

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

ST. LOUIS LABOR

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

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

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

OFFICE: 966 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

ST. LOUIS, MO., NOVEMBER 26, 1910.

Phone: Kinloch, Central 1577.

No. 512

CONGRESSMAN V. L. BERGER ANSWERS ARCHBISHOP

ARCHBISHOP MAKES UNWARRANTED ATTACK ON SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS.

“Church is Mother of Trade Unions,” He Says.

REV. GLENNON FAILS TO EXPLAIN WHY HIS TEN-MILLION-DOLLAR CATHEDRAL IS BUILT BY SCAB LABOR.

Archbishop Glennon preached a labor sermon at St. Lawrence O'Toole's Catholic Church last Sunday morning. The reverend gentleman, among other things, “gave counsel” on the liquor question and made deductions from the recent election. Trouble began, he declared, through those teachers who would say to the laboring man that, having little, it is scarcely worth while for him to preserve the little that he has.

“Consequently, many of our laboring men, swept away by these inflated ambitions,” he continued, “spend the little that they have become unable to create for themselves and their children a home, join the proletarian school with their so-called brothers in distress, congregate in the neighboring saloon, and there, over the fumes of the beer mug and the wine glass, create a philosophy that fills them with passion and class hatred and turns them into wolf-men. The beer mug and the wine glass are the enemies of society; specifically the enemies of the laboring man. If the saloon stands between you and your duties, it should go. Beware of the philosophies of the beer tap. The source is tainted. The philosophy cannot be sound.”

The Archbishop spoke of the guilds and the arts and crafts of the Middle Ages under the protection of the Catholic Church, which, in handling the affairs of the workingman, and giving him advice, had “twenty centuries of experience.” While admitting the value of the protection of the state in correcting many abuses, the Archbishop said that the individuality of each man must be left intact.

“We have the right and duty to preserve from state control our individual consciences, our souls, and our homes,” he said. “We do not want a condition to arise where we are all tenants of a soulless state. We have such institutions, the poorhouse and the penitentiary. We utterly abhor the teaching that the children of our homes are the wards of the state, common property. Children in common has back of it parentage in common, and that abhorrent idea is not only the end of civilization itself, it is the end of civilization itself.”

The Archbishop attacked Socialism as the “philosophy of the beer mug” and the Socialists as the enemies of morality and good government.

Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, who represents the Wisconsin Federation of Labor at the American Federation convention, issued a statement in answer to Archbishop Glennon's attacks on and misrepresentations of Socialism and the Socialist movement. Mr. Berger says:

“Archbishop Glennon intimates that Socialism is the philosophy of the beer mug,” said the Socialist delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention. “That is very unfair and does not show much learning. I might say with as much justice that the Archbishop's religion is the whisky bottle. That, of course, would be unfair.”

“We cannot discuss the great social problem of the day in that manner. Archbishop Glennon claims that the Roman Catholic Church will solve the labor question. That church had more than 1800 years to do so, but has not done it. I may add that the conditions of the workingmen in civilized countries is nowhere so wretched as in Roman Catholic countries, namely, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the South American republics.”

“It is in these countries that labor is down to its lowest ebb. In France, Belgium and Austria conditions were improved after terrific fights with the Roman Catholic Church. And yet Archbishop Glennon says the Roman Catholic Church will solve the labor question.”

“In connection with the suggestion of the Archbishop that Socialism is the philosophy of the beer mug, it might be interesting to know that at the last election—in fact, all the elections in Milwaukee—the Roman Catholic Church went hand in hand with the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, and the saloonkeepers' union, in fights on Socialism and the Socialist Party.”

“As for the Archbishop's claim that the Socialists would have all children in common, that is ridiculous, and does not deserve an answer. Socialism stands for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Does the Archbishop hold that women and children are means of production and distribution?”

“The only reasonable ground for the fears of the Archbishop and of other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church is that Socialism will bring enlightenment, education and high culture to the masses, and that certain priests would lose their grip on these masses.”

Comrade Berger, it seems, was not aware of the fact that Archbishop Glennon's new ten-million-dollar Cathedral, on Lindell boulevard and Newstead avenue, in the aristocratic West End, is built by scab labor.

The Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' International Union is involved in this New Cathedral labor trouble. Archbishop Glennon was appealed to, but in vain. Instead of assisting the unions in the attempt to unionize the work on the New Cathedral, Rev. Glennon silently endorsed the fight made by his contractors on Union labor.

Archbishop Glennon, who pretends to represent the “Mother of Trade Unions,” found it perfectly in order to have his New Cathedral building surrounded by a little army of policemen, who treated the picketing Union men like outlaws and criminals. He sat silently by while picketing Union men were clubbed and arrested at his new Ten-Million-Dollar Cathedral building.

Archbishop Glennon had not the least objection to the injunctions issued by the courts prohibiting the officers and members of the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' Union from showing their faces around or near the New Cathedral building, where scabs and strike-breakers were at work.

The fight of the New Cathedral scab contractors against Organized Labor has cost the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' International Union about \$20,000.00, and the war is still on.

Court injunctions are hanging over the members of the Joint Executive Board and leading members of the five local unions of Bricklayers and Masons of St. Louis.

And Archbishop Glennon finds this state of affairs quite in order!

If the homeless Nazarene came to St. Louis to-day, He would abhor going near Archbishop Glennon's Ten-Million-Dollar Cathedral, but would prefer to join hands with the “enjoyed” Union men as represented by the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' International.

It was not a mere “coincident” that thirty-two leading lights of the St. Louis Manufacturers' Association and Citizens' Alliance, gathered at Archbishop Glennon's banquet table, subscribed one evening the nice little sum of \$400,000 for the New Cathedral Fund.

If Archbishop Glennon was so anxious to deliver a sermon on Labor and the “Mother of Trade Unions,” for the benefit of the A. F. of L. delegates, why did he not choose this text:

“Why My New Ten-Million-Dollar Cathedral in the Aristocratic West End is Built by Scab Labor?”

SPLENDID RESULTS OF SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

TENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT TAKES LEAD WITH OVER 6,500 SOCIALIST VOTES.

Free of Disease of Impossibilism.

COMRADES MAKE A SPLENDID SHOWING WITHIN THE LAST FEW YEARS.

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH DISTRICTS DOING FINE.

The total Socialist vote for state, congressional, state senatorial and one city candidate are presented to our readers this week.

The comparison by wards is impossible, because the ward limits were changed after the 1908 elections. However, the comparison by congressional and senatorial districts will be of interest to our comrades and friends.

Table with 6 columns: Williams Supreme Court, Hoehn Congress 10th Dist., Stopp Congress 11th Dist., Rocker Congress 12th Dist., Brockmeier Circuit Court. Rows list wards 1 through 28 and a Totals row.

\*Only three precincts of the Twenty-seventh Ward belong to the Tenth Congressional District. The Debs vote in 1908 was 4,901.

It is with great satisfaction that we call attention to the splendid progress made in the Tenth Congressional District.

In a most determined manner the comrades in that district have been pushing the hard work for the many years. Free of the disease of impossibilism and freakism, the Socialists of the “Tenth” kept up

the good, hard work in real “Milwaukee fashion,” and the result is most gratifying. In no election since the Social-Democratic (later Socialist) Party appeared in the field has the Tenth Congressional District taken one step backward, as the figures below will show.

Onward! has been the continuous battle cry. Onward! in spite of all hard work from within and obstacles from without.

Socialist Vote in Tenth Congressional District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: 1902-Brandt (1,256), 1904-Hoehn (2,792), 1906-Hoehn (3,102), 1908-Hoehn (3,557), \*1910-Hoehn (5,865).

\*There were 600 Socialist Party votes cast for the S. L. P. by mistake, which would bring our vote in the Tenth District up to 6,500.

Socialist Vote in Eleventh Congressional District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: 1902-McInturff (426), 1904-Baker (1,170), 1906-Hofher (1,265), 1908-Mueller (1,072), 1910-Stopp (1,605).

Socialist Vote in Twelfth Congressional District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: 1902-Rocker (255), 1904-Crouch (708), 1906-Rocker (778), 1908-Crouch (750), 1910-Rocker (977).

Socialist Vote in Thirtieth State Senatorial District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: In 1906-Worman (1,143), In 1910-Crouch (1,563).

Socialist Vote in Thirty-Second Senatorial District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: In 1906-Wondrachek (320), In 1910-Siroky (572).

Socialist Vote in Thirty-fourth Senatorial District.

Table with 2 columns: Year/Candidate, Votes. Rows: In 1906-Kaemmerer (918), In 1910-Morrison (1,550).

These are all the official figures we have been able to secure for this week's ST. LOUIS LABOR. Perhaps next week we may be in a position to publish the returns by precincts.

Fully 700 votes cast for the S. L. P. (the name of which was “benevolently” put on the official ballot, under the disguise of “filling a vacancy,” twenty days before election) were really Socialist Party votes, mostly of new voters, who did not know that there was such a ticket on the ballot. The similarity of names deceived them. In precinct 12 of Ward 11 not less than six voters told the writer of these lines that they had voted that ticket by mistake.

The city wards of the Tenth Congressional District gave 5309 votes, the county 556, making a total of 5865. In the county the best increase was in the Luxemburg district.

In the Eleventh Congressional District, where impossibilism played havoc two years ago, resulting in a decrease of our vote there, our comrades also made good at the last election. The comrades succeeded in not only reconquering the lost ground of 1908, but added a good, solid Socialist vote to it. This was not accomplished without hard work—the careful distribution of good Socialist literature from house to house.

In the Twelfth Congressional District, where in some wards impossibilism had its stronghold for years and from where was directed its destructive work against the militant Socialist Party movement, our party also regained the lost ground and increased our vote by two hundred. Comparatively little propaganda work was done in this district in the last campaign, but this little work showed good results.

Of a total Socialist vote of almost nine thousand the St. Louis comrades may well feel proud. With the municipal campaign next spring, there is an excellent chance for making a new record and placing the city of St. Louis in the front ranks of the American Socialist movement.

But every comrade must keep in mind this one fact: Any further progress in the upbuilding of our movement can only be achieved by hard work.

How many outside comrades know how much hard work it cost to get the splendid results in the Tenth Congressional District? Very few, we think.

The splendid vote for our candidate in the Tenth Congressional District may also serve as a proper answer to the corrupt elements who distributed during the night before election day, in tens of thousands of copies, that slanderous Deleonite-Impossibilist-Democratic deputy sheriff circular. Instead of injuring our party, it helped us.

Socialists of St. Louis, prepare for the next great battle in April, 1910!

Kansas City Socialist Vote.

The Socialist vote made a small gain in Kansas City, increasing from 798 for Debs in 1908 to 910 in this election. The movement in Kansas City has been badly handicapped by a heavy growth of impossibilist barnacles. Indications are that these are being scraped off, and Kansas City Socialists will thus have a live, active movement.

PUBLIC LECTURE.

“Would Socialism Destroy the Home?”

By Fred G. Strickland.

Sunday, December 4, at 8 o'clock p. m., Comrade Fred G. Strickland of Indiana will deliver a public lecture on

“Would Socialism Destroy the Home?”

At Bowman's Hall, Eleventh and Locust streets. Admission, 10 cents a person.

SOCIALIST PARTY.

# British Delegates To A. F. of L. Convention.

## Greeting from Germany

Berlin, Germany, November, 1910.  
 Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, President 1910 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.:  
 Dear Sir and Comrade — The friendly and fraternal relations that have always existed between the trade unions of the American and European continent have been brought into a definite form by the recent affiliation of the American Federation of Labor to the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres. For these reasons I desire, on behalf of the International Secretariat and of the General Commission or Federation of the German Trade Unions, to convey our best wishes and fraternal greetings to your convention. The preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor have been at all times closely watched and earnestly studied by the German trade unionists, and they have been especially pleased to learn from the work of your international gatherings that the necessity of the workers taking their lot into their

own hands is more and more recognized also on your side of the world. The German workers have for many years already lived up to this fact, creating well-united industrial and political organizations for this purpose. The German workers, therefore, viewed with the utmost satisfaction that the American movement is happily and steadily growing in a similar direction. Recognizing the necessity of labor's unity on the industrial and political field, in order to successfully defend the rights of the working classes, we wish your convention all success, and we are convinced that the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labor will anew demonstrate and foster the unity of international labor.  
 With best wishes and fraternal greetings to the delegates, I beg to remain, yours fraternally,  
 C. LEGIEN,  
 Secretary International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Centres; President of the General Commission of the German Trade Unions.

Dimes and dollars, dollars and dimes,  
 An empty pocket's the worst of crimes.

It may not apply to America, but it does in Great Britain and Ireland. If a man is poor it is "God help him!" there, whatever it may be in this country of yours.

**The World Is My Country.**  
 We have, therefore, to create a new religion, or revive an old religion, and I think it is on the lines of one of your American writers who, in 1779, said: "The world is my country; mankind are my brethren; to do good is my religion." A new public conscience is being aroused in our country, and I think also in yours, because I have noticed in the past few weeks how the laboring men have seemed to awake from a state of torpor to intelligent consideration of the political and labor side. I gather this from what I read in the papers day by day. Of course, there are even among our working people in Great Britain those who believe capital is king, that it is the creator of commercial progress. They forget that it was said in days gone by that labor was prior to and independent of capital. There was no capital in the old days Fenimore Cooper speaks of, when the pioneers from all parts of England, Ireland, Scotland and the continent went man by man long distances into the wilds of your American continent and delved their way on the farm lands of Minnesota and other states. There was no capital then; labor created the wealth. Capital had no power then. Labor is the creative genius of all wealth in this or any other country.

### Unemployment.

I would like to say that we have to-day in our country, and I think you have it in your country also, that hard, callous evil, aye, nearly devilish, result of our present-day commercialism—the nightmare of unemployment. In our country in times of even good trade there are a number of men who want work and cannot find it. One of the great kings of commerce of captains of industry, writing a short time ago in one of our magazines, said—and it is quite true that they mean it—that industry must have a surplus amount of labor; that they must always have, or they want to have, a greater number of men in the labor market seeking work than there is work for them. They said that they wanted that surplus of labor because in times of emergency they desired to have that market to call upon.

### Men Not Born to Starve.

I do not want to deny the fact that it may be serviceable to them to have a surplus amount of labor, but if they desire this surplus they ought to maintain it when the time comes that they cannot employ all the workers. When God created men, women and children, they were created with the sole object of being useful citizens in a great and mighty world. They were not born to be clothed in rags, to be housed in hovels and to die in hunger. They were born to be intelligent, able, upright persons in a great and mighty and glorious world; and yet man has so changed God's mission, man has so reconstructed God's ideals, that to-day machinery, dollars, stocks and shares more concern the nations and the governments than do human beings. We have, therefore, got to see that the public conscience of our country, and maybe of yours, shall be aroused until there shall be no honest man of woman or child—and all children are honest, bear that in mind, and all children are good and worthy, therefore—who is not given the right to live in fairness and fullness his time through.

### Insurance Bill.

We are going to have, therefore, in our country what is termed an insurance bill to apply to the building trades and to one or two more sections where unemployment is more common in winter time. The idea is that during the time a person is unemployed he shall not be reduced to want. You know if a man is pleading for work and cannot get it he becomes partly demoralized, partly degraded, or partly despairing as the time goes along. The idea is to save a man before he becomes a physical wreck and insure him a certain sum of money during times of unemployment. That is an experiment. I think it is a right one, and I hope Great Britain will go on making such experiments until all men who deserve and all women who deserve, and all children anyhow, have a right to a full life whether trade is good or bad, profits high or low.

This deals with results only. We have some time got to tackle causes. The causes of unemployment are being driven into our minds for consideration more every day as we go along. With more machinery, with the genius of man employed to produce labor-saving machinery, we are making more and more a surplus of unemployment. We have, therefore, to go down to the causes of these effects. I believe, myself, and speaking for myself, we are bound to have an unemployment problem in Great Britain, and probably in all countries, as long as there is private profit in labor. Until the time comes when we can change the public well being to private well being we have got to make slow progress.

### Trade Unionism Just Starting.

I try my best in my own country to deny the idea of some of my Socialist friends that the trade union movement is played out. The trades union movement is only on the threshold of the household. It is just starting in its power and strength. It has got to grow into a giant before it is played out. I understand your population is America is seventy or eighty millions in all. Of that number there are certainly one-third or one-fourth who are wage-workers, and until you have got seven-tenths of those wage-workers members of your trades unions, and the same with ourselves, the trades union movement will not be placed in its proper position. I wish that we who are sometimes termed "young men in a hurry" would realize

that all progress must be slow. Patrick Henry said: "Ye were once slaves, then serfs, then hirelings. You have but to become brothers and free producers through association." Through association, through combination, through co-operation, you can become free. In the days gone by slavery, in the early part of the Christian era, then serfdom, then feudalism, then the wage time, and we are going on step by step until the time is bound to come when we have public ownership of the general means of life. It is a long time off, and we must use our present-day forces toward the ideal.

