

Comrades,  
Work for your  
Own Press!

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

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

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Comrades,  
Work for your  
Own Party!

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## Horatio And His Mule.

It took the great Horatio W. Seymour ten days to "get back at the Socialists." His desire to revenge himself for the open letter we addressed to him in No. 566 of ST. LOUIS LABOR was so strong that he could not resist.



Horatio the Rejuvenator.

Few people of this city may know that the great Horatio was imported from New York and placed at the head of the St. Louis Republic editorial staff for the express purpose of rejuvenizing the "Missouri Democracy."

Naturally, the "killing of Socialism" became part of his missionary work in St. Louis. In this mission he failed absolutely, and realizing his failure, our supernaturally-gifted colleague seems to work himself into a state of mental irresponsibility.

Only in such a despairing frame of mind can one of the "leading editors of the country" insult the intelligence of the public with an editorial like the following, which Horatio published in his St. Louis Republic of Saturday, December 16:

### THE SOCIALISTIC RASH.

Several eminent persons who think they are Socialists have written to the Republic to disavow the McNamaras, whom they describe as Democrats.

A sad phase of the Socialistic rash that is now spreading over the American body politic is the ignorance of most of the present day "Socialists" of everything that pertains to Socialism. There are not many true Socialists here, but they are influential.

A few years ago a Socialist in the United States was a person who was honest enough to admit that he wanted to share in other men's property. He was at heart a man of violence. He lived next door to anarchy. He sympathized with those who talked of bombs and the assassin's revolver and dagger. We might easily name names.

To-day the average American "Socialist" is a dissatisfied person who imagines that because neither of the old parties has done anything for him that it promised there is a prospect that a new party made up of the same human elements will do a great deal better.

The American Socialist of this day is in most cases a sympathetic individual who has been disappointed in the promises of Republican politicians. He means well. He is full of human kindness, but he wants to lean on somebody or something. He has lost faith in himself.

The average American Socialist, therefore, is nothing but a perverted American. Because Socialism as practiced by the Republican party—robbing the poor for the benefit of the rich—has proved disappointing to him he embraces an imported Socialism which proposes to bestow upon the many the goods that belong to the few.

Instead of embracing the American democracy of self-help, from which he long ago was weaned, he takes up with a half-baked Socialism preached by self-seekers and demagogues and applied by them to everybody but themselves. He wants something; he wants to do something, but he is too lazy or too ignorant to go out and get it or to do it by his own exertions. Consequently, he looks to government.

Some of these limpers and leaners have been trying of late to tell the Republic what Socialism is. We will tell them.

Socialism, in its essence, although few of its expounders agree upon anything, means death to democracy, death to the marriage relation and the family, death to religion and the church, death to property rights, small as well as great, and death to individual pride and enterprise. Militant Socialism also means death to those who in its inner councils are marked for destruction. Sentimental American Socialism aims to do good with other people's money. It is not at heart a criminal Socialism. It is a foolish Socialism. There never was a Socialistic charity.

The true leaders of Socialism, the people who give it its ideas, like Debs and the Goldman woman, learned some years ago that if they were to revolutionize this country they must do so by slow processes and not by violence. They now teach by indirection or by suggestion the things that they used to advocate openly. When their vicious doctrines take effect upon some fanatical American they repudiate him as a Socialist, but they never repudiate his misdeeds.

The McNamaras are where they are to-day as a result of Socialist books and Socialist preachments. It has been said of them that they were "steeped in Socialistic literature." They put into force the ideas which Socialism in its development of class consciousness and class hatred has been inculcating for years. The Socialistic literature in which they were steeped is literature of which most American Socialists are ignorant.

So far as so-called American Socialists are humane and progressive they are misnamed. They are good men in bad company. To the extent that they are vindictive and violent they have been misled. Like the McNamaras, they are bad men in good company.

Law-abiding labor organizations have repudiated the McNamaras and execrated their crimes. There is not a Socialistic organization in the world that has not sneakingly excused or commended these crimes.

Our readers will appreciate the reproduction of the foregoing Republic editorial. We republish it in full, for it attests to the fact that there is no hope for the Democratic party. When leading Democratic organs like the St. Louis Republic can not rise above the Horatio conception of the greatest and grandest movement of the working class of all nations, what hope is there for such a political party?

None. None, whatever!

We realize that Horatio's party is up against it. The "Socialistic rash" is in its way. Now he gets mad because some of his readers reminded him that the McNamaras were Democrats. The McNamara dynamite work was the result of Socialistic books and Socialistic preachment, says the Republic, but the "Socialistic literature in which they (the McNamaras) were steeped is literature of which most American Socialists are ignorant."

Great Horatio, you're a peach! No doubt the McNamaras studied their special kind of Socialism in ancient Sanscrit or Babylonian literature, because the "Socialistic literature in which they were steeped" is unknown to most Americans.

Possibly the McNamaras were no McNamaras at all, but real native Schafskopfs of Germany, or Damfoolskowskys of Musovite origin! Horatio knows it, but he won't tell.

We are informed by the great editor of a "Socialism as practiced by the Republican party—robbing the poor for the benefit of the rich"—and he whines and sobs because the "average American Socialist" rather embraces an "imported Socialism" than to kiss and love Horatio's "American democracy of self-help."

