceful "Poverty Line."

And what is meant by the "poverty line?" It means that when the head of the family and such of his children as are able to work, are in full employment—and this is the point to be borne in mind—when they are in full employment the income of the family is not sufficient to enable them to maintain physical efficiency, and every penny that is being earned is being spent on food, raiment, fuel and house accommodation. They are not able to live up to the standard of efficiency that they would be able to do as paupers in the work-house.

That condition of things is a disgrace. It would be a disgrace to a savage community. It is doubly so to a civilized and progressive people. And the difficulty is that situation is not improving. The number of our paupers, the number of our poor, the number of our unemployed are not being diminished, despite our yearly progress in the accumulation of wealth.

Poverty can not be said to exist because there is not sufficient wealth being produced. Did time permit, I could prove that year by year the wealth of our country keeps increasing literally by leaps and bounds. Our people, too, are not deficient in either enterprise or industrial skill. Nature has not been unkind to the British Islands. And yet, despite all our growing trade and commerce, all our increasing—and it is increasing—we have at the bottom of society a great mass of unrelieved poverty which shows no sign of diminishing.

## The Slums a Menace.

It is not only what is called the "submerged tenth" with which we are concerned now. The most efficient of the working class, the skilled artisan is finding that employment has become more and more irregular. The higher education which now obtains, the increasing intelligence of the people is quickening within them the desire for a larger and freer life than is possible under existing conditions.

A brutish, ignorant, unenlightened people will submit to conditions against which your more enlightened man rises, and rightly so, in open revolt. Our labor movement finds its support chiefly among the more intelligent, the more sober and more highly skilled artisans and tradesmen of the country.

There is a popular impression abroad that a movement such as ours gets its chief support from the slums, from the loafers, from the wastrels of society. The one part of an electoral district which we fear in our labor contests is the slum area. Where we get our votes and support from is from the better paid, the better organized, the more intelligent sections of the community. And the reason for that is not far to seek.

Take the case of the average man, whatever his trade or occupation. He realizes now as he never did before that he has no established right as a workman. When trade is good he is employed; when trade becomes depressed he is turned out of work and for weeks and months he finds himself walking the streets and trudging the highways, vainly begging his brothers on earth to give him leave to toil.

He realizes that he isn't employed because the employer loves him, but only because his employer can't do without him.

Where men are most profitable as workmen, men are employed. Where a woman can be found to do the work more cheaply the man is dismissed and the woman takes his place. And where a child—as in Lancashire—can be got to take the place of both father and mother, the parents are cast adrift and the child takes their place.

## Machinery a Powerful Factor.

Machinery is coming more and more into play as a factor in production, and the employer naturally prefers the machine to the human being. Under the existing system men don't go into business out of philanthropy. Men invest their money in business to make money, and if a machine will make more money more quickly than a human being, naturally the machine gets the preference, and I think that if I were an employer I should prefer the machine. The machine never goes on strike. The machine doesn't form labor parties. The machine is quite impervious to all the arguments of the Socialist propaganda.

And so the machine and the better organization of industry and the greater competition in the world's markets is making employment more and more irregular. And so, not only in the interest of the submerged classes, but also in that of the more intelligent and better organized workmen, this labor movement is making headway.

## Private Ownership Creates Divisions.

But there is one thing more which has been recognized not only by working people but by thinkers in every grade of life; that the accumulation of wealth in private hands is becoming a menace to the liberties of the people. In many cases during industrial dis-



puts the capitalist classes are usurping what have hitherto been the functions of the state, employing armed men and generally taking the law into their own hands.

The private ownership of wealth creates artificial class distinctions. In the old country we have our aristocracy, our middle class and our working class. Man for man, you would find that the same general intelligence applies to all three classes.

Our chairman has referred to the South African war. We learned then that privately owned wealth controls the press and corrupts the senate and very often muzzles the uplift for its own purpose.

We have, then, this system of wealth being produced and accumulated in ever-increasing degree in private hands and a great mass of unrelieved misery at the other end of the scale.

In this morning's paper I read the report of a speech delivered yesterday by Mr. Taft in which he pointed out to a gathering of legal gentlemen that the test of civilization was whether or not the rights of private property can be maintained.

That is how Mr. Taft states the problem. He realizes that the growth of the trusts and the great combines is a menace to society, and he sets himself to the task of ascertaining how the menace may be averted and yet retain private property intact.

I am one of those who believe the task to be an impossible one. Concentration of capital is natural, logical and inevitable.

We hear a great deal about the glory and the benefits of competition. A dozen men who are engaged in the same business have learned by experience that combination pays them better than cut-throat competition, and so they combine—very wisely, very properly.

Capital is following the same lines of evolution as have brought the existing state into being. Far back in the records of history there was a time in the feudal states of Europe when there were barons, each man his neighbor's equal, but in process of time these evolved kings, and kingdoms were established, and still further in process of time kingdoms evolved into empires.

And so, too, with capital. In its earlier days there was the private employer. Then came the company, and now comes the combination of companies. And just as the common people in times past found that monopoly of power by the king was a danger and a menace to them, so now the people are observing that the monopoly of land and capital is threatening their liberties and must in some way be met and overcome.

The power of kings was broken by the people winning political freedom for themselves. Sometimes the fight was waged bloodlessly. Here in America your fathers shed their blood gladly to win the right to call themselves free from the domination of the kings of England. In France the power of the king and the aristocracy was broken in the throes of a bloody revolution.