### Successful in Politics.

May I say that is one of the reasons why we have been driven into politics in Great Britain and Ireland. I think we have been fairly successful for the past five or six years. I can remember as a member of the Socialist Party twenty-five years ago, being ridiculed for it. I can remember twenty years back being condemned because I was a member of a trades union. If you will read history you will find that all the early reformers were ridiculed. I will guarantee that your old general here has been condemned time without number because he has been, like John the Baptist, going ahead of his fellows, holding the light forward.

Our friend, Mr. O'Connor, yesterday mentioned that at Sheffield we had an exhibition of chainmaking, where three women came to our platform and said they made chains for a penny a yard. Our trade union movement has so far controlled or created public opinion that it now says that in the boxmaking trade, the clothing trade and in some branches of tin work there will be no more sweated wages paid to the women and children who work at these jobs. It is something to have aroused public opinion to say that these remorseless systems of commerce shall not be so uncontrolled that they can pay any price to labor they care to employ. The ages now are 120 per cent more than they were before the Wage Board came into operation. When they come under trades unionism the wages will increase 500 per cent to those women.

### Factory Legislation.

We are just now having proposed an amendment to our Factories law. It is needed. We have in certain parts of Great Britain what is termed child labor. I remember as a lad of nine going two miles and a half to my work at half-past five in the morning, with my breakfast in my hand. I started work in the pit at six. That thing has been changed and amended. Now children cannot work until they are twelve years of age, and I would have it fourteen years, and I think next year, or the year after, our law will be so changed that no child can be employed under fourteen years of age. I would not stop even at that. I would have children go to school until they are at least sixteen years of age, so that they may be trained mentally and physically to fight the battle of life better than they can at the present time.

### "Suffer Little Children."

We have also had our religion revised. In the old Book of Common Prayer it says: "Suffer little children to come unto Me." It also says: "Feed my lambs." Twenty years back, when the old Socialist member talked of feeding school children he was laughed at. I have spoken in the market place, with chairs for a platform, and have advocated those things and was laughed at by working people. To-day the law says that every child going to school must have a meal provided at the expense of the public. It has been found out that there is a wicked waste of time and money and of human effort in trying to give a mental education to an underfed or starving child. In twenty-five years' time, after a small bit of talk here and there among those who were termed wild men in those days, our labor party came into being in 1907, and in 1908 they made a law in Great Britain and Ireland to save these children from mental destruction.

### No Hovels in Future.

We have in the past year adopted a Housing bill. The Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party and every trades council for years have been trying for it. We will have no hovels in the future, no houses built that may become hovels in the days to come, and no tenements that will be unhealthy and improper from a sanitary point of view. The trades unions have said we are bound to have policies in our movement, and they have done these things that make for comfort for themselves and their families.

We have difficulties. The land question is one in Great Britain. Every Trades Congress says we ought to have nationalization of land. We remember Pope Leo's words in one of his encyclicals many years ago, "That earth, air and sunshine should not be privately owned."

### Press Misrepresents.

We have 1,600,000 trades union members in our Labor Party. Of these 550,000 are miners of Great Britain and Ireland. We only have officially 35,000 members of the Socialist Party, and when you hear tell in the papers about the Socialist section ruling the trades union force of Great Britain you need not believe it; it cannot be done. There are 1,600,000 trades union members and only 35,000 official members of the Socialist Party who are members of the Labor Party. The newspapers usually omit the things you ought to know.

### Labor Party Gained.

We have besides our national party a large number of local labor parties. On November 1 I was glad to find in the papers that in nearly every town and city in Great Britain the Labor Party gained in numbers in the municipal elections. What does that mean? That there is not a town or village now in the North of England or in most portions of Wales and Scotland where on school boards and town and county councils we have not men and women from our

own body, men from the mills and forges, the actual daily toilers, who are members of these public bodies. I am pleased to find that in your country, as in ours, there is an improvement in the attitude towards the women's movement. In days gone by men have been calloused towards the women's movement; they have been careless with regard to women in trades unions. Now there is a growing movement in England toward economic, political and industrial freedom for our women. The men have got to help them and stand by them. They are now wage competitors in the same market as ourselves, and we must help to organize them, even to save ourselves from destruction.

### The Co-Operative Movement.

We have, what I think you do not have here—the co-operative movement. We have 2,500,000 members in the movement, and most of them are members of our trades unions. That movement, the friendly orders, the temperance movement and the Socialist movement go hand in hand with our trades union organization towards material progress. Why should there not be a revival of the old Owenite ideals? When Owen came to America he said that the first object should be to try to abolish poverty. That is all right—it needs abolishing. We have had it too long, and we don't like it. His second object was to try to secure a greater share of the comforts of life. Isn't that right? You make all these things; why should you not have them? His third ideal was to try to get these things by means of a common capital.

**Abolish War.**  
 Our movement nationally takes in hand other issues of vital importance to our working class movement. One is to abolish war or murder by law in military or naval battles. To-day our country is spending double what it was twenty-five years ago, when I signed a petition against the excessive expenditure of money for the army and navy. The money comes from the toilers and the fighting men come from the working class forces. The men who control the army and navy, the men who give the orders, are drawn from the middle and upper classes, but the working classes are those who fight and pay and die. I find there is a new spirit in our country to the effect that if our rulers create wars they should go to the front and fight themselves. A new idea is growing that if Germany and France and Great Britain and your country are called upon to fight that those who find the coal and those who run the railway service and man the ships and make the goods that sailors and soldiers need, should chuck down their tools and say, "We are brothers and we are not going to fight against each other."

I am glad to be here in your vast country. In New York, Washington, Philadelphia and St. Louis, when one finds a trades union man or woman he feels at home. Those are the people who are doing a share of the world mending. We might, therefore, sing:

God save the people. Thine they are,  
 Thy children and Thy angels fair,  
 Same them from bondage and despair—  
 God save the people.

## Ben Turner's Address

President Gompers: The hour for the special order has arrived. I have to present to you the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who will address the convention, and through the convention the men and women of organized labor, the men and women of toil, the great, thinking, earnest mass of men and women who are striving to do something in their way for the better day to come.

The men who will speak to you to-day are not graduates of colleges or universities; they are graduates of the industrial struggle of the workers; and, better than all, they have not risen from the masses, but are remaining with them, shoulder to shoulder. I shall not longer deprive you of the pleasure of hearing from these gentlemen direct. I take pleasure in presenting to you Brother Ben Turner, one of the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Turner said:  
 Mr. President and Comrades in the Trade Union Movement—My friend, Mr. Brace, and myself are charged from the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain—I think the mother country of trades unionism—to bring to you their fraternal greetings and good wishes from the old country to the new country, from the same class of organized workmen and the same section of laboring men that are to be found the wide world over. I never dreamed in my early days of being able to visit the great continent of America. I have sung many times one of your songs—

To the West, to the West, the land of the free,  
 Where the mighty Missouri runs down to the sea—

but I never dreamed when I sang that song of being able to be here, fifteen miles away from that vast river, and on one of the biggest rivers in the world.

### Finds a Difference.

Time brings its changes and movements develop. Twenty-five years ago, when our trades union movement in Great Britain was only about a million strong and the fraternal relations between America and Great Britain had not been established, one could not dream of being able to visit the American Federation of Labor as one of the delegates from Great Britain and Ireland. I find somewhat of a difference between Great Britain and America from a trade union standpoint. We are only a small island in the sea, about as big as the State of Missouri itself, while you are a continent many thousands of miles long and a thousand or two miles broad. While we are very insular, you are bound to be, and are, very cosmopolitan. You have all the languages, all nationalities and all creeds represented here, and for that reason the movement is bound to be more tremendous and vast than the movement of the country we come from. But when all is reckoned up, the movement itself, the trades union and wage movement itself, is absolutely alike, whether it be in the East, in Japan, the West, in America or in our country of Great Britain. The wage-workers all over the earth have the same difficulties to face, the same trials to tackle and the same obstacles to overcome. It is bound to be so because of one fact. Labor is bought when labor is profitable. It is never bought when it will not return a dividend to those who employ it. From that particular standpoint, whether it be in the Far East or the Far West, the same principle applies. Human labor is bought because it will bring a return in dividends to those who purchase it. We on our side have our labor to sell. If we do not sell it we cannot live except by the aid and assistance of other people. As long as we have our labor to sell as our means for life we want the protection, and must have it, of our trades union force. We want the trades union movement to protect and promote our interests in general.

### Britain's Army of Toilers.

We have in Great Britain just now, in place of 1,500,000, as we had fifteen years ago, 2,800,000 paying trades union members. That is a great number for a small country like ours, but it is not enough. When you find that only one in about each one of ten persons is a member of a

trades union, then you must know quite well that there are nine drags, nine stoppers of progress that the one in the ten has to carry forward. That is true of our country. What it may be in yours I cannot tell. We have broadened our trades union movement out. We have found it needful to have our Trades Union Congress, which comprises nearly all the trades union movement of Great Britain and Ireland, and then we have the General Federation of Trades Unions. That federation exists solely for the purpose of financial insurance in times of trades disputes. We have found at times that when disputes have occurred and the funds of one union have been used up, there must be some protection elsewhere for those on strike or lock-out. The result is that nearly 700,000 of our trades union force are paying insurance money to their own Federation of Trades Unions, and when a lockout, great or small, takes place or a trades disturbance arises, they can use their power and influence for promoting a satisfactory settlement, and from the insurance fund they can help them carry on the strike or lockout to a successful issue. On those two lines the movement is now developing.

### Have Some of Same Troubles.

Some ten years back, because we were driven there, the trades union movement started in Great Britain what is termed its political side, and the labor representation committee was formed as a second or third wing of the Trades Union Congress. In this direction my friend, Mr. Brace, will speak, because he happens to be the odd man in Parliament and I am the odd man out of Parliament of the two present. With all these three bodies we have some troubles similar to yours. A day or two is usually spent on questions of demarcation or jurisdiction. It is a great misfortune, but it is there, and is part of a growing trades union movement. It can hardly be avoided. When you find a dozen men, each one thinking his union is the best—and they usually think that—you are bound to have demarcation.

### We Cannot Jump to Ideals.

In our country we are finding to-day a new suggestion, or an old suggestion in new clothes, in what is termed industrial unionism. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that the ideal may be absolutely and perfectly right when it can be arrived at, but I do not believe it is wise at the present time. We cannot jump to the ideal of one trades union all at once. We have got to develop into it on safe lines. We are finding that a number of our industrial unionist friends, who want one trade combination for all workers, are retarding progress from the trade industrial standpoint. In our country these pin-pricks are, after all, a little bit of a nuisance and sometimes stop progress in the right direction. It shows that, among the large number of our men who are young like myself, and some younger, there is a fair amount of education to do even among the organized and the thinking portion of our trades union and working class element. And we are finding their ideal growing towards their ideal of less unions and more trades unionists. It is a right ideal, but it is bound to come by slow stages. Our Trades Union Congress in Sheffield last September adopted several resolutions amalgamating unions of one trade or industry. First have a federation of all the industries, and then the time may peacefully come in an orderly and sensible fashion when the whole laboring section and the whole laboring movement may be governed from one head and controlled from the bottom.

### Capitalism and Trusts.

However, we are being driven to changes as the time goes on. We have the same evils in England that we have in America—the evils of capitalism and trusts. When you find trusts and combinations—and we are having them more and more in our country, and mostly copied from America—then we have a form of employment, a form of wage control that is monstrous and tyrannical. It, therefore, needs a stronger organization of the working class to meet this body, that is imperious in itself, and that, therefore, has no thought or idea of justice towards those who toil.

Then we have the same evil to fight against that you have here—the great rage for gold. It is the question of

## Wm. Brace's Address

### WM. BRACE'S ADDRESS.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. W. Brace, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

### Mr. Brace spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trades Unionists: I think my first words at this convention should be words of sincere thanks to the American Federation of Labor for the more than cordial welcome given Mr. Turner and myself and our wives since we arrived at New York. I could never forgive myself if I did not publicly bear testimony to the joy we felt when Mr. Hugh Frayne and Mr. Langer came on board our boat to be our guides, philosophers and friends until we met your distinguished President and his colleagues later.

Attending this convention or attending the British Trades Union Congress as a delegate is the legitimate ambition of every trades union leader. I, therefore, come to America with as great joy as I have every begun any undertaking in my life, and I look upon it as a red-letter day in my trades union existence when the honor is conferred upon me of expressing the fraternal greetings of our own trades unionists.

Since I have come here I have given some little attention to the

movement as I see it in your America. I hope I am a man of what you term here in America too much "horse sense" to attempt to express an opinion upon your institutions without having time to give them proper study; but I have been here long enough to appreciate the magnitude of the task before you in this great American continent, thousands of miles in extent and with a multiplicity of languages. And the problem of organizing is such that unless the movement were led by men of the stoutest and most courageous hearts, they would faint by the way because of the enormity of the task and the responsibilities before them. I, therefore, may be permitted to say to your leaders of labor in America that I honor you for the way you are tackling your responsibilities, and I shall go back home and testify that only by the efforts of men of the mightiest courage is it possible to build up a great and powerful trades union movement on this great continent.

### Great Task Before Us.

The task in Britain is a comparatively small one as compared to yours, but we are members of the same people. Through cable and steamship and Marconigram we are near neighbors, and, therefore, we are heirs to a great inheritance, and I am anxious that this great continent, with Great

## Bartenders' Union Local 51

Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button



OFFICE: 918 PINE STREET : BOTH PHONES

## When You Buy Mercantile and "305"

## CIGARS

You get the BEST Tobacco handled and made into Cigars by EXPERT WORKMEN.

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

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

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

Hughes-Schmitt LIVERY & UNDERTAKING CO. Strictly Union 1817-19 Sidney Street Undertakers and Embalmers Both Phones

Guttering, Spouting and Furnaces Gas and Gasoline Stoves, Washing Machines and Wringers Repaired Small Pipe and Lathe Work. Lawn Mowers and Scissors Sharpened. Phone, Bell South 715, or call ARTHUR M. LEISSE | 4705 GRAVOIS AVE. Res. 4727 GRAVOIS AV.

NEU AND LIND STRICTLY UNION. GENTS' FURNISHINGS AND HATS. More Union Label Goods than any store in the city. 916 FRANKLIN AVENUE.

ple, shall be loyal to their destiny and shall establish the claims of humanity as the greatest possible undertaking that valiant men and noble women can accomplish in their day.

One of the passages of Lord Morley in the life of Gladstone has a most pregnant sentence I should like to repeat: "Inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling, not a mean and grovelling thing to be hurried through as we can, but a great and lofty destiny." It is because trades unionists realize that life ought to be a lofty destiny that we decline to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the privileged classes of any nation. It is because of my profound faith in the movement that I rejoice in coming before you as a trades unionist and a strong supporter of the trades union movement, which is the bedrock upon which all these great movements have been established.

Internationalism.

I was glad to hear Mr. Turner say it does not well become us to talk down our movement, which has done so much for the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes in every country where it has been tried. I am a member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and I have for nearly 20 years been attending the international congresses. I meet my brethren in Germany, in Austria, in France, and in Belgium. What do we find? That capital is impersonal. We have found that, irrespective of country or nationalities, trades unions are essential and vital necessities if the laborer is to secure a return for service, fair conditions of employment, and wages of a character that will allow him to raise and maintain his family in some kind of respectability. I have no patience with men who talk down the trades union movement. They are attacking a movement that has been built upon blood and suffering, whether in America, the United Kingdom or the continent of Europe.

Genius and Madness.

You have heard of the Barbarini vase. History says that it is one of the two pieces of wonderful pottery created by a genius to hold the ashes of a great emperor. This vase became the property of the Duchess of Portland and was placed in the British Museum. If you go there you will see this little piece of pottery, ten inches high and a few inches in circumference; looking at it you will think it entirely whole and complete; looking carefully you will find that it is lined and seamed, despite the intelligence and the high technical skill of the potters in this day to create in all its perfection such a vase as the Barbarini vase. One day a drunken man went into the British Museum and with a stone smashed this precious piece of pottery into a thousand fragments. What it took a genius to create a mad man destroyed. I say to you, to the American people who do not know the history of this great trades union movement, whether in Great Britain or in America, that it is a splendid jewel to be jealously guarded, and no man can be a friend to the oppressed and the poor who would, for any reason whatever, attempt to reduce the power of this mighty institution that stands between capital and often too helpless labor.

Conciliation Boards.

In Great Britain we work largely by conciliation and arbitration. In our society and in many other societies we have our conciliation boards, selected for five years or for three years, as the case may be. An equal number of employers' and workmen's representatives meet. When we fail to agree there is an independent or neutral chairman called in. He has not full power to please himself, but to give a casting vote for or against the proposition before the board. The miners, one of the most powerful organized trades in Great Britain or in the world, have their own conciliation board and their own minimum. Wages now are 50 per cent above the standard of 1879. We take a certain period, and the rates and conditions of that period will be taken as a standard. The years 1879 and 1885 are the two periods taken in Wales, England and Scotland. Upon that period we have 50 per cent; but there is a distinct proviso that no matter what the condition of trade may be, no matter what the selling price of the commodity may be, no matter what the cost of production may be, no instrument or power or institution or award shall bring wages below a 35 per cent minimum upon the standard of 1879 and 1885.