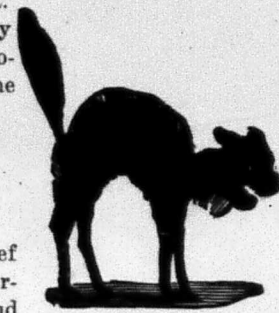
And because the "average American Socialist" refuses to sleep

in the same stall with the Democratic mule, he gets mad, and calls him a leaner and limper, too lazy to work!

The above St. Louis Republic editorial stands as a monument of Democratic malice born of stupidity!

Duty compels us to let our readers know why Editor Horatio W. Seymour has of late joined the Muckrakers' Club against Socialism. As a Big Cinch organ, the St. Louis Republic's "feelings" were severely hurt at the Bridge Bond election on November 7, and when on November 10 the election result read

Republican ..... 19,382 votes  
Socialist ..... 16,050 votes  
Democrat ..... 14,695 votes



Horatio's Katzenjammer.

the esteemed Democratic editor-in-chief threw up both hands, dropped his wonderful pen and left his office disgusted and discouraged.

Ever since Horatio W. Seymour has been suffering with a painful "Katzenjammer." He sees ghosts in broad daylight, the spectre of Socialism is frightening his old Democratic mule, and those acquainted with the political spook work in the editorial rooms on Olive and Seventh streets predict that even worse things may emanate from there before the opening of the 1912 national campaign.

There's a reason.

G. A. Hoehn.

## National Executive Session

(By National Socialist Press.)

Washington, D. C.—To perfect the plans of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau and to further Socialist propaganda in this country, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in this city for two days and transacted business of vital importance to the 100,000 dues-paying members it represents.

National Secretary Work reported that 300 locals have accepted the Lyceum Bureau proposition and that that number may be doubled within three months. Should 600 locals subscribe to this Lyceum plan 3000 Socialist lectures would be delivered and over \$200,000 worth of Socialist books and pamphlets and subscriptions to Socialist papers would be sold throughout the United States this winter. Half of these figures is already assured.

All members of the National Executive Committee, excepting Robert Hunter, attended the Washington meeting. John Spargo was elected chairman for the first day and Lena Morrow Lewis on the second day. The meetings were held at the headquarters of the Socialist Party of the District of Columbia.

A committee of seven, to prepare a campaign book for 1912, to be ready for the coming national convention, was elected by the N. E. C. The members elected to this committee are Morris Hillquit, chairman; W. J. Ghent, Seymour Stedman, John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Caroline A. Lowe and George H. Goebel.

It was decided by the N. E. C. to employ four organizers to aid the movement in the weaker states. Mississippi was given an organizer for two months and Louisiana an appropriation of \$25. One of the organizers is to devote his entire time to the South. John C. Chase was engaged to do organizing work in Alaska.

An appeal for financial assistance from the German Agitation Committee of New York was received. The N. E. C. appropriated \$150 to aid this committee in its work of spreading Socialism among the Germans in the Empire State. One hundred and twenty dollars, to be used for organizing among Lettish workmen, was also appropriated.

At Congressman Berger's suggestion, a committee of three, consisting of Hillquit, Spargo and Carey, was elected, to whom drafts of all bills would be presented before introduction in Congress. Berger reported that he would amend his old-age pension bill in accordance with the recommendation of the N. E. C. when that measure comes up for a hearing before the House Committee on Pensions.

Berger was elected as a subcommittee of one to investigate the question of securing second-class postage rates for the National Monthly Bulletin.

The Socialist Party of the District of Columbia, having now over 300 members, was given a separate char-

ter. Heretofore it was affiliated with the Maryland organization. A representative of the District of Columbia organization appeared before the N. E. C. to protest against the issuance of a charter to Italians in this city by the Socialist Party of Italy. The committee decided to instruct the national secretary and international secretary to take up this matter with the Italian Socialist party.

The Washington Socialists held a banquet in honor of the N. E. C. on Saturday evening. Over a hundred persons attended. On Sunday evening 1500 Washingtonians packed two halls to hear the members of the N. E. C. and the national secretary expound the principles of Socialism.

Congressman Berger said that he would introduce a bill providing for universal suffrage in the District of Columbia. Hillquit, in the course of his remarks, pointed out that the old party politicians are advocating the abrogation of only the commercial treaty, but not the extradition treaty. The latter treaty, he said, makes it possible for the bloody czar to hound in this country those who manage to escape from darkest Russia.