Socialism is a world movement. It commands at this moment ten-million electors. That is the number of votes that have been cast for it in the most recent elections. It is being discussed more and more by thinking minds. We in the old country are gradually approximating toward the Socialist state.

The movement in Great Britain is gathering force among business men for the nationalization of railways, not because these men are Socialists, but because they find that private ownership of railways hampers and hinders their business and increases the cost of production, and to that extent handicaps them in the world's markets.

But these same men, when the working class desire to socialize the means of production, the food supply, the housing supply, the clothing supply, cry out in indignation as though some new proposal were being put forward. Every class in the community, I repeat, approves and accepts Socialism up to the point at which its class interests are being served.

We have now in Great Britain a growing movement for municipalization of tramways, electrical works, water works, workmen's dwellings, etc.: £500,000,000 worth of property have already been successfully socialized in the old country. The movement is coming almost imperceptibly in regard to the conveniences of business and of life. But our contention has been and still is that Socialism can never be fully established until the working class intelligently co-operate with the forces at work in bringing Socialism into being.

And when I specify the working class I do not do so because I claim for that class any special ability or any special moral advantage, but simply because it is the one section of the community which has no special interest to serve apart from the interest of the community as a whole. (Applause.) As John Stuart Mill pointed out, the working class is not a class. It is the nation. And the other classes, with all respect be it spoken, the parasitic classes upon the community. (Applause.)

There, then, ladies and gentlemen, are the outlines—very crudely put, I am afraid—of the movement which is now making such headway in Great Britain and other parts of the old world, a movement destined, I believe, to go on acquiring strength and cohesion until the time comes when the working class will be the masters of the destinies of nations:

I believe that the misery of the world comes from the rules of

small classes. Given a rule of the people, the whole people, by statesmen and thinkers evolved from their own rank, and a much brighter day would dawn for the community.

When we remember the millions who compose the working class, the varieties or religious differences that keep them separated, the agencies at work to foment strife and keep them divided, we realize the magnitude of the task of those who set themselves to the work of uniting them.

One strong man living in a community, working for an ideal, will attract to himself all that is best and truest in that community in helping him to realize the ambition of his life.

And those of you who are just beginning life's journey, who unlike myself still have life mostly before you, let me ask you not to dismiss Socialism lightly, as a thing of small or of no account. Every age of the world has required its great cause to inspire men and women to noble and heroic deeds.

One of the complaints justly leveled against the present age is that it is sordid and mean, and lacks high ideals. There are still Holy Grails to be striven for. There is still sacrifices required in bringing a higher ideal than now exists into the lives of the people.

In the words of one of the men who helped to make this nation, who helped to give this nation its standing in the world of letters—

"God give us men. A time like this demands Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands; Men whom the lust of office does not kill, Men whom the spoils of office can not buy, Men who possess opinions and a will, Men of honor, men who will not lie."

The labor movement in Great Britain has many defects, many failures, but at least the men and women who compose it believe in the ideal they are striving for, and in that belief make what sacrifice they are called upon to make and to have it realized at the earliest possible moment. (Applause.)

The World of Labor "In Union There Is Strength! United We Stand; Divided We Fall!"

TO KILL UNION HATTERS' LABEL.

This Is the Latest Move of the United Hat Manufacturers.

New York, Jan. 15.—Seventy-five hat factories, employing from 20,000 to 25,000 persons, will be affected by a decision of the Associated Hat Manufacturers, promulgated today, to discontinue the use of the union label in all the factories represented in it.

The issuance of the order was followed by strikes in the hat factories of Orange, N. J., where 4,000 men went out, and in Brooklyn, where 500 men employed by Samuel Mundheim & Co. went on strike. Samuel Mundheim is president of the Hat Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Mundheim said today the vote to discontinue the use of the label was due to the fact that the union of employes had failed to keep a working agreement with the Geyer Hat Co. of Philadelphia.

New York, Jan. 16.—The strike among the operatives of the seventy-five factories controlled by the Associated Hat Manufacturers in the United States has become general. 25,000 men, women and children having quite work in Brooklyn, Boston, Danbury, Philadelphia, Newark, Orange and other places. The National Board of United Hatters of America held a meeting behind closed doors this morning to decide future action.

Danbury, Conn., Jan. 19.—The first break in the hatters' strike situation came today and was a victory for the men. J. B. Murphy & Co.'s factory, which had acted with other shops in dropping the label, asked to have the union insignia reinstated. This was done and work was resumed. The Murphy factory is a small one, but it is thought this action will have an effect on the situation.

GOMPERS APPEALS TO LABOR.

Manifesto in Buck's Stove Case Is Addressed to A. F. L. Members.

Washington, Jan. 16.—Determined to press to a final issue the appeal in the pending injunction proceedings against the American Federation of Labor, appeal was today issued by the Executive Council of that organization to "Organized Labor, its friends and its sympathizers, for funds for that purpose."