Economic and Political.

In the industrial field we must have the trades union. The union must be powerful to look after the interests of the individual man, to look after the interests of the collective body in factory, mine or workshop, to deal with matters generally such as this American Federation of Labor deals with. But side by side with its industrial effort, the trades union movement must be political as well. It is bound to be such in character. The day is gone by, in my judgment, when trades unionists can afford to ignore their position in the political life of the nation. Capital is represented in the British House of Commons and powerfully entrenched in the House of Lords. Labor, therefore, must not be content to stand in the outer lobby of Parliament asking other people to do for it what it should do for itself. Labor must go on the floor of Parliament and demand in the name of the organized workers that its desires be carried into effect.

How to Get Labor Laws.

I listened with great interest to the more than admirable and eloquent speech of the Governor of Missouri from this platform, dealing with compensation. May I say to you trades unionists in America that I do not think we could have had a compensation law—at least I am certain we could not have had such a compensation law as we have in Great Britain today—were it not that members of the working people were in their places upon the floor of the chamber and in the committee rooms doing their part and taking their share in molding the law.

I am not to be classed among those who do not recognize that there are men outside of the ranks of the workers who have great sympathy with them. I am always glad to receive the help of any section of the community that is willing to help us make the conditions of our people better than they are, but no parliament can transact into law the real desires and necessities of the people unless men are there who are of the people, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and who in their own lives and experience can tell the legislative authorities exactly the views and aspirations of those who are doing the work for the nation.

Compensation Law.

Our compensation law provides that men and women shall get half their wages if they have been injured. The servant girls are protected; the woman who goes out to work in the villa of the rich or the cottage of the humble is protected. The laundry girls and the factory girls are protected. In case of an accident, half of their wages shall be paid; and let me say that it does not follow if their rules have been violated that they do not get compensation. As a matter of fact, our courts have held that the idea of wilful misconduct, the idea that a man or woman would get hurt to secure compensation, is without the bounds of human reason. Although a man or a woman may violate the mining laws or the factory laws and as a consequence is hurt, the courts have held that it is not wilful and serious misconduct, but that it is an error of judgment, and you may fine a person under the law he has violated, but you have to pay the compensation.

How It Works.

The compensation law does not abolish our right under the common law or under the employers' liability act. Say an employer has been guilty of not taking all the reasonable precautions to protect the life and limb of his people and an accident occurs; we take that employer into court—not under the compensation law, but under the employers' liability law or under the common law—and publicly expose him as a man who is guilty of not treating human life in all its sacredness. We are not limited as to the amount we can claim. Whereas our limit under the compensation law in case of death would be three hundred pounds, time and again we have gone into court and secured four or five hundred pounds as the amount of compensation the court held the employer should pay under the liability law because he had not taken all reasonable precautions to safeguard the people in his employ. We were able to secure this largely through our political activity.

Eight-Hour Miners' Law.

We have our eight hours' act for the mines. No man, other than under a special order or for special reasons, which have to be entered in a book, is allowed to work in the mines of the United Kingdom for a period longer than eight hours in twenty-four. Let me say as a kind of demonstration of the power of the trades union that while we were able to win this measure of reform through legislative enactment, the power of our organization enabled us to retain our wages intact when the hours were reduced. The last speech I made in the House of Commons before adjournment in August was a speech calling upon the government to deal seriously with the awful waste of human life that had been going on in the mines of the United Kingdom. As I came across the water I secured one of the little bulletins issued on the vessel, and was amazed to find that, heavy and appalling as the death rate is among the miners of Great Britain, the death rate in America is substantially 100 per cent more than that. Oh, men of America, it is time that great owners of capital and great, powerful statesmen are taught by organized labor that the great wealth of a nation is not property or silver or gold, but that the real wealth of a nation is its human lives!

New Mine Bill.

I am glad to testify that the home secretary, Mr. Churchill, recognizing there was a cause to be answered here, has undertaken to have in the next session of Parliament a new mines bill, which will embrace some of the things organized labor for years has been demanding in behalf of the men who go down, with an enormous loss of life, to bring one great source of wealth to the nation. We are promised that we shall have a certain number of men appointed as mines inspectors; they will be drawn from the working class themselves; so that we shall have an extensive investigation before accidents happen, and thereby prevent the awful loss of life.

The Political Fight Is On.

The tragedy of the labor movement is that our opponents are not always outside our ranks; the tragedy of the labor movement is when men of their own class turn against their fellows. A number of our trade unionists have become plaintiffs in an action, and as a consequence the trades unions of Great Britain are under injunction to prevent them from using their money for political purpose. There is likely to be another general election within a few weeks. You cannot fight an election in Great Britain or in America without money. Payment of members of Parliament presupposes success at the polls. I am glad to see my friend, W. B. Wilson, in this convention, and if I may be permitted, is take this occasion to congratulate him upon his election to Congress. He knows there is an amount not only of labor but of expenditure to be undertaken before a man can succeed at the polls. In my own parliamentary election money was poured out like water to prevent us from succeeding. It cost my society 2,400 pounds to win the seat I hold. What is the use of saying to men such as we are that they will pay members of Parliament and that they ought to accept that as meeting their views, when, unless they spend money in large amounts, it is impossible for labor to stand any chance against the representatives of capital in the contest for membership in the House of Parliament? We will accept pay-

ment of members of Parliament as a civic right, not as meeting our case, but as the right of every man who serves the state to be paid for the service he renders to the state. We demand that the trades unions shall be free to spend their own money in their own way and for their own interests. What are we asking for? Simply the right to govern ourselves upon the democratic line of government. We are not asking for the right to spend the employers' money; not asking for the right to spend other people's money; we are simply demanding the right to spend our own money in our own way according to the wish of the majority of our members. We are up against a great fundamental rule from which we cannot be driven back. The right of the majority to rule and govern themselves is a right which everybody of people in every democratic state is bound to demand and maintain.

Politics in America.

There are two parties at least in America, the Republican and the Democratic. Whichever party gets in power, the laws are made against the wishes of a substantial minority. Suppose the minority says, "We do not like these laws and we are not willing to pay taxes or to conform to the laws." All the resources of this mighty nation would be brought to bear to make them obey the law, made not by unanimous vote, but by the vote of the majority.

Equality Before the Law.

I was very much interested to see, speaking as a Welshman, that upon your records of last year you carried a resolution of compliment and congratulation to my distinguished countryman, Lloyd-George, because of his desire to deal more strictly with the owners of land in the United Kingdom. The landlords were unwilling to pay the increased taxes. They said, "We are not going to sign form four to give you the information you desire; and they said, 'We are not going to sign form seven,' which would cause them to be taxed more than they were being taxed. The government said, 'You may object as much as you like, but you have got to pay.' If it is right for the landlords by majority rule to be made to pay all the demands under the budget, can it be wrong for the majority of the trades unionists to say that within their own trades unions the minority must obey the law of the majority and that we have the right to spend our money for political or other purposes as the majority think wise?"

Important Question.

Not only must we have the right to spend our money to keep members in parliament, but we must have our right to local administrative bodies. What is the use of having a powerful parliamentary party and the means to win unless we have our local administrative bodies of the country men who will give sympathetic consideration to the causes of reform that have been won through the imperial legislature? We call upon the government to concede to the cause of labor the same principle of government by democracy that is recognized by the wisest minds of every democratic state, no matter in what part of the country it may be found. You cannot claim for America or for Britain or for any other country that law by the majority is the soundest and best law and refuse to give that same principle of government to labor, whether in the United Kingdom or in America. That is what we stand for.

United Action Needed.

I have a profound faith in the power of organized labor when powerfully organized and intelligently directed. The time has more than come when we must rouse ourselves up to the fact that we must emphasize before the public our points of agreement, not our points of disagreement. Do not let us weaken the great movement for which we stand by allowing the public to think that because we differ in policies or in opinions, there is no room within our great democratic trades unions for such differences. We want to stand four square to push back the attack of capital. The attack is becoming acute that capital is making day by day upon the working people. It is because of my profound faith in the movement that I say we want to strike a new note, national, international, local, and individual. Too long has it been thought that in the great contest of nations the determining factor as to whether we live or die as a great people will be settled by a few privileged families or a few millionaires. Nations must not forget that for every millionaire in every land there must be millions of people who do not know where to turn for their next meal. In the great testing day of nations, when great America and imperial Britain shall stand face to face with the great crisis, the determining factor of whether we shall be reduced in power or strengthened will not be the wealth of the millionaires or the aristocratic families. It will be the measure of comfort to be found in the homes of the people.

What of Rome To-Day?

I am satisfied that this movement of ours, with all its imperfections, is the one instrument that will bring pressure to bear upon nations to some measure of justice to the wage-earners. Think of Rome, imperial Rome! that stood out mighty in engineering skill and mighty in military power! I have fished sometimes in the forest of Dean by the side of a road built by the Romans, and it is as perfect to-day as when it was made. But what of Rome? Rome has been broken; swept into oblivion as a world power; not because she lacked skill or power, but because she failed to do her duty in her day to the mass of the people. In these days, when nations are working for the mighty mercantile marine, it might be pointed out that Carthage was a mighty mercantile power in the days that are gone. Carthage did not lack capacity or commercial skill, but Carthage was wiped out, not because she lacked power, but because she failed to recognize the great human problems. In my own beloved Wales, where we have a passion for education, where fathers and mothers make enormous sacrifices that their boys and girls may have a

straight course from the elementary schools to the universities, I point out as I do here—"What of Greece? Greece gathered to herself all the culture of the world, but Greece is broken and swept away. She failed to realize her obligation to the people." The same great fundamental laws that broke Rome and Carthage and Greece will break America and will break Britain.

The responsibility is upon organized labor here and upon organized labor in Britain, to tell this new note to the millions: that capital has its responsibilities as well as its privileges; that the call for the newer and

the higher humanity is a call the nations can not afford to ignore with impunity. And with a view of making this note strong and powerful enough to give us reform, I say to every trades unionist:

- Give us men—
Men of every rank,
Fresh and free and frank;
Men of thought and reading,
Men of light and leading,
Men of faith and not of faction,
Men of lofty aim and action—
Give us men, I plead again.
Give us men!

Pettipiece's Address

President Gompers introduced to the convention Mr. R. P. Pettipiece, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Pettipiece: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workers—It is my duty, my pleasure and my privilege this morning to convey to you from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the greetings of its affiliated membership and the wage-workers generally throughout the Dominion. I have always been proud to be a member of the international labor movement; but after my experience here this morning, after listening to my fellow fraternal delegates, I am more than ever convinced that the future statesmen of this continent will be found largely within the confines of our international movement.

I believe that one of the greatest problems that confronts the workers of this continent is, not so much to push on to accepting responsibility, as to prepare ourselves for the responsibilities that are fast being forced upon us. As compared with my young friend, Brother Turner, I have been only a short time in the international labor movement; but in that short time I have been made to feel that the trades union movement, allied with the political movement, is nothing more, possibly, than a training school for future statesmen of this continent.

It is sometimes a habit among members of the organized labor movement to find a little fault in connection with the huge expense of holding such conventions as this; but I ask any delegate here this morning, after the experience we have already had in this convention, after the things we have been able to learn, if the value of the personal acquaintanceship and the value of the hand-clasp of those we have been reading about can be measured by the monetary cost? Who is going to estimate it in dollars and cents? Who is going to put a price upon the bearing it will have upon the future labor movement of this continent?

The speakers who preceded me referred to the problems that confront the wage-worker, not only on the American Continent and the United Kingdom, but throughout the entire world; and just in proportion as members of the wage-working class learn to understand this international character of the labor movement, just so much will we make for its future triumph. Speaking from a continental standpoint, we have such issues as the increased cost of living and the same old nightmare my brother referred to, that of unemployment, due to the introduction of machinery and the displacement of labor. We have all these problems to face. I will not go into them in detail, but I am of the opinion that all these problems were grappling with at this time spring from the fundamental evil of corporate ownership of the means of life.

Immigration in Canada.

As a representative of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress it becomes my duty to explain to you as best I can some of the problems we are grappling with over there. At the last convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada one of the subjects that occupied the attention of the delegates was that of immigration. That does not seem to affect the workers here as it does in Canada. The delegates will understand that Canada is a new and a growing country. I want to impress upon the officers of international unions especially the tremendous responsibilities that are being placed upon the shoulders of the organized labor movement in Canada by virtue of the number of people being poured into that country. In addition to the one transcontinental railroad we already have, four more are being constructed, and as they are being built the authorities and every agency seems to be at work for the purpose of pouring into the country the surplus labor of Europe and else where.

The development in Canada during the next ten years will equal a development it has taken forty years to produce in the United States. I remember, although I am a young man, the rush there was to the Far West of the states a few years ago. That same, or even a greater, development is taking place in Canada. I want to impress upon the international officers the necessity of coming to the aid of the officers and members of the unions in Canada to help us organize and educate and care for the tremendous influx of population into Canada at this time.

Coming Under Misrepresentation.

Some three years ago the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress sent a representative to Great Britain to plead with the unionists there to prevent immigrants coming to Canada under misrepresentations. We found the government and the employers against us, and were compelled to give up. Now we have resolved at the last congress to face the issues squarely and turn organizers loose in an effort to assimilate and organize and educate those men as they come in, and face the problems as we have been doing in the past.

At the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress in Victoria, in 1906, after a discussion of some two or three days, the delegates came to the conclusion that in the best interests of the workers throughout

Canada they would declare for absolutely independent political action. That declaration on the part of the congress has been reaffirmed at every convention from them until now. I want to point out, however, that the congress made a provision that in the carrying out of that declaration we grant provincial autonomy. The workers in each province can determine for themselves how best to carry out the declaration.

Oriental in British Columbia.

There are so many things I might refer to in connection with this question that I scarcely know where to begin; but as my fellow fraternal delegates have so thoroughly covered the necessity of the wage-workers, and especially the necessity of members of the organized labor movement going into politics, I do not believe it will be necessary for me to further emphasize that point. However, as I come from British Columbia, I will touch upon the situation there. The question of immigration is a burning question in British Columbia, more so than in any other portions of the Dominion, on account of the Orientals. There are between 35,000 and 40,000 Orientals in the Province of British Columbia. We have occasion to believe that something more than resolutions may be required in the settlement of that problem.

The Question of War.

As a delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress for the last five or six years, I have introduced that hardy annual, that, inasmuch as the capitalists of the world create the wars they should do their own fighting. I appreciate, however, that all the privileges we, as workmen, enjoy, are granted to us only in proportion to the power we have to secure them. For the last twenty or thirty years we have been educating the Orientals by the best means that could be found in Germany, in England and in the United States. We have had every ship carrying over the means of producing wealth, and the Japanese have at last demonstrated to us that they are masters of the art of warfare. They are also beginning to demonstrate their achievements in the industries. In proportion to this development among the Orientals we have to handle delicately the question of the Japanese. Since we have had a little squabble with them on our coast a year or two ago their quarters there have been nothing more than an arsenal. I am opposed to militarism, but I am compelled to believe that because of this spirit of Japan that drives these Orientals to take the position they do, we may be compelled to reconsider our position in that respect and make up our minds to take action to preserve the white man on this continent. We had hoped that by education and probably by organization we would be able to assimilate and make these people part of the international labor movement, but that does not seem probable in the near future.

Corporation Rule Supreme.

In British Columbia, I presume, we have had nothing more than the growth and development you have had in this country. When I went to the province, about twenty-one years ago, the different industries were in the hands of individuals. Later they grew into the hands of companies, then into syndicates, and, although we sin that "Britons never will be slaves," our timber interests are owned practically by Swift, Armour and Company; our coal mines are owned by another labor-skinning corporation, and our fisheries are owned by some other Americans in Britain. Whatever is left the Union Pacific owns. No matter what flag floats over Canada, our friend Pierpont Morgan seems to rule the industrial waves!

Act When Compelled To.

As workmen in the Province of British Columbia and in Canada have made all this possible. Every privilege every corporation enjoys has been given to them by the working class. Years ago in Sunday school I read in the Good Book that "the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." So it must be with the workers. Every privilege we have given them we must take away if we are to defend our own interests. They have shown us how to do it. The workers of British Columbia and elsewhere had voted for the representatives of the old parties; and, no matter whether they were Liberals or Conservatives, Democrats or Republicans, they were no better than the principles of their parties stood for, and that is the corporate ownership of the means of life. Where three or four corporations own the jobs of the citizens of that province, we have been compelled to take action. As with the workers elsewhere, we never do anything until we are compelled to. We were compelled to take some radical and revolutionary steps there. When James Duns-muir closed down the mines on Vancouver Island because the miners had asked for an increase in pay and had gone on strike, he said to the striking miners and the royal commission, "These mines are mine. Can I not do as I like with my own property?" That proposition is correct, no matter how brutal it is. If the workers will walk to the ballot box on election day and confer the power to right the law and make it legal for them to own these things, we must give them the right to do as they like with their own property.