### MINE HORRORS OF ONLY TEN YEARS.

Date.	Place.	Dead.
1902.	Fraterville, Tenn. ....	200
1902.	Johnstown, Pa. ....	112
1903.	Hanna, Wyo. ....	200
1904.	Hanwich, Pa. ....	189
1905.	Virginia City, Ala. ....	152
1906.	Pas de Calais, France. ....	1000
1906.	Fairmount, W. Va. ....	100
1906.	Cananea, Mexico ....	100
1907.	Scarbrick, Prussia ....	200
1907.	Tokio, Japan ....	470
1907.	Los Esperangas, Me. ....	123
1907.	Monongoh, W. Va. ....	398
1907.	Jacob Creek, Pa. ....	250
1907.	Darr Mine, Pa. ....	200
1908.	Haum, Germany ....	339
1908.	Redan, Prussia ....	150
1908.	Marianna, Pa. ....	125
1908.	Chihuahua, Mexico ....	100
1908.	Peking, China ....	112
1909.	Cherry, Ill. ....	285
1910.	Palos, Ala. ....	145
1910.	Manchester, England. ....	341
1911.	Throop, Pa. ....	75
1911.	Littleton, Ala. ....	120
1911.	Briceville, Tenn. ....	119

### TAXICAB STRIKE BEING HARD FOUGHT ON BOTH SIDES.

"We won't need to call out the truck drivers, as the scabs are breaking up the cars so fast that few will be running in a short while," said L. J. McArthur in referring to the strike of the taxicab men employed by the Columbia and St. Louis Taxicab Companies.

McArthur is directing the strike, and claims that the men are in better shape to win now than when the strike commenced. The non-union men imported from Chicago and elsewhere are smashing cars and injuring people every day. Several very serious accidents have occurred, and patrons are learning to distrust cars manned with non-union drivers.

The companies state that they have "nothing to arbitrate." All overtures of the union were rejected, and indications are that the fight will continue for some time.

## WHY NO ACTION?

For over seven months the question of direct legislation has been before the Municipal Assembly, but up to this hour there has been no effort made on the part of our city legislators to get the matter before the people of St. Louis.

It was some time in April when a bill for the "Initiative Referendum and Recall" was introduced in the Municipal Assembly. Committees of the People's League and other civic societies have been working hard ever since to stir the municipal legislators to action, but all efforts were in vain. There is no sound reason why the Municipal Assembly should sidetrack, postpone and delay so important a measure as the bill on direct legislation. If the bill needs any improvement or alteration, such matters of details should be no cause for further delay.

In this week's ST. LOUIS LABOR we publish a communication by a reader on this very vital problem, which we ask our friends to read. Direct legislation is no longer a fata morgana. The sooner the Municipal Assembly will act the better for the people of St. Louis.

G. A. Hoehn.

## Direct Legislation

### What is the St. Louis Municipal Assembly Going to Do About It?

The People's League prepared and had introduced in the Municipal Assembly bills for the submission to the voters of Charter amendments providing for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. These bills were introduced in the House of Delegates April 25, 1911. They were referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, of which Dan W. Oviat was chairman. The committee was very hostile to the bills, and evidently would never have even been so much as reported on them, if urgent pressure had not been brought to bear by committees of the People's League. Finally a public hearing on the measures was announced by the Ways and Means Committee.

It was held, but it was a farce. One blatant opponent of the measures was half drunk and made the proceedings ridiculous; then the matter was allowed to drag along indefinitely; to all inquiries and requests as to a report evasive answers were given at first, and then promises and near-promises were repeatedly given to report at a definite time; all of which promises were either repudiated or broken. Then came the famous deadlock and reorganization. We patiently waited till this was over, and then we began insistently to demand a report.

Another hearing was held, this time by the Legislative Committee, to which the bills had been transferred on the theory that they would receive more speedy and favorable consideration. This hearing was confined to the Recall, and it was announced that another hearing would be held the next week on the Initiative and Referendum. The hearing was not held. Meantime, Mr. Hale, chairman of the committee, promised definitely a report on the bill at a certain meeting. Then he requested the necessary amendments should be put in technical shape for report by the committee. This was done.

At this juncture the bills mysteriously disappeared from the House files. New bills were prepared to take their place, when, lo! they reappeared. Then the committee announced that they would consider the measures in committee meeting and decide their action. Friends of the measures are present. Other matters of trifling importance are taken up first at length; then these are casually considered, but nothing

decided on. Again a definite promise is made of a report on the measure at the meeting of Tuesday, December 12. The House members caucus in the committee room; wonder of wonders—no report is agreed upon, but they reach an agreement, apparently, to require that any percentage of signatures required shall be distributed equally in every precinct of the district affected. This is the most ridiculous, unfair and unfriendly suggestion ever made in connection with these measures at any time. There has been the usual silly and insincere profession of friendliness by various members of the House, who coupled with their professions of friendship declarations that they were in favor of higher percentages for petitions. The percentages required for the Initiative in the People's League bill are 5 per cent for general elections and 15 per cent for special elections. Opposition to the Initiative and Referendum has about disappeared in this country, except as it is cloaked in the hypocritical form of high percentages. It will be remembered that the late lamented Freeholders' Charter had some fake provisions for the Recall and Referendum, which did not fool the people.

The Legislative Committee of the People's League has made a suggestion to the committee of the House of Delegates, the acceptance or rejection of which will show clearly the good or bad faith of the action taken. It is this: Let the committee report our bills as they are, with the percentages as we have fixed them; then, if they think in good faith that it would be wiser to have bigger percentages, let them submit at the same election other bills identically the same as ours, except that their percentages be included in them. Then let the people decide which they prefer. We will be satisfied, if the people decide for a higher percentage, but we will not be satisfied if the people are not given a chance to get reasonable percentages.

When we remember that the Republican and Democratic platforms both had declarations in favor of the Initiative and Referendum, this situation is one of the most flagrant instances of insult and injury offered to the people by their so-called servants that we can recall to mind.