After declaring that "a most unusual and important epoch has occurred in which extra funds are essential to carry on the fight," the appeal sets forth the recent decision of Judge Wright and says an appeal has been taken in that case, as well as in the original injunction growing out of boycotting the Buck's Stove and Range Company. It is declared should an adverse decision be reached in either or both of these appeals, it will be essential to make further appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Surely no member of the United States, or other fair-minded man can rest content," the appeal states, "unless the principles involved in these cases are determined by the highest tribunal in the land," and declares that "we will fight for our rights through every legitimate and constitutional channel to rectify the injustice of which we complain." It is added that "President Gompers and his colleagues are on trial for your rights co-equally with their own."

Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 16.—After negotiations covering a period of several weeks by the representatives of the organizations, the members of the Brewery Workers' Unions of this city Wednesday night unanimously voted to go on strike for a settlement of a contract. The old contract expired on January 1, but the unions did not take arbitrary action, hoping that it would be possible to bring about an adjustment. The representatives of the unions, in their negotiations with the employers, made overtures for a settlement that contemplated concessions to the employers, but the latter insisted that their proposal should be accepted and that nothing else would be considered.

It was with reluctance that the unions accepted this view. There was no desire to break off friendly relations with the employers. Wages in Indianapolis breweries are below those paid in Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, Cincinnati, Chicago, Louisville or in fact any city of any size in this part of the country. And in none of these cities are the employers in better position than are they in this city. The returns on the investment here are larger than in any city of corresponding size in the country.

The trouble with the union extends to the Indianapolis Brewery,

the Home Brewery and the American Brewery. The union has a contract with the Capital City Brewery and there is no trouble with any of the agencies.

Convention of the Unemployed. A National Convention of the Unemployed opens in St. Louis Friday, January 22, the first four meetings to be held in Brotherhood Hall, 1417 Locust street, and the last two in Druids Hall, Ninth and Market streets. A joint committee, consisting of Messrs. Phil A. Hoffer, Jas. F. McDonough and Conrad Schott, of the Central Trades and Labor Union, and Herman W. Steinbiss, of the Building Trades Council, with Messrs. Webster, How and other members of the Committee for the Unemployed, met last week to consider ways and means for the support of the unemployed.

St. Louis Socialist Campaign Fund for 1909. Workingman .50, W. E. E. .50, Ad. Berthold .50, H. Goldman 10.00, Jul Roth, account balance in 15th Ward treasury 1.00, F. J. Kloth, List A14: Rud E. Stentzler .50, Robt. Schildener .50, A. J. McMillan, List A22: A. J. McMillan 1.00, R. L. Helferstag .25, Total \$14.50, O. KAEMMERER, Sec.

ST. LOUIS COMRADES, ATTENTION! Amendment to Constitution of Local St. Louis.

The Executive Board has ordered the following amendments to the local constitution submitted to a referendum vote of the membership, to-wit:

Add to Section 1, Article 9, the following: The compensation of the secretary-treasurer shall be fixed by the Executive Board.

Change Section 1 of Article 15 to read as follows: Each ward branch shall levy monthly dues of twenty-five cents on each of its members; twenty cents of which shall be paid into the treasury of the local.

The effect of the above amendment will be to make due stamps cost the ward branches twenty cents instead of fifteen cents. The purpose is to secure funds to maintain a city secretary, so that more attention can be given to party affairs. At present the secretary is not paid anything. The intention is to make it possible for the secretary to devote his whole time to party work.

Add to Article 7 the following new section, to be Section 4, to-wit:

No member shall be allowed to vote on a local referendum or in general meeting unless said member has been a member of Local St. Louis for at least three months.

The purpose of this new section is to make it difficult for old-party schemers to run in a lot of new members during a campaign and possibly get temporary control of our party affairs. A three months' membership will give opportunity for new members to be come known.

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Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made

Union-made Cigars. This certifies that the Cigars contained in this box have been made by a First-Class Workman a member of the CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION of America, an organization devoted to the advancement of the SOCIAL, MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL WELFARE OF THE SMOKER. Therefore we recommend these Cigars to all smokers throughout the world. All infringements upon this Label will be punished according to law. J. W. Barlow, President C. M. U. of America

UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE Blue Union Label ROETTER

518 PINE ST.

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# Woman's Study Corner

## Baer and God By Horace Traubel.

From The Conservator, August, 1902. Reprinted at the request of a great many readers. My file papers of that issue were exhausted at the time. The argument is still in order. Just the other day President Schurman of Cornell said: "Great fortunes are usually safer in the hands of the people who made them than in other hands." Schurman casts his lot with Baer. So that my piece could as well sail under Schurman's name as Baer's. The president's statement would be all right if its meaning was not all wrong. I, too, say that great fortunes are usually safer in the hands of the people who have made them. But who makes great fortunes? The people make them. To Schurman "the" people are few. To me "the" people are all the people. The piece is repeated, for good or bad, without revision.

Baer of Pennsylvania. Baer of high heaven. Baer, head of the celestial ministry. Baer, otherwise known as God. Perhaps you live a long way off somewhere and have not heard of Baer. But if you have heard of God then you have heard of Baer. Baer is no local deity. He has assumed a universal providence. Baer is part creature and as creature is president of the Reading Railroad. Baer is part capitalist and as capitalist fulminates the defense put up against the present revolution in the mountains of Pennsylvania. But Baer is also creator and as creator is the conclusive X of a metaphysical theorem. How do we know Baer? Baer has told us of himself. He has described his own genius. Someone was possessed of the notion that Baer was not treating the miners as Christ would have treated them. Baer was therefore asked to be a Christian. But Baer retorted in effect: "Why should I be a Christian, I who am God?" God? Well, "chosen of God," which as an assumption amounts to the same total. Then Baer proceeds to take us into his mirrored secret. He and his capitalist cogenors, so says Baer, are directly selected by God to custody the property influence of the nation and so to subserve the natural interests of American labor. Money is theirs, power is theirs, by divine right. Kings may be dead but better kings live. ("The Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country.")