Birth of Socialist Party. The miners in British Columbia began to question their right to own that property. That in British Columbia was the birth of the Socialist Party. They said when they got a majority they would make all this property the collective property of the working class. I remember how unpopular it was to be a member of that party at that time. We had to carry on a campaign similar to that referred to by Mr. Turner this morning. However, since 1903 the Socialist Party in British Columbia has grown from a little group of less than a dozen men in Vancouver to a party that polled 21 per cent of the votes in that country, despite the fact that we have had only twenty-one candidates running in forty-two constituencies.

All the legislation that has been referred to by my comrades and all I could refer to that has been passed in British Columbia came after the appearance of a few labor members in that house. We first got the eight-hour day for bituminous miners and metalliferous miners; then we secured the workman's compensation act. That was all done within twelve months. Almost every province in Canada now has a workman's compensation act.

That word "compensation" is very often misinterpreted. I have stood on the banks of Coal Creek, in the Fernie district, after an explosion that killed 236 bread-winners. I saw the widows and children waiting for their loved ones to be brought to the surface—and then you talk to me about compensation. If all the corporations at his moment were to relinquish their right, title and ownership and hand over to the working people everything they have on earth, it would not compensate for the wrongs they have perpetrated on our people for lo, these many years.

Costs More to Kill a Man.

It now costs more to kill a man in these particular provinces, and therefore, there is less killing done. Where they were killing at the rate of four or five hundred miners a year, after the first and second year we had the compensation act and had wrung from two mining corporations in British Columbia \$232,000, they got busy and brought in a measure which provided for mine inspectors. For the first time in our history they allowed the miners to name one inspector, the government to name one and these companies name the third. A miner can now go to a member of his own union and inform him of gas in the mine without danger of losing his job. This is as it should be, according to the testimony given by many of the miners themselves. The real value of this Workingman's Compensation Act is to better fit us to fight the real battles for industrial freedom.

I hope that as a result of the magnificent addresses given by my fellow delegates, and as a result of the deliberations of this convention, some new ideas, some new thoughts, will be planted in the minds of the delegates. I hope also as a result of the deliberations of this convention we will go home bigger and better men.

Shading It Close.

Farmer Giles (who has just cashed a check)—"I don't think this money's right."

The Cashier—"Would you mind counting it again, sir. I think you'll find it correct."

Farmer Giles (having done so)—"Yes, but you be careful, young man; it's only just right."—Sketch.

Co-operative...
...Printery

966 Chouteau Avenue

ALWAYS READY

DO YOUR JOB WORK

Give us a Call!

Bell, Main 645; Kinloch, Central 1667.

L. G. POPE
...LAWYER...

614-17 NAVARRE BLDG.,

S. W. Corner Sixth and Chestnut Sts.

Collections and Consultation a Specialty.

COLUMBIA BOX COMPANY
10th and N. Market Sts.
Boxes of All Kinds
Union Label Boxes

Sheridan Webster
Attorney-at-Law

Phones: Victor 1316.
1837 Kennett Place.

# ST. LOUIS LABOR Job Harriman's Address on Los Angeles.

Published every Saturday by the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY.

Delivered at St. Louis Convention of Federation of Labor.

Thursday, November, 17, 1910.

TELEPHONE: Kinloch, Central 1577. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Subscription: \$1.00 per year in advance.

Entered at the Post Office at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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



966 Chouteau Avenue.

### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW.

Convention Goes on Record Favoring Uniform Legislation on this Subject.

### EFFECTIVE LAWS DEMANDED.

(Session of November 22.)

The convention discussed the employers' liability legislation. A resolution offered by J. C. Skemp of the Brotherhood of Painters last Thursday was reported favorable by the committee and adopted by the convention after an interesting debate. The New York liability law was criticised as practically useless, but John Mitchell stated that the law was the best that could be secured, in view of certain restrictions contained in federal and state constitutions. The convention recommends that liability legislation be made as uniformly as possible in all the states and that also an effective federal law be secured.

#### Leo Tolstoi Honored.

A resolution honoring the memory of Leo Tolstoi was passed, but before the vote was taken all the delegates stood in deep silence one minute in reverence to the great Russian.

#### Canadian Movement to Have Autonomy.

A lengthy and lively discussion was caused by the committee's report granting absolute autonomy to the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada concerning the chartering of local central bodies and provincial federations. Central bodies already affiliated with the American Federation may remain, if they so desire. President Gompers took the floor and said that nothing should be done which the Canadian movement does not want. It was entirely and solely for Organized Labor to say what was best for their movement. However, nothing should be left undone to strengthen the ties of international solidarity between the Canadian and American Trade Union movements.

The Canadian delegation stated that the committee's report was satisfactory to them and if adopted would find universal sanction by their constituents. They, too, like President Gompers, wanted to strengthen the fraternal relations between the workers of both countries, and the report of the committee, if adopted, would be a step in the right direction. By unanimous vote the report was adopted.

The Canadian delegates also stated that in the Dominion union labor is confronted by a Manufacturers' Association more desperate than the Citizens' Alliance in this country.

#### No Extension of Authority.

The attempt to give more power to local central bodies by making it mandatory on all local unions to join local central bodies and state federations failed after a long discussion, in which Gallagher of San Francisco took a decided stand against the Executive Board, whom he charged with too much interference in the business of central bodies. He condemned the manner of authorizing organizers to appear in central bodies and pop-like threaten to revoke their charter if this or that was not properly done.

Frank Morrison defended the Executive Committee against Gallagher in a length argument, claiming that the attitude of the Executive Committee had strengthened the movement and removed much of the fever of secession.

In a statement made outside of the convention, Charles Moyer said that the Western Federation of Miners was just as much entitled to an American Federation charter as the United Mine Workers, and that Mr. Tom Lewis of the Miners was in perfect accord with him on this point.

### A. F. of L. Convention Notes.

The Cigar Makers' Unions gave a fine banquet in honor of their delegates last Friday evening at Concordia Turner Hall.

Members of Locals Nos. 1 and 2, Electrical Workers (Reid faction), gathered in large numbers at the Planters Hall last Thursday for a "smoker" in honor of their international officers. William M. Brandt and Max Hayes were among the speakers.

The international officers of the Steam Engineers' Union banqueted their A. F. of L. delegates at Howard's Hall.

The combined lodges, Mound City No. 3 and Future City No. 1, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers will give a smoker and entertainment in honor of their visiting delegates, President J. J. McArdle, Messrs. Leyshon and O'Neil, Saturday evening, November 26, 1910, at Barton Hall, Ninth and Barton streets.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters held a successful mass meeting Friday of last week at Social Turner Hall.

Mrs. D. W. Knefler was one of the regular visitors at the A. F. of L. convention.

The officers of the Women's Trade Union League of St. Louis are: President, Mrs. D. W. Knefler; Vice-President, Miss Maggie Meara, Garment Workers' Union No. 67; Treasurer, Mrs. Sarah Spraggon, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 338; Secretary, Miss Hannah Hennessey, 3732 Page avenue. The League meets every first Wednesday at 1832 Carr street.

Fannie Sellins made a decided hit with the A. F. of L. delegates in presenting the Marx & Haas Clothing Company lockout trouble to the convention last Tuesday afternoon. The storm of applause told the story.

### JOB HARRIMAN'S ADDRESS.

Delegate Gallagher stated that complete reports of the committee appointed by the California State Federation of Labor to investigate charges made that organized labor was responsible for the destruction of the building in which had been housed the Los Angeles Times would be furnished to each delegate present.

Delegate Gallagher moved that Mr. Job Harriman, attorney for the strikers in Los Angeles, be given opportunity to address the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Job Harriman: Mr. President, I have been asked to tell the delegates to this convention the conditions that prevail in the city of Los Angeles. On the Pacific coast the boys are all aware of the fact that there is a battle going on in Los Angeles and they want you to know the bitterness of that fight and all its meaning.

Los Angeles is probably one of the most beautiful cities of our land, but for many years there have been but few great industries there. The great industries in Los Angeles are of recent date, and they know nothing of the greater needs of the workers. The large factory and foundry is a new advent there, but they have come to stay, and the people who own them are lending every energy and all the money they have to hold wages down in order that they may take hold of the manufacturing interests of the coast. They are forcing the fight upon the trades union movement, not only in the city of Los Angeles, but in San Francisco and other coast cities.

#### The Huntington Interests.

I will describe one man we have in Los Angeles. You people have heard of C. P. Huntington. C. P. Huntington has a nephew, and that nephew had brains enough to inherit \$40,000,000 that the old man had stolen from the people of the coast. It required the courts of that state and the courts of this nation, yea, and an act of Congress, to force him to pay the taxes that were due the people of California. This man inherited \$40,000,000 in cash and as much more in property, came to the city of Los Angeles, and by means of his influence and his uncle's influence gathered unto himself all the franchises of a large number of streets of the city. He did not pay a dollar except the hand-out dollars that go to politicians who give away the rights of the people. He went to the Helman interests. You men know the Helman interests. He said to them: "If you will organize a corporation and bond it I will sell the corporation all these franchises for 51 per cent of the stock, and you can take 49 per cent. You can bond the company. We will sell the bonds and build the road with the money for which we sell the bonds." And they did. They built the roads through the city and are now operating them, and neither of them invested one dollar of their own cash, yet they own the stock, and the proceeds from those companies are paying off the debts.

#### Monopolized the Land.

Then they went out through those beautiful valleys, the San Gabriel, the Santa Anna and the Los Angeles Valley and determined the lines along which they would build roads. Huntington took the \$40,000,000 he had inherited and bought thousands of acres along the proposed lines; then went to the people and said: "Give us a right of way through here and so much cash and we will build a road to Monrovia, a road to Pomona, a road to Long Beach and a road to Pasadena. We will build all these valleys with roads out to your suburban towns. We will make this a great country and your land will be enhanced in value." The people gave the right of way everywhere and gave so much cash for each road. Then they bonded each road for itself, sold the bonds, took the cash and built the roads without a dollar of expense to themselves. Not a dollar from their own treasury went into them, and the lands they bought for \$100 an acre are now worth \$1,000 an acre.

#### The "Great Benefactor."

This man Huntington is Los Angeles' greatest benefactor, so they say. When his men in the car shop asked him for a raise of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day, saying the cost of living had increased in the last few years so they could not meet it and properly educate and clothe their families, the thirty men who signed the petition were discharged. On the following morning there came a letter which stated "No conference with the men, no raise of wages. Discharge every man who signs the petition." And they were discharged. This man Huntington, this benefactor, the head of his corporation in the city of Los Angeles of the lines reaching out like a great octopus through the valleys, sucking its life's blood, would not give his men one cent of a raise, although he built a palace with \$3,000,000 of the money he wrung from the people. He has nine miles of driveways in his door yard. He believes in the open shop. When the strike came on he wrote a check for \$100,000 and gave it to the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles to fight the metal workers and the molders. They raised \$350,000 to crush trades unionism.

#### When Trouble Began.

About June 1 the iron workers wrote a letter to the Manufacturers' Association, shortly after Huntington had discharged his men. The letter was couched in language that was honorable and manly, but determined. They asked the merchants and manufacturers of that town to grant a conference through which

they might adjust their wages. They stated that their wages had been insufficient to take care of their families. On the following morning they received a letter, replying to all the labor organizations, in which this language was used: "We take pleasure in notifying you that your communication has been consigned to the waste basket." On the night that letter was dictated by Zehandelaar, Mr. Huntington, who has been the arch robber of the people of Los Angeles, wrote his check for \$100,000 to aid in preventing the workingmen from raising wages or bettering their conditions. Then the battle was on, and the trades unions of Los Angeles, eight or nine thousand strong at that time, called a strike on June 1. Fifteen hundred men walked out.

#### Men Were Law-Abiding.

In power in the county was our good, staunch Republican friend, and in power in the city was the Good Government League. I will show you in a minute what good government means in Los Angeles. We continued that strike for a month; the boys walked up and down the streets and paraded; they picketed before their stores and factories. They maintained the picket for four weeks, and in that time there were only two disturbances. One disturbance was caused by two boys of about eighteen years of age, one of whom was working and scabbing, while the other one was on strike. Both had gone out, but one had returned to work, and the fellow who had stayed out was talking to him and advising him to come out with the boys and be a man. They got into a little altercation, but there were no black eyes or bruises. There were four or five witnesses on each side. When the case was brought before the court ten witnesses testified, the court scratched his head and said, "Yes, true enough, the evidence is conflicting and it is difficult to say who is at fault, but this man has a right to work where he pleases. I will let him go. I will fine the other man \$50 or 50 days."

#### Brutal Assault.

A policeman assaulted a picket without cause. Here there was no conflict of testimony. He had no right to assault him. He was convicted and fined \$1.00. Fifty dollars for a man who was fighting for his bread, \$1.00 for a man who was endeavoring to coerce the man fighting for his bread! That is the temper of the courts in the city of the Lost Angels. Everything was peaceable and quiet, but the boys were succeeding. They were catching all the men who came into town, and they were pulling the men out of the shop. Money was being sent from San Francisco to feed the men. Since the first day of June San Francisco has sent the men of Los Angeles \$100,000. We have millionaires in Los Angeles and we have churches galore. They have prayed for morality, but not one dollar has found its way from the coffers of the rich nor from the churches to help these men in their struggle for bread. Every dollar that has come has come from men who dig it out by the day, and in giving it they have deprived their families of food and clothing they need.

#### The Injunction Came.

At the end of a month they secured an injunction. I have a copy of it here—it covers everything. No man could picket in front of or in the vicinity of a factory or store—and "vicinity" in that case meant anywhere in the city. They were enjoined from following the men or riding on the cars with them to their homes, from going to their homes to speak to them concerning labor troubles in the city. In that four weeks not a man was arrested, not a man violated the injunction, not a man used force—but they got at the men. How they did it I don't know.

Then an ordinance was passed preventing peaceable picketing in the city of Los Angeles or in the vicinity, or loitering anywhere or speaking to the men on strike. It was drafted by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. We went to the City Council to argue the law of that ordinance. We thought we had shown the city fathers that it was unfair, but after it had been argued they adjourned, argued it over again, then came forward and cast it unanimously. The day following 200 trades union men were thrown in jail. These were Good Government Fathers, with old Father Alexandria at the head. He dresses up to look like Uncle Sam, combs his hair and trims his whiskers to look like the popular whiskers of Uncle Sam. He was in the mayor's chair, and thirty minutes after the ordinance was passed "Uncle Sam" signed it and it became a law.

#### An Ordinance to Make Criminals.

A few days later we went to Long Beach, where the ordinance was to be presented. I said to the City Council: "You are about to pass an ordinance. By this you are about to make criminals. These very men to whom the ordinance applies have paved the street, but they have gone without pavements in their vicinity. They have woven your broadcloth, they wear overalls; they have built your palaces, they live in hovels; they dug the diamonds that bedeck the bosoms of your wives, while they have no decoration whatever; they feed you on porterhouse, while they live on bacon and onions. You men will pass an ordinance to prevent them from feeding their children better, from clothing their wives better. They are caught in the great economic vice and held there. They must fight. Your ordinance will not give clothing, it will not provide food, it will not relieve their necessity. They must fight to-morrow as well as to-day. Pass your ordinance. Do you think they will be criminals? No, not one of them. You will make martyrs, not criminals." They passed the ordinance unanimously in Long Beach.

#### Arrested and Jailed.

The next day sixty men were ar-

rested and thrown into jail. We tried one and the jury hung; we tried another and the jury let him loose; then they turned the whole sixty out and they are picketing to-day in Long Beach and being fed by the money that was sent from San Francisco and other parts of the state. In Los Angeles the jurors were hard to get. We have tried for days at a time to get a jury. As high as 140 men were examined, and as many as fifty out of seventy-six have said they could not give a trades union man a fair and impartial trial. We got a jury and some radical men were on it and he hung the jury. They have convicted three men and we have hung all the other juries.

I was in San Francisco at a meeting of the Labor Council when they were having a strike of the barbers. One of the barbers rushed out and attacked a barber who was picketing. The barber had him arrested. When they got to court the other fellow had more witnesses than the barber. As a result the court could not convict him and dismissed the case. The barber went to picketing. When he made his complaint before the Central Labor Council the news was carried to the judge. The judge wrote a letter which was read at he next meeting of the council. That letter would have created as much excitement in Los Angeles as a flaming sword in the streets, but they took it as a matter of course in San Francisco. The judge said he had always believed in trades unionism, and had always held that men had a right to picket. He cited decisions he had rendered. Five hundred miles south of there we were weak and would have been crushed but for the money sent from San Francisco. Those cities are in the same state, under the same statute, under the same state decisions, but the judges in the south were holding that picketing was unlawful per se, peaceable or otherwise, while in the north directly the opposite conclusion was being reached. Why? Because the trades union movement there is in power and the construction put upon the law is determined by the power behind the court.

#### Fighting the Courts.

Since that ordinance was passed the energies of the trades unionists in Los Angeles have been spent in fighting the courts. Men were arrested, blooming old jails so full they could not go any further; the boys could not put up the bail, so they turned them out upon their own recognizance, and every man without exception, although without bail, has gone back on the day of his trial to stand the test. These men feel they are right, and there are 1,500 strikers in Los Angeles all of that material.