What shall we do about it? "DIRECT LEGISLATION."

### A SECOND VISIT FROM SANTA CLAUS ON JAN. 1.

Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Distributes Presents on New Year's Day at the Druids' Hall.

Every year on January 1, the members of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund gather at Druids' Hall and celebrate Christmas a second time. Santa Claus comes around loaded with presents, and every little boy and girl gets something from him. Not one is overlooked.

This year the celebration will take place, as usual, and the load of presents is bigger than ever. All workmen and their families are invited to attend and take part in the festivities. Grown people are charged 10 cents admission, but children are admitted free.

The fun commences at 3 in the afternoon, and the theater and recitations by children promise to be very entertaining. At 7 o'clock Santa Claus makes his rounds and

empties his sack. Then the floor will be cleared and dancing will begin. Plenty of refreshments and amusements have been provided, and the attendance is expected to exceed all former occasions.

### NOT ONE DESERTION IN 100 DAYS OF STRIKE.

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in East St. Louis proudly state that they have not had a single desertion from their ranks since the day the strike started on the East Side. Such determination speaks volumes for the character of the men on strike.

A settlement has been effected with the Terminal Association and the clerks formerly employed by it have returned to work. All other clerks are still out and confident of victory.

The Illinois Central shopmen are just as firm and just as confident as ever. They can see the rolling stock going to pieces day by day and feel sure of whipping the company into line.

On December 25 the shopmen will dispose of a handsome quilt that has been donated by a sympathizer.

# Dark Days In American Labor History

The Hours of Storm and Stress As Described by Pioneers of the American Labor Movement

## INTRODUCTION.

### To Our Readers:

In order to acquaint our comrades, sisters and brothers in the Socialist and Trade Union movement with the early battles and struggles of the American proletariat, we shall publish each week in ST. LOUIS LABOR a short chapter of the main events from the days of the civil war to the time when both the Socialist and Trade Union movements became important factors on national lines. In order to understand the present and make the right preparations for the greater struggles of the future, we must know the past history of the proletarian movement. In this respect we must say that the Socialists and Trade Unionists of America to-day are better acquainted with the early labor movements in European countries, especially in England, Germany and France, than with the early struggles of the American wage-workers. This is due to a great extent to the fact that the Western European Socialist and Trade Union movements have developed a tremendous labor literature within the last fifty years, with the specific view in tracing the historical development, while in America that part of the work was much neglected and systematically suppressed. Great revolutions, like the civil war and the abolition of chattel slavery, resulting therefrom, had the tendency to overshadow the importance of the struggles of Labor prior to 1860 and to minimize the same after the war.

Recent occurrences in the American labor movement demonstrate that the old saying, "History repeats itself!" may still be applied to the modern proletarian struggles. Tragic scenes enacted thirty-five and more years ago are again attempted today. It is true, the setting of the stage may be a little different to-day; the principal actors may have changed their methods of accomplishing their objects, but at the bottom the modern labor troubles, like the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone and the McNamara cases, have a striking similarity with the Molly Maguires, the Chicago Haymarket and other tragedies.

To-day we shall present to our readers the story of the Molly Maguires, which was enacted in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania in the "seventies" of the last century, and which reached its climax with the hanging of about twenty Irish-American wage-workers.

EDITOR ST. LOUIS LABOR.

## THE "MOLLY MAGUIRES."

During the years following the civil war one of the most powerful capitalists, railroad and mine speculators in Pennsylvania was Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia Railroad Co. Not only did this man wage a continuous war against the wage-workers who attempted to organize for self-protection, but one of his ideals was to whip the smaller independent coal operators into line and follow his dictates in the way of fixing wages and rates of freight.

The anthracite coal miners in those days had almost no organization worth the name. Whenever the slaves of the mines made an attempt to organize they met with the desperate opposition and persecution of such unscrupulous capitalists as McGowen. The natural result of such deplorable conditions among the miners was a state of helplessness, and the feelings of helplessness took a strong hold of many of the unfortunate proletarians.

Ignorance played its role, which was only natural. Brutal mine superintendents and foremen ruled with iron hand and the miners were treated worse than the serfs of old-time feudal lords.

During those dark days there appeared in the anthracite coal region a desperate class of men, almost exclusively workmen, banded together in secret in an association known as "Molly Maguires."

Hon. Andrew Roy, in his book, "A History of the Coal Miners of the United States," tells us that the order of the "Molly Maguires" was composed of men of Irish birth or descent, who professed to belong to the Catholic faith, none other being eligible to membership. The society originated in Ireland, having been formed after the struggle to liberate Ireland from British yoke under the leadership of the brave and patriotic Robert Emmet.

While in Ireland the "Mollys" directed their fight against the landlords, their later namesakes in Pennsylvania seemed to direct their wrath against the tyrannical mine superintendents and mine bosses.

The organization, which had been transplanted to the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania by Irish immigrants, soon attracted undesirable elements, that secured control of the destinies of the association. It was claimed that a number of murders had been traced to the "Mollys," sensational trials were held, but the accused or indicted men were freed by

## The "Molly Maguires" Tragedy in Pennsylvania.

How Pinkerton McParlin alias McPartland acted as the Ring Leader of Shenandoah Branch for Several Years.