Do not quarrel with Baer. Admit his God. Admit Baer. But remember that the same God who gave Baer a handful of capital gave Mitchell a soulful of rebellion. So there you have God both-sided. And even Baer might be logical and see that by claiming himself he concedes Mitchell. How can God grant Baer and escape Mitchell?

Baer has demanded quite enough to suit me, but not too much to suit himself. In attempting to show how strong he is he has shown how weak he is. His God is too big for him to carry. He breaks down under the load. There lies Baer wrecked.

Baer thinks that by getting back of God he can shake his obligations. Or he thinks that he can abolish God by establishing himself. Of what use is God with Baer in good health? Baer would like to give God a vacation. He will give God two months off while he takes this strike into his palm and arbitrates it. God must be grateful to have such a gracious employer.

But I am afraid that Baer has somewhat sprained his consciousness. No human brain could pass unharmed across an abyss so threatening. I shudder when I try to realize what Baer must have suffered while Baer was being made God. Baer has done violence to all old influences and new consummations. But a few upsets and shakedown will not hurt the paradisaical parliament. There sit the seniors in perpetual executive session. And here comes Baer direct from celestia with his credentials signed and sealed. Baer, heaven's preferred, with moral credits enough to shame the toy bankruptcies of earth.

Baer gets rid of God. But does he get rid of himself? Baer masks as premier to the infinite and stands baffled before a loaf of bread. Does Baer think that by God's will honestly got or stolen he can free his soul of its primary guarantees? Baer man has but several obligations where Baer God has a thousand. Baer has not cancelled, he has increased, his debt. He supposed that by abolishing God he had simplified his proposition. But with God left out his problem confesses judgment. He has led himself off by his own nose on a false scent. It may not be God at all who has taken him into confidence. It may be only Baer who has taken Baer into confidence. Where would that leave God and leave Baer?

It would not occur to you to deny Baer. That would be blasphemy. You would not suspect his papers. You do not ask for his passport. You say Baer is Baer and God is his soothsayer! You would not blaspheme so rudely on your own account but you take Baer's word for it. Baer's word swears to all your folly and condones all your sins. Yet we are a little puzzled over Baer's claim of special inspiration. Inspiration we can understand. But its special features twist the muscles of our neck. But when Baer reports as the only qualified prophet we entertain no progeny of scoffers. Baer submits his tablets and we submit our souls.

God was afraid that the substance of the earth might be alienated into the hands of the men who dig for it. So he was puzzled and looked down inquiringly upon his disquieted footstool. And then it was that he saw Baer and a few others roaming about as if they had nothing to do. So he said: "These fellows who work would not know what to do with wealth if they got it. You would not know what to do with labor if you got it. I have therefore decided to let them keep the labor and let you have the fin. This will enable them to receive their joys vicariously. You will act as their risibled saviors. You will pass your days on crosses of sacrificial ecstasies. You will so example luxury to the herd as to make it unnecessary for them to participate in the pleasures of life." So that gave Baer something to do. And since then Baer has been busy. And God retired incognito to restore his shattered nerves.

But meantime babies thin for food and women pale and men wrinkle. There is coal dust in the world's eye. Burdens are heavier somewhere. Food is scarcer somewhere. Feet, hands, souls, are tied up somewhere. And Baer sits on his pile and declares against the truce. Baer who ripped untimely from God the bolts of his lightning and stands aghast at the fierce tempests he has loosened. Baer who thought that God had seen Baer so large that he could no longer see his hundred thousand victims. The dear victims who had been so intent on their daily tasks that they had not learned to defend themselves against the pirate in the black treachery of his intrusion.

I would not leave Baer to God. That would confuse Baer with his ego. That would be to make light of the prophet. I would leave Baer to Baer. When Baer sees Baes—Baer could not see Baer with Baer's present eyes—Baer will recognize God in the glisten of a coal shovel and will worship in the cabin of the miner.—Horace Traubel.

### OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG WOMEN.

#### Nursing the Best Paid Occupation.

The Philadelphia School for Nurses, 2219 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa., offers Free Scholarships in Trained Nursing to young women in every state in the Union. The scholarships cover the full

two years' course, with room, board, uniforms, laundering, etc., included, and railroad fare paid to home town or district upon the completion of the course.

A home study course and a short resident course are also provided, which quickly open the door to opportunity and enable progressive students to render a noble service to humanity and at the same time acquire for themselves a substantial income from the best paid occupation now open to women; besides qualifying every student to deal with emergencies in the home that may mean the saving of a loved one's life.

Far-seeing philanthropists are adding to the resources of this school, with the view of ultimately extending these benefits to earnest, energetic young women in all country districts and in all the smaller towns and cities.

The institution is approved and indorsed by leading physicians and educators of the entire country. Some of the leading men of this state are its strong supporters and indorsers, as will be seen by the catalogue which will be sent to anyone who writes to the school for it.