They could not convict, they were failing, the injunction had failed, their ordinance had failed. About that time the bankers of the country, representing billions of dollars they had stolen from the very muscles of the working people, were meeting there to contrive means by which they might still reap larger harvests. A convention of the mine owners was there, representing millions of western capital. That night we had arranged for a parade of 20,000 men and had arranged for a grand audience of over 10,000 people. While these momentous things were pending an explosion took place one night and the Times building was burned to the ground. The parade was called off. Within three hours the Times printed its paper in its own subsidiary plant. The first paper charged the labor unions with blowing up the Times building and murdering the twenty-odd men, a crime heinous in the extreme, a crime the merchants and manufacturers had subscribed a million dollars to fasten upon the trades union movement of the coast. A grand jury is now in session; they are gathering the men at the head of the movement, and it is aimed to hang the best men on the Pacific Slope.

#### To Save the Movement.

I am telling you men that you have a fight there, a fight to save the only movement that stands between the sordid, insatiable greed of the capitalist class and the working class of the Pacific Slope. The attorney employed by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association is at this time standing before the grand jury presenting the evidence, sneering at what he dislikes, approving of what he likes, and endeavoring with all his might and all his money to get an indictment from the grand jury.

#### The Times Explosion.

I think the evidence already in hand is ample to show that an explosion of gas wrecked the Times building. Listen, you miners. A man escaped who was immediately below the point where the explosion occurred. He was in the cellar, but nothing fell. All the walls around the place of the explosion stood intact. Not a wall was broken. Glass in the windows across the street remained unbroken. At the time of the explosion there was one deep roar, not a sharp crack, and with that roar there shot up through two floors and a roof a flame that passed the sixth story of the adjoining building instantly upon the explosion. An explosion accompanied by flame, and within ten seconds the flames were through the whole building. They had smelled gas for days, and it was especially strong that day in the building. What was it, you miners? Was it dynamite or was it gas? Every one of them knows that if the shot had been sufficient to shoot a hole up through three stories it would have shattered all the walls about it and driven a hole in the ground.

A month after the explosion took place the most interesting fact that happened was the turn of the public opinion. We all thought it would have driven the public mind away from the labor movement. We were afraid it would. This is a most im-

portant thing we have met. Of the first jury picked after the calamity eight men spoke out as they had never spoken out before. They said they were opposed to the ordinance. Never had that word been spoken in a jury room before that day. They said the ordinance was a bad thing to have in the city, that they would not convict under it any man for picketing if he did not resort to violence. Our juries are much easier to get than before the calamity. The reason is that Otis has been so aggressive and so bold that the public has been sickened by his assaults. Read his papers. There is scarcely a decent man on the Pacific coast whose character that fiend has not deliberately stabbed. He stabbed them in the back whenever they crossed his pathway, mercilessly and without care. He has tried to torture every man who stood for anything that would benefit the community.

#### Trade Union Parade.

As a protest the trades unions concluded to hold a parade about four weeks after the calamity. They got all the trades unions out. One union with 1,600 members had 1,400 of them in line. That night 15,000 men marched in the streets of Los Angeles. They started on Wall street, marched five blocks west to Main; a mile north to Temple street, a mile west and south to Fiesta Park, and when the head band of the parade was marching into the park the end had not yet left Wall street, the place of formation. Labor had wrapped its arms in and about that great city, with power to crush it at its will, yet in walking through that city there was not a voice raised, not a cheer; nothing could be heard but the tramp, tramp, tramp of 15,000 determined men. Scarcely a banner was seen. Now and then a question mark. On and on they marched into that great park, to a great amphitheater there, thirty feet from the level to the top and a thousand feet across. When they came in there it ceased to be a cheer—it was an upheaval of human power. Then when the hour hour was over the chairman said, "Be careful; do not hurt any one. Go out quietly as you came in." And they organized in line and marched out. Not a man was arrested, not a child was hurt, and they dispersed as quietly as they gathered.

And these are the dangerous citizens of Los Angeles! These men do metal in them. The time for organizing that city has arrived. The men are there. The Frisco boys have put up \$100,000, and we come to-day to ask your support throughout the country. If we do not get it the movement in Los Angeles will go down, the Frisco unions will be crushed and the movement will be at an end on the coast. You must make Los Angeles the battleground where the victory of the Pacific Coast will be won.

A motion was made and seconded that a vote of thanks be extended Mr. Harriman for the able manner in which he had described the situation in Los Angeles.

It was moved as an amendment that the address be printed in the daily proceedings. The amendment was accepted by the mover of the motion. The original motion was adopted, as amended, by a unanimous rising vote.

#### New Subscribers

Have been reported by the following comrades and friends:

- Chas. Gretsch ..... 1
- Bruno Foerster ..... 1
- Hy. Froehlich ..... 1
- Fred Stocker ..... 2
- J. E. Akins ..... 1
- Fred Eder Steamboat Rock, Iowa ..... 1
- M. F. Payer ..... 1
- Carl Kloth ..... 1
- Gustav Fritz ..... 1
- Carl Kloth ..... 1
- Gust. Fritz, New Baden, Ill. .... 1
- Jac. Roessler ..... 1
- J. R. Teel ..... 1
- Frank Heuer ..... 1
- Ed Ray ..... 1
- O. Pauls ..... 8
- Hy. Schwarz ..... 4
- Jac. Luetzel ..... 1
- W. F. Crouch ..... 2
- Walter Stronsider ..... 1
- F. J. Kloth ..... 3
- J. J. Leuenberger ..... 5
- A. Goedecker ..... 1

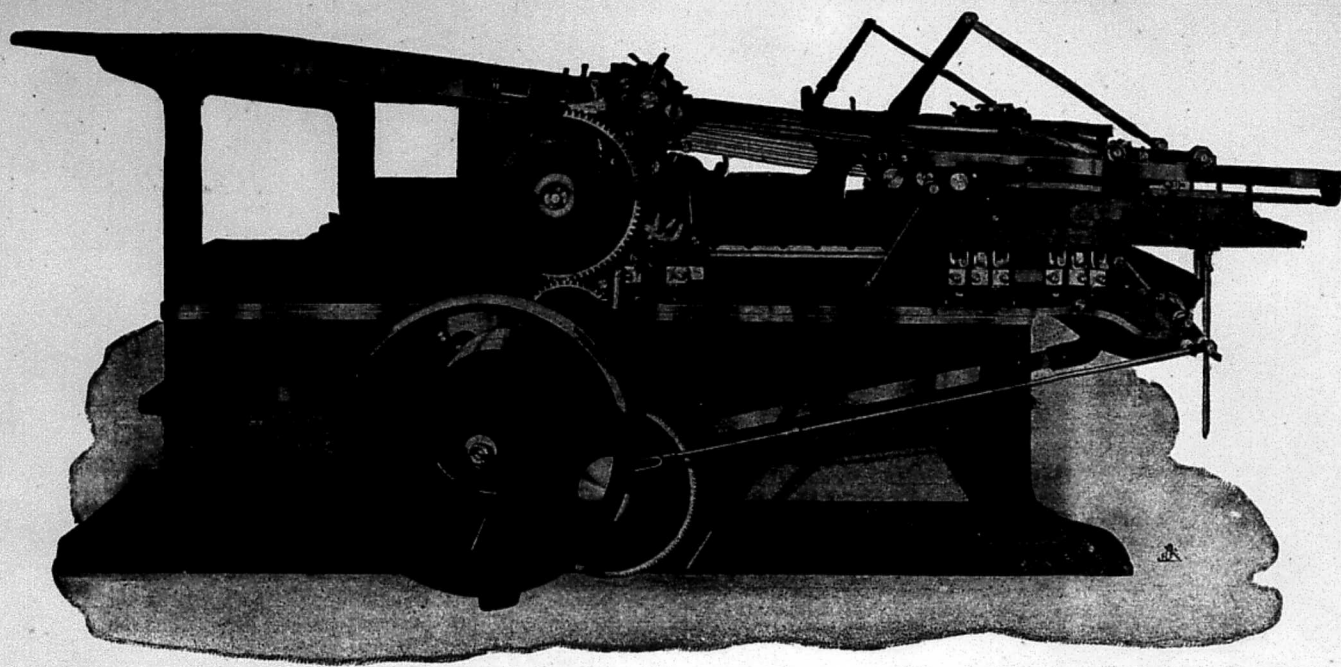
### FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The National Executive Committee has unanimously voted in favor of appropriating \$100.00 to aid Comrade Adolph Germer in contesting the election in his legislative district.

The following comrades have been nominated for members of an auditing committee of two to audit the accounts of the National Office: Henry E. Allen, B. Berlyn, Geo. H. Goebel, Lena Morrow Lewis, Peter Sissman and Seymour Stedman.

Another Legislature Invaded. Arthur Bassett, State Secretary of North Dakota, reports as follows: "Returns slow in coming in, but enough to indicate a vote of upwards of 6,000, giving us official standing. Wesley Fasset was elected to the State Legislature from the Nineteenth Legislative District. North Dakota in line; 1912 campaign already started." The vote in North Dakota is 1908 was 2,412.

# St. Louis Labor Printed on Our Own Press



## COMRADES OF ST. LOUIS!

Now you may feel proud. And justly so.

During the heat of a lively political campaign which cost our party about \$2,000 you have succeeded in acquiring your own big printing press.

It is with pleasure that we inform you of the fact that this week's issues of our papers, ST. LOUIS LABOR and ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, were printed on our own No. 1 Miehle press.

The above is a picture of the press, which was installed in our plant, 966 Chouteau avenue, within the last five days.

This press is a splendid monument of the noble spirit, confidence and true comradeship existing in the St. Louis Socialist and Trade Union movement.

It is the "gatling gun" that will dismantle the walls of igno-

rance behind which the capitalist exploiters hide. It is the powerful weapon in the hands of the Socialist Party and the entire labor movement of St. Louis.

The great work is not yet completed. We must have a folding machine, cutting machine, etc., which will cost about \$1,200.00. Installation, motor, etc., has cost us more than we had originally figured on.

With your co-operation it will be comparatively easy to complete the great work so bravely undertaken and so nobly carried out.

Our ward clubs, singing societies, unions and our comrades individually are requested to make some additional contributions to the Press Fund, and everything will be O. K. within a few weeks.

Call at 966 Chouteau avenue and "have-a-look" at our press-room with the Miehle No. 1 as a fine monument built by you—the Socialists and Trade Unionists of St. Louis.

ganizing the butchers and packing-house employees of the country, the silk factory employes in Pennsylvania and gas workers in Indiana. Also resolutions demanding an investigation of the Steel Trust anarchy by the governments of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, etc.

## COMRADE LIPSCOMB TO TAKE A REST.

Chicago Daily Socialist, ST. LOUIS LABOR, St. Louis, Mo., and R. R. Ristine, Joplin, Mo.:

The unofficial count gives Barton County, Mo., for Judge of the Supreme Court 185 votes this election. In the election of 1908 we polled 192 votes. This shows a loss of seven

votes since last election. Owing to the dissensions in the party outside of this county there seemed to be no one who had courage to get out and make a fight; and, besides this, our candidates for county offices were nominated so late some of them failed to get on the ticket. I know of but two speeches made in the county. While this vote shows a slight loss, in fact we have gained. I feel that we could have doubled the vote had we made any effort. I have worked so long in the rural districts and watched the wage-workers in the cities continue to vote for the master class until I feel that I will take a rest until those fellows learn to make a protest. Fraternally,  
CALEB LIPSCOMB.

## Machinists Strike Not Settled.

### WARNING TO MACHINISTS.

The Baltimore-Ohio Trouble Is Still On and Reports That Strike Was Over Were Circulated to Deceive.

SPREAD THIS NEWS THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND!

The following official communication is self-explanatory:

Int. Association of Machinists. District Lodge No. 29. B. & O. & B. & O. S.-W. R. R. System. Wheeling, W. Va., Nov. 15, 1910. To the Officers and Members of the I. A. of M.:

Greeting:—During the past six weeks information has been spread broadcast to the effect that the strike on the Baltimore and Ohio systems has been settled, same having emanated from the company. As there is not a semblance of truth connected with the statement, and as many men have and are being misled and are accepting positions with the above roads, we will ask that each and every member make it known as publicly as possible that the machinists' strike at all shops on the Baltimore and Ohio and the Baltimore and Ohio Southwestern roads is still in full force and effect. If you will do this, we are sure that it will assist us materially.

We will now refresh your memory as to the cause of our strike, and endeavor to answer some of the many questions that are being asked by members who are not familiar with our strike. One of which is: "Why is it that the G. E. B. and International President permit the B. and O. strike to continue so long?"

First—The B. and O. officials were among the few who wanted to take advantage of the hard times of 1909 by imposing piecework upon our members, and as it has been refused by the individual members of the Baltimore erecting shops, 97 out of a possible 105 were to be dismissed in one day—May 7th, 1909. Every possible effort was made by the committee, President O'Connell, and myself, to offset the strike or walkout. But our efforts were all in vain, as the company's officials would not listen nor arbitrate, but insisted that their employes must accept whatever working conditions they might choose to impose. Hence the walkout and general strike on the B. & O. proper a month later.

Second—After overtures were made towards a settlement, to which the company would not agree, and as our members employed by the B. & O. Southwestern, a subsidiary of the B. & O., were being forced from time

to time to work on B. & O. engines, the strike was extended to that road on May 2, 1910; not, however, until the Grand Lodge made such investigations that convinced them that the possibility of forcing the company to an honorable settlement were favorable.

Third—The G. L. continues to uphold us in our efforts, because the company still insists on imposing piecework upon our members if a settlement is agreed upon; and because they, like the strikers and myself, believe that the possibilities for an honorable settlement are still favorable. So we ask you to assist and co-operate with us whenever possible, as we are as determined to-day as we were eighteen months ago.

On November 1st the company lost the New York and St. Louis express train, owing to their inability to make time or connections. The train was turned over to the N. Y. C. Lines, and we believe is a loss to the B. & O. of at least fifty thousand dollars a month. Thousands of dollars have been lost to the company because of responsibilities for nonacceptable shipments of fruit, beef, etc., and thousands of unnecessary dollars are being expended in an endeavor to properly repair their locomotives. Approximately fourteen hundred men and boys came on strike on both systems, we have had but twenty-eight deserters, and still have about 300 men on the picket lines, who are willing to storm the fight through another winter rather than accede to the company's demands—that they accept of piecework if employed by them.

The places where our members are on strike are as follows: Baltimore, Md.; Cumberland, Md.; Piedmont, W. Va.; Grafton, W. Va.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Parkersburg, W. Va.; Washington, Ind.; Garrettsville, Chillicothe, Ohio; Newark, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Chicago, Ohio; New Castle, Pa.; Greenwood, Pa.; Connellsville, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Flora, Ill.; and South Chicago, Ill.

Please recognize our strike as being in full force and effect unless otherwise informed by an officer of our association. And if deserving, give us your moral and financial support, and do not criticize or censure unless you are sure that you are fully justified.

Thanking for all past favors and assistance and with all good wishes, we are, fraternally yours,

C. D. SUMMERS,  
President.  
A. F. STARK,  
Business Representative.  
H. HABERFELD,  
Assistant Secretary.

### The Glass Workers' Strike.

Capitalist newspapers are circulating the false news that the Glass Workers' strike is lost—that the Glass Workers have given up the fight. This is as black a lie as could be published, and still union men will go on supporting these papers and leave their own Labor paper, St. Louis Labor, unsupported. Here is where we fail to do our duty as union men. If we don't want the public to be misled as to facts of our condition, let us support and work for a paper that will speak the truth. And the truth made known to the public will work and benefit us. The facts are that the Glass Workers are still on strike and they are firm and determined to win.

They are conducting a peaceful fight. They are staying within the bounds of law, something the members of the Glass Manufacturers' Association have not done. We will continue our fight until a settlement is reached.

General President F. J. Wettengel and Vice-President Walter West of the Amalgamated Glass Workers Association are here attending the A. F. of L. convention and will use all their influence in bringing about a settlement.

The trial of E. F. Kerwin, Glass Manufacturer, against Hough and Burrows, Glass Workers' Union pickets, came up on the 17th. The case was called. Kerwin did not appear. Andy O'Coner, Kerwin's bondsman, called upon the forfeit bond. Then Kerwin arrived, paid the cost of new bond, \$4.50, and the trial put off till December 1st.

### Mass Meeting on East Side.

Comrade Victor L. Berger and other delegates to the A. F. of L. convention addressed a well-attended Socialist mass meeting in Belleville last Sunday morning.

Sunday evening Mr. and Mrs. Berger addressed a crowd of over a thousand people at the East St. Louis City Hall. Comrades Barnes and Moyer also spoke. Our East Side comrades are elated at these successful propagandist meetings.

## American Federation of Labor.

### MOST OUTRAGEOUS

#### MISREPRESENTATION.

St. Louis Republic Spreads the Lie that President Gompers Ruled Negroes Out of American Federation.