The Gallows of Schuylkill County and the Crime of Pinkertonism.

means of alibis sworn to by other members of the secret order.

That union labor haters like Frank B. Gowen and his superintendents and mine bosses came in for a goodly portion of the spirit of revenge of the "Mollys" was only natural. Gowen charged the secret order with incendiarism and murder, but failed to break up the organization, although he had the undivided support of the police and of the clergy of the Catholic church of the district.

This president of the Philadelphia and Reading railroad decided to break up the order at any and all cost.

Pinkerton McParlin, alias McPartland, Put to Work.

Gowen employed the Pinkerton Detective Agency in Chicago to do the work. A Pinkerton detective, named James McParlin, himself an Irishman and a member of the Catholic faith, was sent into the anthracite coal field, under the assumed name of James McKenna. This Pinkerton immediately joined the "Molly Maguires." Soon he became one of the most loud-mouthed "Mollys" of the district. Nothing was too radical for him, nothing too mean, nothing too murderous. He instigated all kinds of unlawful work, urged his fellow-members on to criminal deeds, shouted revenge at the plutocrats, swore revenge and death to the hated slave-drivers of mine superintendents and mine bosses, and thus worked the ignorant Irish mine workers into a frame of mind that made him the center of admiration and assured him of the absolute confidence of the "Molly Maguire" membership.

How the Pinkerton Became the Radical Leader.

By his loud protestations of loyalty and professions of the wildest excesses, this Pinkerton McParlin, alias McPartland, alias McKenna, gained the unbounded confidence of the "Mollys," and they elected him, practically unanimously, as secretary of the Shenandoah division of the secret order. As one of the leading officials he became bolder and more outspoken in his schemes of lawlessness and crime.

For three years this Pinkerton scoundrel remained a member of the "Mollys," and as secretary of one of the leading divisions of the order he not only instigated the fellow-members to more intense activity, but this influential position gave him the opportunity to extend his sphere of action to other districts, get in touch with the entire official machinery of the order and learn of every important act and move made anywhere by members of the organization.

Pinkerton a Member for Three Years. For three years this Pinkerton agent provocateur played his damnable role as a member of the "Molly Maguires." Every day he made an itemized or detailed report to his Pinkerton agency in Chicago. Several times members of the order expressed suspicion of the fellow, but by the use of his strong right arm and his glib tongue he even regained the lost confidence of the suspecting members.

However, there was a limit to his rascally work, and after three years of uninterrupted membership and most energetic "propaganda of the deed" his true character became known, and, seeing that his days were numbered if he remained any longer in the anthracite region, he suddenly disappeared, without any further attempts to defend himself against the spy charges made by his fellow-members.

Thus the Pinkerton agency had spun the web that should entangle the entire "Molly Maguire" organization and lead to the hanging of about twenty poor wage slaves in 1876.

Not less than seventy arrests were made immediately following the disappearance of the Pinkerton from the Shenandoah district. Of these seventy men twelve were convicted of murder in the first degree, four of accessory murder, and six were convicted of perjury. According to reliable sources of information, about twenty men were executed in 1876.

This is the same McPartland who endeavored to immortalize himself during the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone trial.

Conviction Secured Under Reign of Terror.

The arrest and trial of the "Mollys" was the opening of a reign of official terrorism. The terror from below was followed by the terror of public officialdom from above. The public press, the pulpit and other agencies for "directing public opinion" went wild in their denunciation of the "Mollys." Indignation and general cries for revenge became popular and fashionable. Nothing else was permitted, and every effort to demand a fair trial for the indicted men was howled down by the organs of President Gowen of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.

Thus the trials took place under this intense excitement, and soon after it was generally admitted that a number of convictions were made which, under a lessened strain of artificially worked up public opinion, would have resulted in acquittal.

As many of the "Mollys" were members of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, the hiring press and part of the clergy, under the pressure of Gowen, accused the miners' organization of being accessories to the crimes of the "Molly Maguires." The object of this was to wipe out the entire mine workers' organization that had been built up in the anthracite district by 1876.

Taught at the Foot of the Gallows.

In his work, "Thirty years of Labor," the first edition of which appeared in 1889, Terrence V. Powderly, general master workman of the Knights of Labor, refers to the "Molly Maguire" tragedy in the following language:

"While the Order of the Knights of Labor was working secretly, yet the stir in organizing (in 1878) soon attracted attention, and the first move from the outside against the order came from the Church. The events which preceded the erection of the gallows in Schuylkill county, Pa. (the 'Molly Maguire' hanging) were still fresh in the minds of the residents of that place, and one of the first fields that opened up was the middle coal region of Pennsylvania.

How Molly Maguireism Was Exploited by the Capitalists.

"Everything in the shape of a society which was at all secret or new was supposed to be the outcome of Molly Maguireism. It became necessary to allow the name of the order (Knights of Labor) to become known, but the name was no shield from prosecution, misrepresentation and misunderstanding, and soon a scathing denunciation came from the altar of one of the churches in Schuylkill county. The members became alarmed; others withdrew temporarily, while others, knowing the justice of the principles, determined to make an effort to have objectionable features, if any there were, removed.