## Missouri Socialist Party

News From All Parts of the State, Reported by  
**Otto Pauls, State Secretary, 212 South Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo**

**Missouri Financial Statement for 1908.**

<b>RECEIPTS.</b>			
Dues .....	\$1,964.00	Exchange .....	50
Supplies .....	72.21	Sundries .....	2.50
Literature .....	82.96		
Nat'l Convention Assessm't..	378.45	Total expenditures .....	\$2,901.37
Campaign Fund .....	214.53	Total receipts .....	2,849.84
Special Train .....	27.50		
Delegate Expense Fund.....	107.39	Deficit for year .....	\$ 51.53
Sundries .....	2.80	Less balance of 1907.....	50.04
		Cash deficit Dec. 31, 1908..	1.49
Total Receipts .....	\$2,849.84	Late entry of Oct. 17, platfms	6.00
<b>EXPENDITURES.</b>		<b>Assets and Liabilities.</b>	
Due Stamps .....	\$ 981.00	—Assets.—	
Supplies, for Locals .....	75.55	Due stamps on hand .....	\$ 89.60
Literature .....	66.20	Typewriter .....	40.00
Nat'l Conv. Assessment .....	371.10	One-third of Mimeograph....	10.00
Postage .....	159.76	Account books .....	10.00
Bulletin .....	98.00	Platforms and posters.....	10.00
Rent .....	78.50	Supplies .....	5.00
O. Pauls, Salary .....	440.00	Stationery .....	2.50
Express .....	15.65		
Printing .....	85.50	Total .....	\$ 87.10
Speakers .....	62.15	—Liabilities—	
Mandamus suit .....	65.67	Cash deficit .....	\$ 7.49
Campaign Fund, Nat'l Offce..	61.60	Due L. G. Pope .....	15.00
Special Train .....	17.75	Printing bills .....	10.00
State and National delegates.	258.33		
Account books .....	21.65	Total .....	\$ 32.49
Office supplies .....	24.37	Assets .....	\$ 87.10
Petitions .....	7.16	Liabilities .....	32.49
Phone and telegrams .....	3.78	Net resources .....	\$ 54.61
Electro cuts .....	2.40		
Typewriter repairs .....	2.25		

Audited by A. Siepmann and Henry Schwarz. Several amounts received on the special train account had not been remitted when the mandamus case deficit occurred. The locals concerned were asked to let these amounts remain in the state treasury and the larger part of the difference has been so applied.

Some of the National Convention assessment stamps, that were sent out to locals and individuals, were not accounted for by them. The money and stamps remitted to the National Office, together with stamps not accounted for to the State Office, balance the account with the National Office. The difference in money received and money remitted is probably due to some books containing more than 20 stamps. In that way more stamps were received than we were charged with by the National Office.

#### Ralph Korngold With Us for a Week.

From March 3 to March 10, inclusive, Comrade Ralph Korngold will speak at points between St. Louis and Kansas City. Locals along the line have been written for dates, and those that wish to have Korngold will do well to make application right away. The terms are very reasonable and Korngold makes good wherever he goes. He spoke in the northern part of the state during the recent campaign and the locals were well pleased at all points.

#### Local St. Louis Is Busy.

With a municipal election in the spring and conditions favorable for Socialist progress, the St. Louis comrades have their hands full. A full city ticket has been chosen and extensive preparations made for speakers and literature. Stanley J. Clark of Texas will put in two weeks showing St. Louis voters the necessity of a Socialist city administration. After him comes Winfield R. Gaylord and Carl D. Thompson of Milwaukee, who have had some practical experience in the constructive work of Socialism, and will endeavor to show "how it works." Other speakers are being arranged for. A campaign pamphlet has been prepared and a first edition of 75,000 will be printed. It takes up the municipal platform in detail and contains the complete city ticket, and has a good picture of Comrade Frank L. Robinson, candidate for mayor, on the front page. From time to time other suitable literature will be distributed. Plans are now outlined call for a change in the method of holding meetings. Instead of a few large costly meetings, the intention is to have a large number of small meetings in different sections of the city. It is believed that the cost will be less and yet more of the "unconverted" will be reached. Extensive plans are being laid for doing agitation work among the labor organizations and progressive societies.

#### National Referendum C.

The vote of locals on Referendum C must be in the state office on or before January 26. Full instructions will be found on each ballot. Members are to vote for seven national committeemen, one national secretary and either "yes" or "no" on the amendments printed on the back of the ballot. Get your returns in by January 26.

#### McAllister's Dates.

After Holland, on January 26, Comrade McAllister will be at Cardwell for January 27-28-29. Then, after a few dates in the northern part of Dunklin, he will put in a week or so in Stoddard County.

#### Miss Hallowell's Dates.

Scott County comrades will use Miss Hallowell for six days, ending on January 25. From there she will cross the state to Springfield, speaking at various points on the way. The meetings at Delhi, St. Clair and Morrellton did much good in spite of the bad weather. Good crowds were out, considering the heavy snow and intense cold. It is quite likely that Cuba will be reorganized and a new local

started at Morrellton. A. B. Cain of Morrellton is well along in years, but he never misses a chance to circulate the Socialist idea. The vote there has increased nicely and they expect to keep it going up.