#### GOMPERS ISSUES STATEMENT.

How outrageously the capitalist press misrepresents Organized Labor has been strikingly illustrated in this city. The daily papers, especially the St. Louis Republic, the Democratic mouthpiece of would-be labor friendship, appeared Friday morning with a front page article, headed, "Gompers Reads Negro Out of Labor Unions—Race Not Far Enough Removed From Slavery to Understand Human Rights." Said papers claimed that Gompers had made such statements at Thursday night's reception of delegates, held under the auspices of the local central body. At Friday's session President Gompers indignantly denounced the newspaper story as a base falsehood. The fact is that Mr. Gompers in Thursday night's address made a special appeal to get the negroes into the ranks of Unionism, and incidentally remarked that in our efforts to win the negroes for Union's cause the fact should not be lost sight of that American negroes are not much over half a century removed from slavery and consequently deprived of advantages that white men have enjoyed for centuries.

What makes this misrepresentation especially interesting is the fact that it was made for Citizens' Alliance interests, and that the Republic is the same Democratic sheet which during the last campaign advocated Gompers' political labor policy for the benefit of the Democratic machine. This is a fine lesson to Mr. Gompers.

William Brace also spoke Thursday night. English Trades Unionists are in politics, he said. "We leaders of English Unionism are preparing for a great political battle in January, and have concluded that rather than see our Unions and members tied up we will use our funds accumulated, and we will send our Labor men to Parliament in greater number. If we are thrown in jail, well and good. We are ready to take our medicine, but we will break into Parliament in greater number and show the enemy that we are ready to defy the government which tries to kill us politically by tying up our Union funds. I say to American Union men: If you go into politics, go into the fight deliberately."

The Electrical Workers' controversy took up the entire six hours' session Friday. Frank Duffy

in a rather vindictive speech, was unfriendly to the Reed faction. Frey and Urlick of the committee spoke well and diplomatically. Frey claimed that if Duffy had not withdrawn from the committee at a time when prospects for settlement were good, the trouble might perhaps be adjusted now.

Lynch of the Typographical Union moved that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board. Lewis of the Miners amended that the old committee be continued, the Toronto decision upheld, every effort be made to get the factions together, and the faction abiding by the decision to be recognized. Furuseth moved that the charter of the McNulty faction be cancelled and that the convention proceed to settle the matter here and now. Mahone of the Street Railwaymen moved as an amendment to Furuseth's motion that the matter be referred to the Executive Board, together with Furuseth's motion, and that the board should avail themselves of every honorable means to end the war between the Electrical Workers' factions. Mahone's amendment carried, with 12-044 for and 2,954 against.

On motion of James O'Connell the convention decided to adjourn till Monday to give the committees time to do their work.

Friday's action of the convention takes the Electrical Workers' controversy entirely out of the committee's hands. Since sentiment is overwhelmingly for settlement, it is thought that the controversy will be adjusted at an early date.

Job Harriman was most cordially greeted by Socialist delegates from all over the country. Read his eloquent address in full in this week's ST. LOUIS LABOR.

#### SOCIALISTS ISSUE STATEMENT.

Convention Delegates Who Are Members of Socialist Party Present Their Program of Action in Union Movement.

#### PARTY'S ATTITUDE MADE PLAIN.

The Socialist delegates present at the American Federation of Labor convention, after due consideration of the willful and sensational misrepresentation by the daily press of this city, issued the following statement:

"The trade union delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention who are also members of the Socialist Party have been somewhat abused, whilst also considerably amused, by the ridiculous stories circulated in the press and elsewhere as to their attitude toward the Federation and the dark designs ascribed to them.

"It can be said that the number of Socialists in the convention is much larger than at any previous session, and, likewise, their total votes in the convention have proportionately increased.

"In order to set at rest all speculation regarding the attitude of the Socialist delegates and their legislative program within the Federation, it should be stated that no resolutions have been introduced nor will there be any.

"This decision was reached at a well-attended meeting of the Socialist delegates held Wednesday evening.

"By this course the common policy of the Socialist Party of America and the world towards trade organizations is upheld and emphasized.

"Several resolutions upon this subject, all to the same purpose, have been adopted by the national conventions of the Socialist Party in the years 1904, 1908 and 1910, and by the International Socialist Congresses at Stuttgart, 1907, and Copenhagen, 1910. The essentials of these resolutions are as follows:

"The unions and the Socialist Party have equally an important part to perform in the struggle for the proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature, and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action."

"That the Socialist Party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor-union movement over questions of forms of organization or methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions and evolve in the direction of the ever closer solidarity and even more effective action in the industrial field."

"That it is the interest and the duty of the Socialist Party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage-workers and the betterment of their material and social condition."

"Regardless of misunderstandings or deliberate misrepresentations on the part of opponents, the fact is in evidence that the organized workers throughout the country are more and more coming to recognize the valuable services rendered by the Socialist Party in their behalf in their every conflict with the master class.

"Besides, the trade unionists in larger number than ever before are joining the Socialist Party and voting its ticket for the establishment of political rule by the working class.

#### NO ADDITIONAL POWER

To be Given to Local Central Bodies in Cases of Strikes.

CONVENTION OPPOSED TO HELPING RAILROADS INCREASE FREIGHT RATES.

#### TO INVESTIGATE STEEL TRUST.

At Monday's session of the convention of the American Federation of Labor an exciting debate was had on a resolution offered by the New York Central Federated Union, proposing to give more power to local central bodies in case of strikes. The debate lasted nearly two hours. Gompers and Lennon opposed it. John Walker, Max Hayes and others spoke for it. Walker said an improved form of organization was a necessity and the time had come when we must fight for the other fellow out on strike as we fight for ourselves. Hayes said the International Typographical Union expended five million dollars for the eight-hour-day fight, which sum could have been reduced considerably had there been more co-operation and solidarity among the printing trades. Too often closely allied unions stand idly by while others out on strike are bleeding themselves to death. Capitalists are always fishing for separate contracts, knowing full well that is good policy to divide and conquer.

A motion to instruct the Executive Committee to act in accordance with the resolution was defeated.

The convention, by a practically unanimous vote, disapproved of the railroad brotherhood's goody-goody work of assisting railroads raising the freight rates. After an able address by Delegate Hawley of the Switchmen's Union, the convention decided to oppose the petition of railroads to have freight rates increased.

After a spirited debate, with all the speakers in the affirmative, however, the convention, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution instructing the Executive Board to issue an appeal to all international, national, local and federated bodies for financial aid for the Los Angeles fight. No matter what the cost, Los Angeles shall be thoroughly organized. Delegate Kugler of the Brewery Workers made a passionate appeal, which elicited a storm of applause.

Fannie Sellins of the St. Louis Garment Workers told the story of the Marx & Haas lockout, and her statement of the tyrannical conditions of work in said factory was so pathetic that old delegates had tears in their eyes. The convention promised support.

Resolutions were passed for work of organization in Wyoming, for or-

# BIG MASQUERADE BALL

GIVEN BY

Workingmen's Singing Society "Vorwaerts"

AT

LEMP'S PARK HALL, 13th and Wyoming Street

ON

Saturday Eve., November 26, '10

Souvenir to each Lady attending.

Tickets 25 cents a Person

## It Is Your Move, Gentlemen!

United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, Sitting in St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen—On May 9th of this year I argued my case in your court. Three years prior to that I was arrested, charged with defaming the character of ex-Governor W. S. Taylor, by circulating through the mails an envelope on which was printed an offer of a reward for his capture and return to the authorities of Kentucky. I was convicted in the Federal Court at Fort Scott two years after my arrest and sentenced to six months in jail and to pay a fine of \$1,500. I appealed my case to your court, and appeared in my own defense, because my lawyers were unwilling to make a plain statement of the case to you, devoid of legal verbiage. I stated to you that I had mailed the envelope in question and my reasons therefor, namely, to call public attention to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States wherein the kidnaping of three workmen was declared not to be a violation of their constitutional right. After thus frankly stating the facts, I had reason to expect that you would without delay decide the case. It is now six months since I submitted the matter to you and you have rendered no decision. I had waited two years for trial in the lower court; another year elapsed before I could get a hearing in your court. Why this delay?

Is this question so difficult of decision that you are in doubt as to my guilt? If so, am I not entitled to the benefit of that doubt and to have the charge against me dismissed and to be freed from the worry and annoyance and expense that I have endured for nearly four years?

As an American citizen, I demand that the constitutional guarantee of a speedy trial be no longer denied me and that my case be disposed of at once. "Justice delayed is justice denied."

FRED D. WARREN, Editor Appeal to Reason.

## Eight Hour Law

The United States Congress, notorious for its infamy, has seldom passed a more iniquitous act than when on the afternoon of January 26, 1906, in the most brazen manner conceivable, it repealed the time-honored eight-hour law, in the construction of the Panama Canal.

"You are stabbing labor under the fifth rib," cried out Minority Leader Williams to the Republicans during the debate. When the Democrats are out of office, "stabbing labor under the fifth rib" makes good campaign material.

No public hearings of any kind had been held on this bill. It was sprung in the House as a rider to the "Urgent Deficiency bill," and passed while the House was in a committee of the whole, with Representative Sherman, now Vice-President, in the chair.

Representatives Dalzell, Tawney and Littauer asserted on the floor of the House that the workers in the

canal zone were indolent, and that eight hours' work was not enough for them. "We must work them from sunup to sunset to get results," was the gist of their argument.

For fourteen years previous the eight-hour law had been on the statute books without the slightest amendment or modification. But even this measure had to give way before the inhumanity of the capitalists and their hirelings who are the United States Congress.

The eight-hour law on the Panama Canal was repealed by a vote of 120 to 110, with 156 dodging. One Democrat voted against the eight-hour law; 20 Republicans and 90 Democrats in favor, and 110 Republicans and 46 Democrats dodged.

Hod the forty-six dodging Democrats, or half of them, or even one-fourth of them, voted as the Democratic orators at that time orated, the eight-hour law in the Canal Zone would not have been repealed.

## "Broken Promises"

In a lengthy special dispatch, with six sensational headings, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of October 29 announced that Mr. Oscar S. Straus, ambassador to Turkey, informally submitted his resignation to President Taft. Mr. Straus has been the American diplomatic representative at Constantinople since May 17, 1909. He is tired of the diplomatic service, it is said, and wishes to resume his residence in this country. He is now in this country on leave of absence.

Mr. Straus was secretary of commerce and labor in President Roosevelt's administration. The President and secretary Knox, however, have not accepted the resignation, and it is still held in abeyance. The diplomatic post at Constantinople is important at the present time, notably on account of the fact that an application for a \$50,000,000 railroad project in Asia Minor has been filed by the Ottoman American Development Company, an American concern. The granting of the concession was opposed by the German ambassador at Constantinople on the ground that the proposed railroad would injure German railroad enterprise in that region.

Nothing was said in the dispatch about the causes of Mr. Straus' resignation.

The October issue of "B'nai B'rith News," the official organ of the Jewish Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, published an editorial which is significant when considered in connection with Mr. Straus' resignation.

The B'nai B'rith editorial reads:

### "BROKEN PROMISES.

"Hon. Oscar S. Straus, American ambassador to Turkey, was refused the privilege of travel in Russia without a special permit—because he is a Jew. This insult to the American nation was hardly noticed by the secular press. So much to the discredit of the press. Is there another powerful nation on the face of the globe which would submit to such treatment of one of its first citizens and high government officials?"

"The Republican and Democratic parties in their platforms pledged themselves to enforce respect for the American passport. Planks in party platforms are often more easily broken than constructed, and it is no trouble to construct them.

"The Republican party won, but the passport question has been ignored. Had the Democratic party won, the results would in all likelihood have been the same. President Taft pledged himself to do all in his power to have the American passport recognized everywhere—but Ambassador Straus couldn't enter Russia without special permit, all the same.

"He had the good sense not to accept a special permit.

"From a practical standpoint we are interested in having the American passport recognized when in the hands of a Jewish American merely as a possible entering wedge for the recognition of the rights of the Russian Jew in his native land. From a sentimental and patriotic standpoint we are very much interested in the question whether our government is to be treated as a first-class power, or is to be classed with the 'Hermit Kingdom.' What has become of all our great statesmen? Can they find no way to enforce respect for a document bearing the great seal of state?"

This criticism of the powers that be in Washington is well deserved. If any smaller, insignificant nation had offered such an insult to an American ambassador, Taft, Knox & Co. would have ordered a warship to "protect the honor of the flag." But since the insult was offered by the czar of Russia, our capitalist business government had nothing to say in behalf of Mr. Oscar S. Straus, the representative of the American government.

Where is the patriotic Taft? Where is the savior of "Our Flag" Knox? Where is the loud-mouthed Theodore Roosevelt?

They are all "mum," like the proverbial oyster. No wonder Mr. Straus refused to serve any longer as ambassador for a government that quietly submits to official kicks like the one mentioned above.

"Broken Promises" of a cowardly capitalist government!

## Compulsory Pilotage

A certain eminent gentleman from Maine, named Pendleton, was known to own over one hundred sailing vessels engaged in coastwise trade. Another eminent gentleman named Littlefield was representative from Maine for many years.

On December 6, 1906, Representative Littlefield, with the aid of the Republican machine and eleven Democrats, attempted to railroad through Congress a bill legalizing the abolition of compulsory pilotage.

Littlefield's inhuman measure proposed to allow vessels unacquainted with the dangers of American ports to enter unguided. The endangering of human life aboard the vessels was not his concern.

Fortunately, this bill against compulsory pilotage was defeated. But the vote showed that one hundred and nine members of the House, including the wily Cannon, were in fa-

vor of this brutal measure against the safety of the toilers of the sea and the general public.

In his infamous scheme, Littlefield, the "union buster," received the oratorical support of Representatives Payne, Fordney, Burton and Humphrey. These gentlemen waxed eloquent over the "rights of property" and "unjust taxation." But just as reactionary and inhuman were those who voted against or dodged compulsory pilotage. That the Littlefield bill failed of passage was not their fault.

Littlefield's measure was defeated by a vote of 165 to 109, with 109 dodging the vote. Ninety-eight Republicans and 11 Democrats voted against compulsory pilotage; 74 Republicans and 91 Democrats in favor, and 76 Republicans and 33 Democrats dodged.

## What's a Farmer?

We are often told that the farmer is a small capitalist, a petty exploiter, and that, therefore, he has no place in a working class movement. These statements usually come from gentlemen whose knowledge of farm life comes from occasional trolley rides in the suburbs.

The farmer belongs to the capitalist class, but he is not of them. In classifying the farmer we must ask first, "How does he make his living? If his income is derived from profit, interest, or rent, then he belongs to the capitalist class; but if he makes his living by the expenditure of elbow grease and gray matter, in the production of useful things, then he belongs to the working class.

A man who rises at the clarion call of the rooster, feeds six horses, slops around a cow lot extracting lacteal fluid from seven fly-bothered cows before breakfast, and then takes his daily constitutional behind a pair of refractory mules, with plow handles in his paws and greasy line wrapped around his neck, looks suspiciously like a workingman. And by the time he has done the chores in the light of the silvery moon and crawled between rustling straw ticks he most likely feels like one, too.

Some believe the farmer a capitalist because he owns the tools with which he works. So does the miner and the cabinetmaker. But the ownership of a pick does not make the miner a mine magnate and a kit of tools does not confer upon the woodworker the ownership of a furniture factory. The fact is, the farmer owns the first few links in the chain of production; the other links are the property of the capitalist.

He owns the grain pen, but not the elevator; the pig sty, but not the packing plant; the Studebaker wagon, but not the railroad; the cotton hoe, but not the gin. Like the wage worker, he is dependent on, and exploited by, the owners of the principal means of production and distribution. The manner in which the farmer derives his income stamps him as a worker, and the size of his income is even below that of the average worker.

In an article in the Review of Reviews for September, 1899, Prof. L. B. Bailey, of the department of agriculture of Cornell University and one of the foremost authorities on agriculture, declared that the "\$200 a year income farm" is the "ideal in American farming."

If this is the ideal, we would like to take a squint at the common run. It doesn't look like the "ideal" will die of gout or develop speed mania.

Geo. T. Holmes, assistant statistician of the United States Department of Agriculture, gives as his conclusion, Vol. X, page 154: "It appears that if you allow interest to the farmers on the farm capital, they earn substantially no wages; on the other hand, if you allow them no interest, they receive \$22.61 per month as wages."

Mr. Holmes' conclusion will illuminate a number of dark holes in farm life. It shows in the first place why some farmers feel like capitalists and others like wage slaves. The fellow who works for the fun of it and draws \$22.61 per month interest on investment may regard himself as a miniature Rockefeller, while the farmer who works for the above \$22.61 per month, denying himself the pleasure of living off his interest, is equally justified in looking upon himself as a wage worker. Some light is also shed upon the theoretically exploited farm hand who owns neither land nor tools, but who simply works for \$25 a month.