"The workmen of the middle coal fields of Pennsylvania still held in dreadful remembrance the terrible lessons that were taught at the foot of the gallows, when men were strangled whose guilt was never proven, and whose innocence is to this day believed in by those who knew them best. Whether the men who were hanged in Pennsylvania were all guilty of murder is not known, but it is known that men were hung on the testimony of those who themselves were murderers. It is known that the plague spot on American civilization, the Pinkerton de-

tective, had entered the council chambers of the workmen of Schuylkill county and under the guise of friendship urged the men on to deeds of desperation and blood.

"When the final day shall come, and the deeds of all men shall become known, the writer of this believes, that no man's hand will be redder, no individual will be steeped more deeply in the guilt and crime for which men died upon the scaffold in Pennsylvania than the men who controlled the corporations which were operating the coal mines at that time. Justice no longer knew an abiding place in their hearts, honesty had given way to make room for the craze for gold; and with one ambition constantly before them, is it any wonder that they cared but little if one of their hired assassins of character swore away the lives of the innocent with the guilty? Men of influence, politicians, business men, clergymen and professional men united in condemning the Molly Maguires, but the voice of him who condemned the outrageous system which made the Molly Maguires possible was never heard above a whisper. Men who had witnessed the terrible scenes of past years knew full well how easy men's lives could be sworn away; and when they saw the same men opposing organization in 1878 they naturally became alarmed, and urged that a special convention of the Knights of Labor be called at once to set at rest the fears of those who were as yet uninitiated."

## Briefly Analyzed.

BY OTTO PAULS.

Inconceivable.—To the old party politician the Socialist movement is a conundrum. There is nothing within the range of his experience that covers the case.

Here is a political party that deliberately antagonizes the very men who put up campaign funds for the Democrats and Republicans. Crazy in the head!

The Socialist Party conducts campaign after campaign without hope of election or reward of any kind. Must be freaks!

The Socialists collect nickels and dimes from the workers for a campaign fund and have a dues-paying membership. Atheists!

They depend on literature and education to make more Socialists, instead of free beer and cigars. Breaking up the home!

They get up at 5 o'clock on Sunday morning and distribute literature from door to door. Destroying religion!

Taken all around, the Socialists are the most surprising and uncomfortable people that ever made life miserable for the political pie lovers of the old parties. They never play according to established rules and invariably refuse to stay whipped.

That Margin.—In the last two state elections the Republican party has managed to finish in the lead by a few votes—but only a few. Consequently they have elected a number of state officials.

It so happens that the Socialists are tearing big holes in the Republican vote in St. Louis. In the last election the Socialists carried a half-dozen of the strongest Republican wards. This means that the hopes of the Republicans to carry Missouri next election are shot to pieces, as they depend on their vote in St. Louis to carry the state.

For this reason it is that the Globe-Democrat resorts to gutter journalism and plays up Socialist Party affairs on its front page in flaring style. Formerly it was the Republic that gave ear to the peddlers of dirty-linen stories, but our recent heavy gains have caused a complete shift in the wind. Therefore the G.-D. howls and gnashes its teeth.

All of which makes the members of the Socialist Party of St. Louis smile with exceeding joy. We will sting them harder then ever in the next election. Just watch us in 1912!

Democratic Bunk.—Usually one would expect that triple-plated, double-riveted, moss-grown, reactionary Democratic doctrine of fifty years ago could only be found far out

in the foothills of the Ozarks. That is the natural environment of editors who have not heard that the war is over.

We have, however, a sample of that obsolete type in the editor of the Post-Dispatch, right here in St. Louis. This good man tries to make his readers believe that the trusts are being "busted" and that we can "go back to competition." Every other day he raves his system of an editorial on the trusts, but never by any mischance does this journalistic nag with blinders propose to go forward to co-operation. The P.-D. is "first in everything" when it comes to reactionary political bunk of the vintage of 1870.

Christmas.—The Socialists have more reasons for celebrating Christmas this year than all the other political faiths combined.

The year 1911 has been a great year for the Socialists. Elections in all parts of the country have yielded splendid victories and phenomenal increases in our vote. The 52,000 votes cast for the Socialist ticket in Los Angeles is, undoubtedly, the greatest single achievement of the year and stands as a monument to the comrades who waged that battle.

Coming to St. Louis, we can review the year with elation over the result. We began with less than 8,000 votes and finish with more than 16,000—over 100 per cent gain. Who has a better right to celebrate than the Socialists?

Though wintry weather is here and much suffering must be endured by the poor and unemployed, nevertheless the year 1912 comes to the workers laden with promise, bright with hope, pregnant of great triumphs sure to be achieved.

The aroused, militant legions of Socialism can exclaim with exultation: The victory lies with us—let the old year die! Let in the new! We are the future's rightful heirs and will march to greater, grander victories!

When every goose is gagging on the McNamara case Theodore Roosevelt can not be expected to keep quiet. In the current issue of The Outlook he breaks out as follows: "Since the startling outcome of the McNamara trial, certain apologists of these men have made themselves conspicuous by asserting that these depraved criminals, who have on their seared souls the murder of so many innocent persons—all of them laboring people by the way—are 'victims,' or at worst 'fanatics,' who should receive sympathy because they were acting in what they regarded as a 'war' on behalf of their class. Murder is murder, and the foolish sentimentalists or sinister wrongdoers who try to apologize for it as an 'incident of labor warfare' are not only morally culpable, but are enemies of American wage-workers."