## Extradition to Russia

We have already expressed the opinion that this country ought to have no extradition treaties with barbarian governments, and that the present government of Russia is barbaric. But the treaty exists, and the President must obey it. If, then, the Russian refugees now held for extradition here are accused of civil offenses within the treaty, the President must extradite them. The only other recourse is to abrogate the treaty through the Senate. But if their offenses are political, it is equally the President's duty to refuse the demand for extradition. And how can there be any reasonable doubt that these offenses are political?

Rudowitz in Chicago and Poren in New York are held for acts committed as agents of a revolutionary government in possession of the territory where those acts were committed at the time of their commission. Not only was Russia then in a state of insurrection throughout her boundaries, but the Baltic provinces, where these acts were committed, had established a revolutionary government, and the acts charged as crimes against these men were the acts of that government. To send them back to Russia is therefore to close the traditional doors of this country as an asylum for political refugees. Every son and daughter of the American Revolution ought to protest against it. Every son and daughter of the German refugees of half a century ago ought to protest against it. Every son and daughter of the Irish who found refuge here when Great Britain was "hanging men and women" in Ireland for wearing of the green, ought to protest. Not only should the President be strengthened by popular appeal in any desire he may have to refuse the Czar's demand; the popular appeal should be so insistent that he could not extradite these patriotic Russians if he wanted to.—The Public.

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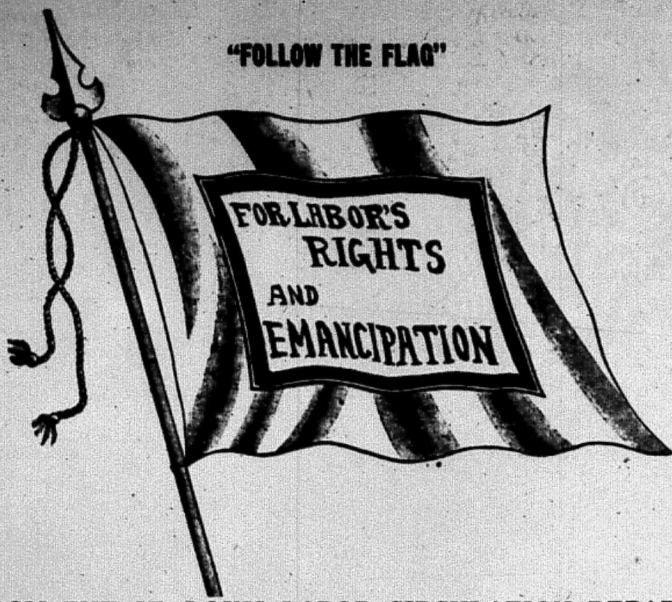
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"FOLLOW THE FLAG"



FROM THE ST. LOUIS LABOR CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.

Fifteen comrades secured 24 new subscribers during the last week. It will be noticed that some of the names appear in this list almost every week. This means that some of the comrades are doing something every week; they never forget to secure "another one." Here are the "actives" in the field for increasing the circulation of our local Socialist press; for **St. Louis Labor**:

- Mother Jones, a resident of U. S. A. .... 1
- R. Munzinger, St. Louis ..... 2
- Henry Schwarz, St. Louis ..... 5
- F. W. Groteka, St. Louis ..... 1
- W. F. Crouch, St. Louis ..... 1
- C. F. Zautner, St. Louis ..... 1
- W. E. Le Coinard, St. Louis ..... 1
- Otto Kaemmerer, St. Louis ..... 1
- F. L. Kloth, St. Louis ..... 1
- Louis Kober, St. Louis ..... 1
- V. A. Moore, St. Louis ..... 1

Comrade O'Toole of Kirkwood sent a renewal. For **Arbeiter-Zeitung** the following report new subscribers: George Zenz, And. Breier, Joseph Schmidt, Karl Kuhlberg, John Grundhauser and "X. X." Renewals came in from Jos. L. Reimann, Oklahoma; Christ Reuter, Illinois; Ferd. Aker, Ohio; Otto Ibsche, Massachusetts.

The circulation of our press is the best thermometer of progress for the Socialist movement. The wards with the best circulation of our press furnish the bulk of the Socialist vote in every election. What is a Socialist without a Socialist paper? There is a wall between him and the militant Socialist Party movement.

## SOCIALIST NEWS REVIEW

For Our Press.

An "Old Friend of Socialist Press" sends another \$10.00 to help the good cause along.

**The First Ward Socialist Club**

will give a Yuchre and Dance at the Freiheit Hall, 4444 Penrose street, Saturday, February 27. Particulars later.

**Chicago Municipal Campaign.**

The Chicago Socialists held a city convention, nominated a full ticket and adopted a platform. A lively campaign is expected.

**Woman Suffrage Meeting in St. Louis.**

A Woman Suffrage meeting will be held under the auspices of the Socialist Party of St. Louis Sunday, February 28. The program will be published later on.

**Interested in the Political Refugees.**

Editor St. Louis Labor:—Enclosed please find \$1.00 for propoganda. My special interest at present is in the Russian and Mexican political refugees.—Kalmar Berne.

**James O'Neal for the St. Louis Campaign.**

Comrade James O'Neal of Terre Haute, Ind., has been secured for the St. Louis Municipal campaign. He will speak in St. Louis every day from March 24 till April 5.

**In Behalf of Pouren and Rudowitz.**

The Rudowitz and Pouren defense league held another mass meeting at the St. Charles Hotel. The league is doing excellent work and has the promise of assistance from Senator LaFollette and many other prominent persons. This is in Milwaukee.