A. M. Simon, in his work, "The

American Farmer," quotes Edward F. Adams as saying: "It seems to me that the farmer and his wife must expect to work twelve hours on

## EVERY FAMILY USES

# COAL

ORDER YOURS FROM  
**St. Louis Labor**

THERE ARE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD DO THIS. ONE GOOD REASON is that without a cent additional cost, you fare better and also help your paper by placing your order with

ST. LOUIS LABOR than with some irresponsible solicitor—your order will receive the best care because the coal business handled by ST. LOUIS LABOR is big and the mine operators try to keep and please big buyers. All coal delivered through ST. LOUIS LABOR is direct from the mines. ORDER BY PHONE. Kinloch, Central 1577, or post card to

ST. LOUIS LABOR

## MULLEN UNDERTAKING CO.

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

STRICTLY UNION BOTH PHONES.

Forest 3797 Delmar 2148

## Elmer Shepard

UNDERTAKER EMBALMER

Active Member Typographical Union No. 8

5921 Easton Avenue. STRICTLY UNION

Olive 2338—Central 6687

## JOHN DEMPSKY

Fine Wines, Liquors and Cigars S. W. Cor. 11th & Couteau Ave.

Kjnloch Central 2054-R.

## HANNAUER & OELKERS

Book Binders 420 MARKET STREET.

## R. MEDERACKE BUILDER

GENERAL CARPENTER WORK AND REPAIRING. Plans and Estimates Furnished. 4430 ARSENAL STREET. Kinloch Victor 693-R

the average every day, some of the time at light work. . . . I think a reasonable satisfaction for a farmer is a comfortable, but modest, home, abundant but plain food, plenty of stout work clothing, and a good suit for Sunday, a comfortable conveyance to take his family to church in, moderate education for a reasonable number of children, and such an income beyond that as will enable him to safely, when a young man, to incur interest bearing debt for half the land he tills, with expectation of paying it off by the time he is fifty, and retiring from labor when sixty."

It cannot be denied that the average farm boy who goes in debt at the age of twenty has brilliant prospects before him, especially so when we see that 21 per cent of the farmers die under twenty-five years, 57 per cent under forty-five, and 86 per cent under sixty-five. U. S. Census, 1890.

If only 14 per cent of those who as young men go in debt for half of their land may expect to spend their old age free of toil and want, how long will the fellow have to live who goes in debt for all his land before he can retire? Our opinion is that compared to this man Methuselah was a snot-nosed youngster.

No, no, Mr. Farmer, you are not a bloody Plute. And while we cannot call you a wage worker exactly, because your pay days are few and far between, somewhat uncertain and doubtful, yet the fact remains that your economic position is several degrees below that of the wage slave.

Your income and the manner in which you obtain it place you with the workers in the shop and mine and not with the coupon clippers and the dividend sharks. Like these, you are a victim of exploitation, and your only hope lies in the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.—Oklahoma Pioneer.

A Compound Fracture. Teacher—Can any pupil quote Shakespeare? Tommie (raising his hand)—"All the world's a stage and filled with bad actors."

Teacher—That is not quite correct, Tommy, and I would advise you to read that quotation over carefully again.

Jimmie (snapping his fingers)—"Hell hath no fury like a woman's corn."

FINE JOB PRINTING CO-OPERATIVE PRINTERY 906 Chouteau Ave.

WILLS DEEDS

SARAH M. HAWLEY, NOTARY AND STENOGRAPHER

Depositions a Specialty Office Telephone: MAIN 4215 Residence Telephone: LINDELL 2583 Corridore Commercial Building 214 NORTH SIXTH STREET

STEINER ENGRAVING CO. 11 NORTH EIGHTH ST.

Badges, Banners & Buttons. Buttons like illustration \$2.00 per 100

CHAS. WERZ & CO.

Wood, Brass, Muslin, Embossing on Glass, Etc., SIGNS 1505 CASS AVE., St. Louis Kinloch, Central 751

DR. L. H. DAVIS

Physician and Surgeon

Office: 2102 South Eleventh St.

Hours: 9 to 10 a. m., 2 to 3 p. m. and 7 to 8 p. m. Phones: Kinloch, Central 8056; Bell, Sidney 268. Residence 1032 Morrison Avenue. Hours 7:30 to 8:30 a. m. and 12:30 to 1:30 p. m.

### ASSIST THE BAKERS!

DOES THE BREAD UNION YOU EAT BEAR THE LABEL?



### IF NOT, WHY NOT?

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

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

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

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

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

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

### UNION MEN AND FRIENDS.

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

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

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

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

## Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



## UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE Blue Union Label

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

## TOMBRIDGE AGENCY

ESTABLISHED MARCH 13, 1885. A General Real Estate and Insurance Agency. Fire and Tornado Insurance.

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

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

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

Twenty-five years of fair dealings have made the office of the TOMBRIDGE AGENCY well liked by the public. Office No. 324 Chestnut Street. Both Phones.

# John Brown of Ossawatimie.

By Martin L. Flanagan.

## The Problem for Working Class to Solve.



Roosevelt, the John Brown Orator, Has No Sympathy With Abolition Movement.

It was exceedingly clever in Mr. Roosevelt, when making the dedication speech at Ossawatimie, the ignore John Brown, to whom the monument is raised. John Brown may be a hero, but he is not without blemish, and he has by no means been accepted by the majority of the people in this country. What Mr. Roosevelt's real opinion of Brown is he now keeps pretty well to himself.

John Brown has been a moldering in the grave this half century, but the dedication of a monument to him has stirred anew the discussion concerning him and aroused again the interest that once encircled him. You can take him as a militant saint, heroically battling against monstrous wrong; you can take him as a murderous madman. There is plenty of authority for either deduction.

What, however, is of chief interest to Socialists is the fact that John Brown enables them to test the real opinions of his fellow-citizens. Throughout the North there was abundant, voluble, tearful sympathy for the suffering of the slaves. There was little danger in it to the slaveholders, because it was mere, transient emotionalism. When John Brown acted—acted like a madman, if you will—he was execrated by practically all the good people of the country. Why? Simply because he had made a real attack on private property; that is, he had attempted to take from the masters their property, the slaves.

The cry that John Brown was striving to cause a slave rebellion, a rebellion that could only result in massacre and the subversion of all law and order, does not hide the real fact that what he really was condemned for was his attack on private property. Good old law and order was in business then as it is now, and its business was to make the black man docile, obedient and submissive, to frighten away those who sought freedom for the slave, and to make social outcasts of those who persisted in working for the freedom of the slave. It was under a government of law and order, one founded on law, protected by the constitution and maintained by executive and judiciary alike, that slavery persisted and flourished in this country. It was only through the complete wiping out of this law and order that slavery, in theory, ended. Slavery, in fact, as is shown in the reviews published in The Call of Professor Hart's work, exists. This is due to the fact that there is always a tendency in wage slavery to revert to chattel slavery. Peonage is one of the best marked indications of this ostracism, but under the development of large corporations, with their various devices for keeping the worker humble and in poverty, there are scores of other symptoms. Script and company stores are two glaring instances. The worker is virtually a slave during his period of work. When it is finished, however, the company does not have the bother of selling him, although it has had the advantage of his labor power in return for his keep.

An efficient attack on such a system makes a man a rebel, and our judiciary and our good people, the present-day exponents of law and order, are alert and libel and vilify as they were in the case of John Brown.

In considering him certain personal characteristics must be taken into account. He has been called a belated Puritan. It may be granted that he was, if by Puritan is meant a man who believes absolutely that the Bible is the word of God, and attempts to follow its teachings. There was no place in the nineteenth century America for an absolute believer in the Bible. Such a man was an anachronism. When he got into action

he was a menace. If John Brown had founded some outlandish sect he would have been left comparatively alone. Had he merely preached absurd theories, while he would have been laughed at, he would not have been persecuted to any great extent. John Brown had the temperament, but it was turned in another direction. He saw in slavery a monstrous institution, and, believing it contrary to the word of God, he set out to destroy it.

Right there he clashed with private property, though it was private property in men, and they hung him for it.

Henry Wilson summed up the public opinion of law and order when he said, "John Brown is a damned old fool, and Thaddeus Stevens put it equally well when he said: "Brown ought to be hung for attempting to capture Virginia in the way he did." These are quoted from Eli Thayer's "Kansas Crusade," and Thayer, who is from Worcester, Mass., goes on to say: "When Brown made his invasion of Virginia, and during his trial, conviction and execution, I was a member of Congress and had the means of knowing the opinions of other members. There was not one of that body who considered his punishment unjust. A few, however, were of the opinion that if would have been better to put him in a mad house for life."

Mr. Thayer was the originator and organizer of the Kansas colonization scheme, which resulted in keeping Kansas from becoming a slave state. He and his fellows did not wish to attack slavery. They wished to prevent its spread. They realized that in attacking slavery they attacked private property. Once such an attack was made, no limit could be set to its extension. Therefore, they reprobated it, and unmercifully attacked the Abolitionists who sought to abolish slavery. But in instituting the Kansas movement they set their seal of approval on the idea of not allowing the spread of that particular form of private property which chattel slavery represented.

But John Brown, being an actual "man of God" among people who merely prated and pretended to follow God's word as set forth in the Scriptures, did not care a whit for the opinions of other men. He believed himself to be an instrument in the hands of God, and as an instrument he must do God's will. He was ready to smite and destroy, and in so far as lay in his power he did smite and destroy. That his policy was foolhardy and ineffective cannot be denied. It led to the slaughter of a few pro-slavery men and to his own hanging. But it was, nevertheless, the inevitable reaction against the hypocrisy of the Northerners. The latter would like to see the slaves free, because wage labor was much more economical, and its real nature was so disguised that it aroused no disquieting thoughts. But to take the slaves away from the Southerners would have been to wrench their property from them. It was done at last and after a murderous war. It was done through war, as John Brown wished it done. But that fact has not changed the opinion of good people concerning him.

The fight that gave him his name of Ossawatimie Brown, and the battlefield where his monument has been erected, is thus described in Spring's "Kansas":

"Disquieting rumors reached camp from Dutch Henry's Crossing. H. H. Williams arrived from this neighborhood and reported that pro-slavery men, in the absence of the rifle companies, were attempting a line of policy which capt. John Brown, Jr., prosecuted successfully at Palmyran—the expulsion of obnoxious people. . . .

"Though a company of Buford's men had pitched camp not far away, to which John Brown once paid a visit of espial in the mask of a Federal surveyor; though the Rev. Martin White, a devout, biblical, rabid, shotgun pro-slavery divine, resided in the neighborhood, yet no serious disturbances had hitherto broken out in the vicinity of Ossawatimie. . . .

"Williams' narrative caused the sudden organization of a secret foray into the troubled district. . . .

"The expedition was a meager affair numerically. Seven or eight men comprised the entire muster roll. They were all members of John Brown's household, with two exceptions—James Townsley and Theo. Weiner. . . .

"At nightfall Brown encamped in a gulched, wooded, ledgy tract about a mile north of Pottawatomie Creek, his point of destination. Townsley states, in his confession, that it was not until the party had reached this lair that Brown fully disclosed to him the mission of the expedition—and

announced his purpose to sweep off all pro-slavery men up and down the Pottawatomie. Finally, he took refuge in the stronghold of predestination. 'I have no choice. It has been decreed by Almighty God, ordained from eternity, that I shall make an example of these men.' Townsley, whose theological education had evidently been neglected, interrupted the discourse at one point: "If God is such a powerful MAN as you say, why doesn't he attend to the business himself?"

"Saturday night, May 24 (1856), the blow was struck, the example made. Brown and his men stole out of ambush and executed pro-slavery squatters whose names were picked. At the first cabin where the raiders halted there was no response. Three other cabins were visited, out of which five men were dragged to sudden death in the name of the Northern army—John P. Doyle and his sons, William and Drury; Allan Wilkinson and William Sherman. There were all mortally hacked and slashed with cutlasses, except the elder Doyle. Through his forehead, burned and blackened by the proximity of the pistol, there was a bullet hole."

Mr. Roosevelt has no sympathy with the Abolition movement, of which John Brown was a part. He says of it in his life of Benton: "The cause of the Abolitionists has had such a halo shed round it by the after course of events, which in reality they did little to shape, that it has been usual to speak of them with greatly exaggerated praise."

So he avoided them in making a speech in the dedication of a monument to one of their number. Even to-day it is not safe to praise men who so openly attacked private property, even though it was private property in human beings.

That there was anything of the far-seeing statesman about John Brown, that he was a competent organizer, or that the method he pursued could bring the results he wished would be absurd to claim. There was, however, really war in Kansas at the time he was there, and his actions can be justified only on the ground that war did exist—and on his unshaken belief in the Hebrew Scriptures as authority for human actions. He believed in going out and smiting the enemy whether the enemy was sleeping or not. He denied, and many of his supporters denied and still deny, that he took part in the affair reported above. It is of small consequence, as it was only a little trickle of blood compared with the river of blood shed in support of the same idea Brown supported.

His great and lasting virtue lies in the fact that, seeing the wrongs and horrors of slavery, he heroically sought to abolish slavery, not restrict its operations and not hide or lessen its horrors. He did it with a heroism so magnificent that it is easy to consider him insane. But he did it at a time when the good people of his section of the country were seeking earnestly, in the name of law and order, to avoid the issue or cover it up.

**LABOR LEADER SAYS BALLOT WILL BE AID TO WORKERS' CAUSE.**

UNIONISM IS ONLY SALVATION.

Present Industrial Problem Met Only by Organization, He Declares.

Spokane, Wash., —When Eugene V. Debs, the well-known Socialist advocate, mounted the platform before an audience that filled the armory last night, one red handkerchief was waved and a storm of cheers broke from the enthusiastic Socialists near the platform.

The Socialistic state campaign had been opened, but nothing bordering on the spectacular had been introduced. On the contrary, the crowd had listened to the opening addresses with interest and applauded heartily when remarks favoring woman suffrage were introduced.

D. C. Coates, Socialist nominee for Congress, presided and opened the campaign by a brief address, in which he alluded favorably to the woman suffrage amendment.

He was followed by Mrs. Rose Moore, of the Washington Political Equality League, who told of the aid that the suffrage movement had received from the Socialist Party.

The speaker for the evening was then introduced, and, in his opening remarks, said:

"I heartily appreciate the amendment that proposes to enfranchise the women of Washington. Each vote against it is a vote against progress. There are those who are

frightened at the idea of votes for women.

"The working class have been serfs and slaves," continued Mr. Debs. "They have waited for some mythical Moses. Every Moses that his appeared has had some peculiar peculiarity of looking out for himself.

"Industrial unionism is the basis of Socialism. It is up to you workers to get together in your individual field. The idea is no longer a Utopian dream. On the one hand are capitalists who own the tools and do not use them, and on the other hand are the workers who use the tools, but do not own them.

"Capital is centralizing, but labor is organizing. I can do nothing for you, but you can do everything for yourselves. We have no use for the so-called captains of industry."

He rasped the Socialists for not standing by their party for fear of losing their votes, and painted a startling picture of the condition of the coal miners. The speaker alluded to the miseries of war and the enormous expenditures to support the army and navy, which he termed "murder agencies."

The party, which includes George D. Brewer, publicity man, arrived yesterday afternoon at 2:45 o'clock, and will leave this morning at 1 o'clock for Everett, Wash.

### New Subscribers

have been secured by the following comrades and friends:

W. F. Crouch . . . . .	3
E. Siebold . . . . .	1
C. W. Chandler, Greenville, Mo. . . . .	1
M. J. Raynis . . . . .	1
Jacob Luetzl . . . . .	2
Wm. Lamely . . . . .	1
D. Houwink . . . . .	4
O. Pauls . . . . .	1
Ino. Netrvai . . . . .	1
Rud. Kraus . . . . .	1
Rich. Reppmann . . . . .	1
Hy. Schwarz . . . . .	1
J. C. S. . . . .	13
F. J. Kloth . . . . .	1
F. Bosshardt . . . . .	1

### HONEST ELECTIONS

IN MILWAUKEE.

By Carl D. Thompson.

Last week, after a conference with the chief of police and the administration, it was decided to put the police department of the city at work revising the poll lists.

It is well known that in former years hundreds, and perhaps thousands, have been voting fraudulently. On the registration lists have been found names of men who had moved from the city three, four and five years ago. And a quite common fraud is for names to be registered from lots that are absolutely vacant.

The only way to clean up these lists is for each name to be taken and a canvas of the district made by some one who will stand ready to give affidavits. The Socialist Party spent \$800 in doing this kind of work in the previous election. Now that they are in power, the police department is undertaking the work. And they are doing it thoroughly.

In addition to this, the election officials are being warned that unless they make correct returns and do their duty in securing an honest election their pay will be held up pending an investigation.

And, finally, the council has appointed a committee that is already at work redistricting the wards of the city. This latter move will correct another very serious injustice in the official life of the city. In some cases some of the wards have representatives four and five times as great in proportion to their population as others. The Fourteenth Ward, for example, has almost five times the population of the Third. Yet both have the same representation. Other wards are nearly as bad. The redistricting will correct this wrong.

Thus in every direction the present administration is acting vigorously in the direction of a clean, honest election and a fair political representation for the city.

### Awkward for Both.

"This is awkward. I flirted with a young man at the seashore, and we both pretended to be rich. Now I find he lives in our city."

"But you needn't see him if you don't want to."

"I can't well get out of it. It seems he collects the payments on our piano."