## MEETING DIRECTORY

Standing Announcements in this column will be \$5.00 per year, payable in advance.

## WORKINGMEN'S CONSUMERS' SOCIETY "FORWARD"

Meets every second Thursday at Labor Hall, 966 Chouteau avenue. All friends of the co-operative idea are welcome to attend and join the organization. Payments on shares are accepted in any business meeting and at the store, 1109 South Jefferson avenue, where any desired information about the organization may be had.

PETER KIEFER, Secretary, 5116 Cologne Avenue.

## Workingmen's Protective Union.

Office hours: 5 to 6:30 p. m.; Saturdays, 12 to 12:30 p. m. MARTIN C. SEEGER, Clerk. Office: 408 Olive Street, Room 508. Phones: Central 5076, Olive 2133. Protection of members of affiliated unions against loan sharks, collection of wages, etc., are the objects of this union.

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# Louis Philippi's A. F. of L. Convention Report

Submitted to Last Meeting of St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union.

"St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 10, 1911.

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Union—Greeting:

"As your delegate to the thirty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, I beg leave



PRES. LOUIS PHILIPPI,

Who Represented the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union at the Atlanta Convention of the Am. Federation of Labor.

to submit for your consideration the following report:

## The Opening.

"The delegates, after parading through the principal streets of Atlanta, proceeded to the Auditorium, where, pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the thirty-first annual convention was called to order at 10 a. m. on the 13th day of November by Louis F. Marquardt, representing the Atlanta Federation of Trades. After a cordial greeting, he introduced President Gompers. Mayor Winn welcomed the delegates in behalf of the city of Atlanta, Governor Hoke Smith in behalf of the state, President N. H. Kirkpatrick of the Atlanta Federation of Trades welcomed the delegates in behalf of organized labor. Mr. C. T. Ladson, attorney for the Atlanta Federation of Trades, extended a hearty welcome, and spoke at some length on the tyranny of the courts and gave his personal opinion of the Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell contempt case. Congressman Schley Howard, City Attorney James L. Mason and Jerome Jones, president of the Georgia Federation of Labor, were the last of a large array of speakers. President Gompers, with a few well-chosen remarks, responded to their addresses. After extending fraternal greetings to Brothers Crinion and Roberts of the British Trades Union Congress and Glocking of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, President Gompers officially declared that the thirty-first annual convention was duly open and ready for business. The Credential Committee reported that they had examined 346 delegates, representing 89 international unions, 25 state federations, 67 central bodies, and 20 local trades and federal labor unions, and 8 fraternal delegates, representing 17,240 votes.

## 351 Delegates Present.

"The number of delegates were added to from time to time until the total reached 351. The International Association of Car Workers protested against the seating of the delegates from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The protest was not allowed. E. J. Brails of the Journeymen Tailors and Rosenberg of the Ladies' Garment Workers protested against the seating of the McNulty faction of the Electrical Workers, but the protest was not allowed. I merely mention the two most important protests. The annual report of President Gompers, a document of sixty pages, is one of the ablest and most comprehensive presentations of the Federation's work and activity ever written. In it he has sounded all the depths and heights of labor struggles, its accomplishment and its future. I recommend a careful perusal of the report when the delegates receive the official proceedings of the convention. The report of Secretary Morrison is very elaborate in its details as to the strength and record of the Federation in the past year. The total amount in the treasury is \$189,579.56. Of that amount \$133,782.34 is in the defense fund for the local and federal labor unions, to be used for strikes and lockouts. The balance, \$55,797.22, is in the general fund, but of that amount only \$15,155.29 is available for running expenses. The balance

of \$40,641.93 is for the legal defense of the officers and the Hatters' assessment. The total receipts from all sources are \$182,188.68, the total expenses are \$175,524.08, leaving a balance of \$6,664.60.

## Gain in Membership.

Reports of 85 secretaries of international and national unions show that 2,345 charters were issued. The gain in membership reported by 63 secretaries was 117,596. A resume of the growth of the Federation is an encouragement to the trades unionists to redouble their efforts to educate and organize the wage-earners of this country.

"The total membership at present is 1,756,735, an increase of 194,623 members, including 51,308 members of the Western Federation of Miners. Charters were issued as follows: International unions, 3; central bodies, 61; local trades and federal labor unions, 207. There are now 115 international unions, 38 state federations, 631 central bodies, 493 local trade unions, and 187 federal labor unions, a total of 1,464.

## The Finances.

"The report of Treasurer Lennon coincides with Secretary Morrison's report. During his 22 years in that position he has handled \$2,390,980.55.

"The McNamara brothers sent sincere fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates. The president was authorized to send a message expressing our belief in their innocence and pledging moral and financial support. Fraternal Delegates Wm. McFarland and Daniel Tobin of the British Trades Congress reported on conditions of the English workers, and comparing our conditions with theirs. Their report was not as comprehensive as the reports of the former delegates to that congress. Frank Duffy, fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, made a very interesting report of the splendid progress the congress made during the past year. One of the most important resolutions adopted was one in favor of industrial unionism, but it shall not be construed that it is an indorsement of the Industrial Workers of the World.