**Tenth Ward Socialist Club**

met at Southwest Turner Hall Thursday evening and discussed campaign work. It was decided to open the campaign with a public mass meeting on Sunday, March 7, at Southwest Turner Hall, with Comrade Clark as principal speaker.

**Jewish Propaganda Pamphlet.**

The Jewish Agitation Bureau has had the pamphlet entitled "The Socialist Party," by Charles H. Vail, translated. Orders for the same should be sent to the Secretary of the Jewish Agitation Bureau. Address, 468 South Halstead St., Chicago, Ill.

**Mass Meeting for the Mexican Political Refugees.**

Sunday, January 31, a public mass meeting in behalf of the Mexican political refugees Saarabia and his comrades will be held under the auspices of the St. Louis Socialist Party at Druids Hall, and the comrades are requested to assure a good attendance. Mother Jones will be one of the speakers. She is now collecting funds for the defense of the Mexican revolutionists.

**Socialist Demonstration.**

Dresden, Jan. 20.—A Socialist demonstration in behalf of electoral reform led to serious disturbances, in which twenty persons were seriously and at least 100 slightly injured. Many conflicts occurred between the police and the assembled workingmen, the former eventually beating back the great crowd which was endeavoring to force its way to the palace of the reigning king, Friedrich August.

**Outside Speakers for St. Louis Campaign.**

The St. Louis Socialist Ward Clubs will please take notice that the services of the following outside speakers have been secured for the ensuing municipal campaign: March 4 and 5, Ralph Corngold from Illinois; March 6 to March 20, Stanley Clark of Arkansas; March 20 to March 23, Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin; March 24 to April 5, James O'Neal of Indiana; March 26 to April 5, Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin.

**Pouren-Rudowitz Benefit.**

The four-act play, "At the Bottom," by Maxim Gorky, was presented Friday, January 15, by the Russian Dramatic Circle at the American Polish Theatre on Cass avenue. The company was composed of seventeen players, many of whom are political refugees from Russia. The attendance claimed by the ticket office was 800 and taxed the capacity of the theatre. The audience was made up of many nationalities, but "Alle Sozialdemokraten" as a by-stander remarked.

The success of the effort has encouraged the promoters very much and a large down town theatre may be secured for the next production. One-half of the receipts go to Pouren-Rudowitz fund.

**Orders for the Campaign Pamphlet**

- have been received from the following ward clubs:
- 6th Ward Club ..... 2,000 copies
  - 7th Ward Club ..... 2,000 copies
  - 9th Ward Club ..... 9,500 copies
  - 10th Ward Club ..... 7,000 copies
  - 13th Ward Club ..... 2,000 copies
  - 14th Ward Club ..... 1,000 copies
  - 19th Ward Club ..... 3,000 copies
  - 22nd Ward Club ..... 1,000 copies
  - 23rd Ward Club ..... 1,000 copies
  - 27th Ward Club ..... 3,000 copies
  - L. E. Hildebrand ..... 500 copies

**Black Men, Strike for Liberty.**

Rev. Geo. W. Slater, Jr. the colored pastor of Zion Tabernacle, Chicago, has written a leaflet under the above title, which every colored man and woman should read. Having become an ardent Socialist, Mr. Slater writes to emancipate his race. Comrades, order a lot of these leaflets for use among colored people. Price 10c per dozen, 40c for fifty; 60c for 100, \$2.50 for 500, \$4 for 1,000.

**OFFICIAL CALL**

**For Primary Mass Meetings of Socialist Voters in St. Louis City.**  
NOTICE!

**Headquarters of the Socialist City Central Committee of the Socialist Party.**

Mass meetings are hereby called for the Primary Districts of the various wards within the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, to be held on the 22nd day of January, 1909, at the hour of eight (8) o'clock p. m., for the purpose of electing delegates to a convention to nominate Socialist candidates for municipal offices to be voted for at the election to be held April 6, 1909, as follows:

Mayor, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Collector of Revenue, Register, Marshal, Inspector of Weights and Measures, President of Board of Public Improvements, President of Board of Assessors, President of City Council, six (6) members of City Council, four (4) members of Board of Education and twenty-eight (28) members of House of Delegates.

The said convention will be held on the 23rd day of January, 1909, at Druid's Hall, southeast corner Ninth and Market streets, St. Louis, Mo., at eight (8) o'clock p. m.

The Socialist voters of the various wards shall meet at the places hereinafter designated, each in his own ward and primary district thereof. The number of delegates to be chosen and the persons who shall call the various meetings to order shall be as follows:

- Ward 1, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, Primary District 1—4150 Lee avenue; Julius H. Kramer, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 1, Precincts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, Primary District 2—5312 North Broadway; Peter Frank, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 2, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, Primary District 1—822 Tyler street; Adam C. Rapp, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 2, Precincts 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, Primary District 2—1401 Salisbury street; L. F. Rosenkranz, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 3, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, Primary District 1—1405 North Sixth street; P. J. Miller, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 3, Precincts 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, Primary District 2—1413 Carr street; A. Kean, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 4, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Primary District 1—802 North Ninth street; J. H. Hoppinjan, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 4, Precincts 7, 8, 9, 10, Primary District 2—1604 Olive street; J. M. Thompson, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 5, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Primary District 1—212 South Fourth street; Wm. Kreckler, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 5, Precincts 6, 7, 8, 9, Primary District 2—1113 Clark avenue; P. Rafferty, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 6, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Primary District 1—1118 South Eighth street; Thomas E. Delmore, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 6, Precincts 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, Primary District 2—1305 S. Thirteenth street; W. R. Bowden, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 7, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, Primary District 1—625 Souldard street; J. Necker, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 7, Precincts 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, Primary District 2—1219 Souldard street; A. Siepmann, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 8, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, Primary District 1—2508 South Tenth street; R. N. Brown, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 8, Precincts 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, Primary District 2—2215 South Tenth street; H. G. Mueller, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 9, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, Primary District 1—2875 South Seventh street; W. F. Hunstock, Chairman; 6 delegates.
- Ward 9, Precincts 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, Primary District 2—1952 Cherokee street; John A. Weber, Chairman; 6 delegates.
- Ward 10, Precincts 1, 2, 2, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, Primary District 1—3825 Ohio avenue; Jacob Fries, Chairman; 6 delegates.
- Ward 10, Precincts 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, Primary District 2—3430 Tennessee avenue; G. A. Hoehn, Chairman; 6 delegates.
- Ward 11, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Primary District 1—5711 Gravois avenue; Wm. F. Reinschmidt, Chairman; 5 delegates.
- Ward 11, Precincts 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, Primary District 2—6720 Minnesota avenue; F. J. Kloth, Chairman; 5 delegates.
- Ward 12, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, Primary District 1—2623 Lemp avenue; E. Simon, Chairman; 4 delegates.
- Ward 12, Precincts 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, Primary District 2—3022 Minnesota avenue; Jacob Dorner, Chairman; 4 dels.
- Ward 13, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, Primary District 1—2632 Caroline street; Wm. F. Crouch, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 13, Precincts 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Primary District 2—1616 Texas avenue; Wm. Lyons, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 14, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, Primary District 1—11 South Fourteenth street; Thos. C. Stephens, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 14, Precincts 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Primary District 2—2204 Clark avenue; R. Munzinger, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 15, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Primary District 1—1412 Wash street; A. Zuckerman, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 15, Precincts 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Primary District 2—1816 Franklin avenue; N. N. Yahlem, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 16, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Primary District 1—1402 North Nineteenth street; Julius Siemers, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 16, Precincts 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, Primary District 2—1474 North Twenty-second street; F. W. Schulz, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 17, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, Primary District 1—2307 Cass avenue; Wm. L. Bierach, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 17, Precincts 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, Primary District 2—3608 N. Twenty-third street; Wm. L. Bachman, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 18, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, Primary District 1—2108 North Fourteenth street; Henry Kloth, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 18, Precincts 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, Primary District 2—1946 Hebert street; Henry Schwarz, Chairman; 2 delegates.
- Ward 19, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Primary District 1—4107
- Ward 19, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Primary District 1—4107

- North Twentieth street; F. W. Groeteke, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 19, Precincts 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, Primary District 2—4055 Kossuth avenue; John Wissel, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 20, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, Primary District 1—2730 Sheridan avenue; Fred Werner, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 20, Precincts 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, Primary District 2—2627 Slattery street; F. J. Mittendorf, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 21, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, Primary District 1—1102 Leonard avenue; L. E. Hildebrand, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 21, Precincts 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, Primary District 2—3129 Easton avenue; Otto Poeschmann, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 22, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, Primary District 1—208 North Jefferson avenue; E. A. Bauer, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 22, Precincts 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, Primary District 2—3548 Lindell avenue; C. C. Rideman, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 23, Precincts 1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Primary District 1—3306 St. Vincent avenue; Samuel Resh, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 23, Precincts 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, Primary District 2—3431 Walnut street; J. E. Wilson, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 24, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Primary District 1—3139 Morganford road; Gustav J. Eckhoff, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 24, Precincts 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, Primary District 2—6838 Arthur avenue; Henry Fete, Chairman; 3 delegates.
- Ward 25, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, Primary District 1—4345 Arco avenue; Henry Siroky, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 25, Precincts 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, Primary District 2—3745 Laclede avenue; David Allan, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 26, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, Primary District 1—4421 Evans avenue; E. J. Hilliard, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 26, Precincts 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, Primary District 1—3938 Garfield avenue; M. Duerhammer, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 27, Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 18, 19, Primary District 1—4214 Aubert avenue; Carl Hirschenhofer, Chairman; 4 delegates.
- Ward 27, Precincts 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, Primary District 2—5528 Easton avenue; Chas. G. Krell, Chairman; 4 delegates.
- Ward 28, Precincts 1 till 14, Primary District 1—4429 Rutger street; Thos. Aughivan, Chairman; 1 delegate.
- Ward 28, Precincts 15 till 27, Primary District 2—5586 Vernon avenue; James K. Savage, Chairman; 1 delegate.

Said delegates in said convention shall also transact such other business as may legally come before them.  
F. L. ROBINSON, Chairman.

Attest: L. E. HILDEBRAND, Secretary. City Central Committee of the Socialist Party.

**Electrical Workers Give Ball.**  
Electrical Workers' Union No. 2 will give its nineteenth annual ball at Northwest Turner Hall, 3940 Easton avenue, Saturday evening, January 23. All members and friends are invited.

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