### The Ruling Passion.

Banker (to new tutor)—"Always bear in mind that in my children I am entrusting to you my most precious possessions and give them your best. And what is your lowest price?"

—Fliegende Blaetter.

### Revenge.

Morrison—"I bet the man who ran his auto over Snodgrass is sorry."

Harrison—"Why do you think so?"

Morrison—"Snodgrass was wearing a scarf-pin that punctured the fellow's tire."—Chicago News.

## I Am!

By Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

I know not whence I came,  
I know not whither I go;  
But the fact stands clear that I am here

In this world of pleasure and woe,  
And out of the mist and murk  
Another truth shines plain—  
It is my power each day and hour  
To add to its joy or its pain.

I know that the earth exists,  
It is none of my business why;  
I cannot find out what it's all about,  
I would but waste time to try.  
My life is a brief, brief thing,  
I am here for a little space,  
And while I stay I would like, if I may,  
To brighten and better the place.

The trouble, I think, with us all,  
Is the lack of a high conceit.  
If each man thought he was sent to this spot  
To make it a bit more sweet,  
How soon we would gladden the world,  
How easily right all wrong,  
If nobody shirked, and each one worked  
To help his fellow along.

Cease wondering why you came—  
Stop looking for faults and flaws.  
Rise up to-day in your pride and say,  
"I am part of the First Great Cause!"  
However full the world,  
There is room for an earnest man.  
It had need of me or I would not be—  
I am here to strengthen the plan."

### ON WITH THE DANCE!

Public Play Grounds and Public Dance Halls.

To give a quasi-municipal dance in the Auditorium is an experiment well worth trying, and the Public Play-ground and Social Education Association deserves credit for attempting it.

Young people will dance. The desire for dancing has been born in them. The life, the swing, the rhythm of it are ingrained in the fiber of every boy or girl who is normal, and no sane adult would wish it otherwise. As they will dance, so they must be provided with the proper places to dance in if they are to be kept from seeking undesirable ones. It is safe to say that nine-tenths of those who frequent cheap and disreputable dance halls do so because there are not enough reputable places to accommodate them at a reasonable cost.

The Auditorium ought to fill in part the need for clean and properly supervised dance halls. It is in a measure the property of the city, which will permit the city authorities to exercise a direct supervision over any functions that take place in it. Moreover, it contains a large floor area. If the experimental dance proves so popular that the smaller hall chosen for it is not large enough, it will be a simple matter to hold succeeding dances in the main hall, the floor of which, we believe, will accommodate 1,500 to 2,000 people. The Journal hopes that the big hall

will be needed. It would like nothing better than to see regular Saturday night dances in the Auditorium, under the auspices of an organization like the Playground Association or of the city directly, with 2,000 young men and young women enjoying themselves as God always intended that young people should. Moreover, it would like to see dancing in all the public schools, and dancing teachers hired by the school board to teach the beginners. For the Journal believes that young people prefer to dance in clean places rather than in unclean ones, and that, consequently, furnishing adequate decent facilities for those who wish to, and will dance, will be the surest, the easiest and altogether most satisfactory way to wipe out the vicious dance halls, which are a menace to the youth of every city.—Milwaukee Journal.

## Herman Starck Hardware & Paint Company

3001 ARSENAL STREET.

Victor 1056. Sidney 2486-L.  
Builders' Hardware,  
Contractors' Supplies,  
Charter Oak, Quick Meal Stoves and Ranges.

Becker-Moore's Paints,  
Sinour's Floor Paints,  
Chinamel, Murphy Varnishes.  
These marks represent the highest Qualities.  
Stove Repairing and Renickeling.

## CHAS. WERZ & CO.

Wood, Brass, Nickel, Embossing on Glass, Etc.  
**SIGNS**  
1505 CASS AVE., ST. LOUIS  
Kinloch, Central 1451

## SINDELAR SHOE CO.

2612-14-16-18 North 14th St.  
---FOR---  
UNION MADE  
**SHOES**

## FRED. GEITZ & CO.,

UP-TO-DATE

## Furnishers and Hatters

For Union Men  
3755 S. Jefferson Ave.

## The PROGRESSIVE WOMEN

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SOCIALIST WOMAN GIRARD, KANSAS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RATES:

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

Cigars	{	PEN MAR - 10c
		SUNRISE - 5c
Brandt & Stahl		319 Walnut Street

By Insisting Upon Purchasing  
**UNION STAMP SHOES**

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

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

**Boot and Shoe Workers' Union**  
246 Summer Street. Boston, Mass.  
John F. Tobin, Pres. Chas. L. Baine, Sec'y-Treas.

WINDOW SHADES TO ORDER. Estimates Given.

**FURNITURE**  
STOVES, KITCHEN OUTFITS AND HARDWARE  
PAINTS, OILS AND GLASS  
**ECKHARDT FURNITURE AND HARDWARE CO.**  
2805-07 N. GRAND AVENUE

# Enthusiastic Socialist Meeting

Last Sunday's meeting at the New Club Hall was one of the most successful gatherings in the history of the St. Louis Socialist movement. The large hall was crowded to the doors, and hundreds of people stood in the aisles for three long hours listening to the eloquent addresses of comrades from all parts of the country.

Comrade William M. Brandt acted as chairman. Comrade Frank Weber of Milwaukee made the opening speech, and he made a hit, too, as the applause of the audience proved.

Comrade Adolf Germer of Belleville, Ill., was the next speaker, who presented the cause of the Socialist Party in a clear and able manner. He was followed by Comrade Job Harriman of Los Angeles, who spoke on "The Class War on the Pacific Coast." Job received quite an ovation, for he is well known to the older St. Louis comrades and well-liked for the good work he did here years ago.

Comrade Frank Hayes, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers, made a clear and convincing little speech which was appreciated by the audience.

Comrade Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, our Congressman-elect, was the lion of the day, as a matter of course. He was greeted with applause and hurrahs, and his plain, matter-of-fact talk of the Milwaukee kind of hard work for our cause was well understood by our comrades.

Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, spoke briefly, but to the point, and his appropriate remarks were well received.

Comrade G. A. Hoehn made a few remarks on the work done and to be done in our local movement.

Fannie Sellins and Kate Hurley, representing the locked-out Garment Workers of Marx & Haas, conquered the vast audience by storm when telling their pathetic story of this great Trade Union fight and the causes which led up to it. Their remarks created an intense feeling of sympathy for the Union garment workers and well-deserved was the liberal applause they received.

Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland delivered one of the best addresses on Socialism and the labor problem that we have ever had a chance to listen to.

As the hour was getting late and he had to attend another meeting, Comrade Jack Hanley of Milwaukee could not address the meeting.

By special request, Comrade Berger delivered a short address in German.

The collection taken up at the meeting amounted to \$86.44.

## APPEAL TO REASON EDITOR TO PRISON.

### COURT OF APPEALS UPHOLDS SENTENCE AGAINST FREDERICK D. WARREN.

#### Head of Socialist Weekly Must Serve Six Months Behind Bars and Pay Fine of \$1,000 for Misuse of United States Mail.

St. Paul, Minn., Nov. 21.—F. D. Warren, Girard, Kansas, editor of Appeal to Reason, must serve a term of six months in the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, and pay a fine of \$1,000 imposed by a jury in the United States Court in Kansas. The sentence of that court was affirmed by an order of the United States Court of Appeals filed to-day.

Warren was convicted of sending through the mails envelopes, on the outside of which was printed, "\$1,000 reward will be paid to any person who kidnaps ex-Gov. Taylor and returns him to the Kentucky authorities."

The opinion of Judge Hook held that Congress had almost unlimited power to prescribe postal regulations; whether the words were true or false, the outside of an envelope was no place for them.

Girard, Kan., Nov. 22.—Fred D. Warren will appeal his case to the higher courts.

The St. Louis Republic of Monday, November 21, says:

"The growth of the Socialist vote in the Tenth District, Republican stronghold of the state, was the cause of much comment among the Democrats about the city hall. Commissioner Jamison and others are of the opinion that nearly all these voters were originally Republicans. It was predicted by others that the next few years will witness still larger gains by Socialists in that part of the city and that they will within less than a decade dissipate all the Republican preponderance of voting strength there."

#### From Southeast Missouri.

Hereulaneum, Mo.—Out of a total vote of 285 the Socialist Party received 50. In 1908 there were but two Socialist votes cast in the district. C. F. MASON.

## Our Milwaukee Letter

By E. A. Thomas.

### ATTEMPT TO KEEP BERGER OUT OF CONGRESS.

#### Next Campaign of Socialists Already Started.

The burning question in Milwaukee during the last few days has been, "Shall Victor L. Berger be barred from taking his seat in Congress?"

The persons who want to exclude Comrade Berger declare that they would not shut him out because he is a Socialist—oh, no!—but simply because he is a "revolutionist." They claim that he has not shown proper respect for the United States Constitution, and has even ventured to criticize that divinely inspired document.

On these grounds, Mr. Cochems, the Republican candidate, who was defeated by Victor Berger, and several Republican lawyers and politicians have started a movement for

shutting him out of the next Congress.

Of course, if this attempted, the only result will be a new election, in which Berger will surely be re-elected with an immense majority, while such a high-handed proceeding would stir the people from sea to sea.

It would be a splendid Socialist propaganda.

It is to be feared, however, that our friends, the enemy, will not be so kind as to give us this magnificent opportunity. Already the farther-seeing ones are saying that it would be ridiculous to try to keep Mr. Berger out of the seat to which he has been elected by the people's votes. And they add, wisely enough, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

The matter, therefore, will probably be dropped. But here arises an interesting question. Why are the anti-Socialists of Milwaukee so much more bitter since our last victory than they were after our victory last spring? The capitalist papers were then full of good words for the new administration. Now they show an ugly spirit towards the Socialists. Why is this?

The reason is simple. Last spring the capitalist press insisted on con-

sidering the election of a Socialist administration in Milwaukee as simply a "protest" vote. This fall no such claim could possibly be made. The Socialists won out, not against a corrupt Democratic machine, as in the city election last spring, but against alleged "reformers." The Republican candidate whom Berger defeated was a professed friend of Senator La Follette. So was the defeated candidate for District Attorney and others on the Republican ticket. Therefore the victory this fall was clearly a Socialist victory. This is what frightens the enemy. They begin to see the Socialists loom up big on the horizon of the future.

And, in fact, the Socialists of Milwaukee have already started on their next campaign. They believe in Napoleon's definition of a victory. "A victory," said Napoleon, "is to chase the enemy ten leagues, beat him and then chase him ten leagues more." The Milwaukee comrades are following up their gain in just this way. They are districting the city, and will put each district in the charge of an assistant organizer, whose duty it will be to build up the membership, superintend the organization work and collect all needed information in regard to his district. This will put the organization of Milwaukee on a firmer footing than ever before.

The official election returns from Wisconsin, outside of Milwaukee county, are, as usual, coming in slowly. The news received from the branches, however, point to a very large gain. We have elected county officers in three counties outside of Milwaukee.

The bitter spirit of the anti-Socialists has been manifested in the first injunction against the Milwaukee Socialist administration. The City Treasurer has been enjoined against paying a salary to Charles A. Mueller, the young Socialist who has done such excellent work in the street construction department. He has already saved thousands of dollars for the city in blocking the outrageous profits of contractors. The injunction claims that the law under which he was appointed is illegal. This law, which created one head of the public works, instead of a three-man commission, was passed by the Republicans a few years ago, with the express purpose of keeping the Socialists off the Public Works Board. Like all the other measures which the Republicans have devised to keep us out, this law helped, instead of hindered, for the Socialists carried Milwaukee, and then had complete control of the Public Works Department. Had it been otherwise, nobody would have questioned the validity of this law.

The Socialists are not worrying over this injunction. They under-

stand that they will have to fight every inch of their onward way.

The Socialist administration of Milwaukee is going steadily on with its work. Among other fields of municipal activity which it is entering upon is the establishment of a municipal pawn shop. The City Attorney is now engaged in drawing up a project for a pawn shop, to be owned and operated by the city. This would be, indeed, a great boon to the poor, who are now unmercifully fleeced by the loan sharks. The rate of interest charged by these blood-suckers is often as high as 40 per cent.

Thus the Socialist administration is taking up one by one the needs of the working people of Milwaukee, and endeavoring to satisfy them, as far as it limited power will permit.

E. H. THOMAS,  
State Secretary.

Milwaukee, Wis.

## MORE PROSPERITY

Another indication of how the cup of "our" prosperity is overflowing is shown by the fact that tickets for the Yale-Harvard football game are selling at \$25 apiece. The game is a social function, varying the monotony of the opera and horse show, and other necessary but trying social dissipation. You have to wear different clothes to it, out-of-door garments, warm coverings with plenty of furs, and after the game there is an elaborate dinner, costing about as much for each guest as the ticket costs.

That shows some prosperity, eh?

At the same time there are more persons, working men and women, out on strike in more different industries than have been in years. That doesn't show prosperity, however. The strikers are out because they figure they might as well starve fighting for a little more money as starve slaving for the miserable wages that are being given them.

But among those who will be at the game to-day, who will later on dine and who, if they are extra strenuous, will go to the opera or horse show, are many of those against whom the strikes are being conducted.

That rather shows on which side of the fence the plums of prosperity are falling.—The Call.

## FINE SHOES

UNION MADE.

Frank Siedhoff  
3944 S. Broadway

FINE REPAIRING A SPECIALTY.

## 35th Grand Annual Masquerade Ball

GIVEN BY THE ST. LOUIS BAKERS AND BAKERS UNION

### AID SOCIETIES

Lemp's Park Hall, 13th and Utah Streets

Saturday, December 10, 1910

Commencement at 8 P. M.

Tickets 25 Cents a Person.

## Annual Entertainment and Ball

GIVEN BY THE

### 10th Ward Socialist Club

### Southwest Turner Hall

Ohio Avenue and Potomac Street

Saturday Evening, December 10, 1910.

Family Tickets \$1.00

Refreshments free

## St. Louis Workingmen's Protective Union.

504 Market Street.

MEETING:—2nd and 4th Wednesday.

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

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

Suite 508 Merchants Laclede Building 403 OLIVE STREET

PHONES: Kinloch, Central 5076; Bell, Olive 2123

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

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

## NEW CLUB HALL

13th STREET AND CHOUTEAU AVE

HEADQUARTERS OF

### BREWERY WORKERS HALLS TO LET

for all occasions. Societies, Lodges and Unions accommodated.

RATES REASONABLE.

J. E. BOKEL, Manager

PHONES: Kinloch, Cen. 2189; Bell, Main 4622.

Henry Krumm, Prop.

OF THE NEW A. B. C. BAR

FREE LUNCH ALL DAY.

FINE MERCHANTS DINNER, 11 TO 2

110 N. BROADWAY

Phone: Bell, Main 4150; Kin., Cent. 2867.

### J. HAHN Bakery Company

(WHOLESALE AND RETAIL)

### Union Label Bread

Delivered to All Parts of City.

2801-5 S. 7th St. Both Phones

### H. J. JOST, 1424 South Broadway

### Umbrellas Parasols and Canes

Large Variety at Lowest Prices

H. J. JOST

1424 S. Broadway. REPAIRING AND RECOVERING

## FOR FINE JOB WORK

GO TO

### CO-OPERATIVE

## Printery

966 Chouteau Avenue.

### SAVE GOLD TRADING STAMPS REDEEM THEM FOR

## UNION LABEL

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

Largest Stock . . . . . Lowest Prices

### See SCHWARZ.

## GLOBE

Seventh and Franklin Ave

### ARCADE TAILORING CO. Merchant Tailors

Suits Made to Order . . \$15.00 and up

Trousers Made to Order . . 3.50 and up

All Our Garments are UNION MADE.

1326-1328 FRANKLIN AVE. Kinloch, Central 5443

### UNION MEN, ATTENTION

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

We solicit your patronage and will always accord you good treatment

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

The Best  
\$2.00 and \$3.00  
Hat Made  
Wm H. Roetter Hat Co.,  
518 PINE STREET.

WANTED—Room mate; with or without board; all conveniences. ALFRED MICHLER, 2342 Whittemore Pl.

### UNION MADE FLEECE UNDERWEAR, SWEATER COATS, FLANNEL SHIRTS, WORK SHIRTS

### M. J. COHEN

1233 Chouteau Ave. (Opposite New Club Hall) Opposite New Club Hall.

### HARDWARE

GLASS, PAINTS AND OILS, STOVES AND RANGES

### Chas. Blasberg, 4302 LINTON AVENUE



Eyestested free of charge.

Glasses 50c up.

WM. JACQUES, Optician.

1554 South Broadway, WITH FRIEND'S.

### Julius Friton

Jeweler Optician AND Watchmaker

121 No. Seventh St.

### DRUIDS' HALL

NINTH AND MARKET STREETS.

### Workingmen's Headquarters

Meeting Place of Unions of the Webb Pressmen, Tailors, Stone Masons, Sprinkler Fitters, Workingmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, Railway Trainmen, and many other organizations.

### HALLS FOR RENT

AT LOW RATES.

Large hall for balls, entertainments and lectures. Elevator service. Apply at saloon, or to janitor, or the