## Duncan's Splendid Report.

The report of James Duncan, as fraternal delegate to the Labor Secretariat Convention at Budapest, Hungary, was by far the best report made. The report is a masterpiece of a master mind—a document well worth reading. The convention decided to issue the report in pamphlet form. He laid considerable stress on the political activity of the workers of Europe, especially the combined group of Trades Unionists and Socialists in the English parliament and the Trades Union and Socialist movement of Germany. In Germany the trades union movement is composed of more than two million members. In some respects it is so far ahead of our movement that it will take us a long time to catch up. German workers have a well-organized political movement, and its purposes as such sufficiently diverge, as also do the purposes of the trade union movement. They in time meet and the two bodies act unitedly; each has its particular duty to perform. The leaders of both movements informed the delegate that an applicant for membership in the Socialist movement whose trade or calling was organized and did not belong to the union was not admitted as a member of the Socialist party. G. H. Roberts, Member of Parliament, fraternal delegate of the British Trades Union Congress, also dwelt at some length on the splendid work of the Socialists and Labor group in parliament, and said the alliance of these two bodies had proven entirely satisfactory in England. J. Crinion, the other delegate from that congress, and Wm. Glocking of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress reviewed the labor situation in those two countries, the past year's work and the promise of the future extension of the federation's influence in those countries. Practically all of the first week and the early part of the second week was devoted to speech-making of the fraternal delegates. One hundred and eighty resolutions were introduced. Many of them were referred to the Executive Council for disposition. Resolution No. 38, introduced by your humble servant, as per instructions of this body, was unanimously concurred in by the convention. It reads as follows:

## Against Watered Stock Gambling.

"Resolution No. 38, by Delegate L. P. Philippi of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis:

"Whereas, One of the most effective means of exploiting the great

masses of the people of this country is the overcapitalization of the railroads by the speculators and pirate gamblers who are in possession of these important means of transportation;

"Whereas, This system of wholesale robbery of the people under the cloak of lawful and legitimate business should be checked without delay, and for this purpose such legislation should be enacted as would make the overcapitalization of railroad and similar enterprises a crime punishable by law, such punishment to consist of forfeiting the charter or charters of the corporations violating such laws.

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor considers it the duty of organized labor to protect the people against this system of gambling in watered stock; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by this convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the incoming Executive Council shall without delay inaugurate a campaign against this watered stock gambling in railroad enterprises.

"Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council is hereby instructed to co-operate with the legislative committees of all state federations of labor, with the view of inaugurating a systematic campaign throughout the land in favor of anti-watered stock legislation both by the State Legislatures and Congress.

## Carpenters' Jurisdiction Trouble.

"Resolution No. 32, in reference to the controversy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society, that was adopted at the meeting of this central body November 12th, was acted upon by the Resolution Committee, and was in line with the action taken by the convention. The convention instructed President Gompers to arrange a conference between the two organizations within ninety days to arrange a basis of amalgamation, and in case of disagreement upon the terms of amalgamation agreed upon and submitted by the president and council, the differences shall be referred to the president and Executive Council for final decision, which shall be rendered not later than June 1st, 1912. Should the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners fail to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood on or before July 1st, 1912, then the president is hereby instructed to revoke the charter of the Amalgamated Society. Similar action was taken in the Wood Workers' and United Brotherhood of Carpenters' controversy. To report upon all resolutions acted upon favorably would consume too much time now.

## Working for Amalgamation.

Some of the most important matters are as follows: The Executive Council shall continue its efforts to bring about the affiliation of the Bricklayers' and Stone Masons' International Union, the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association and the National Association of Letter Carriers with the Federation. Co-operation with the farmers' organization is to be extended and a fraternal delegate will attend their next convention. The Executive Council shall encourage and assist in the general organizing of stenographers and typewriter operators throughout the country. Resolutions No. 102 and No. 105, to assist the bakery workers in their fight against the bread trust, and for the A. F. of L. organizers in all localities to assist the bakers, were referred to the Executive Council.

## Per Capita Increase.

"Section 1, Article 10, was amended by striking out the words one-half and inserting in lieu thereof the words two-thirds of a cent per member per month. The election of officers by referendum vote was non-concurred in, but Delegate Walker made a minority report. After considerable discussion, the question of practicability and desirability of electing the officers by referendum vote was referred to the Executive Council for investigation, with the understanding that they report on the subject at the next convention. The minority report was adopted. Article 14 was amended to read:

## Employers May Join.

"Employers who are working for wages may upon regular ballot be admitted to membership in federal or local trade unions directly affiliated with the Federation, subject to approval of the president of the A. F. of L. Such member shall not attend meetings of the union or have

a vote in controlling the affairs of the union. They must comply with the scales of wages and rules of the union." Resolution No. 5, relating to the unfair practice of the non-union Harris Suspender Company in using the words Union Made on buckles of suspenders, was concurred in, and all members of organized labor are informed that no suspenders are union made unless they bear the label of the A. F. of L.

## Freedom of Petition.

Resolution No. 6, "The president and Executive Council shall use every honorable means to have adopted into laws the bills now pending in Congress which have been introduced for the purpose of obtaining legislation that will guarantee to federal employes the freedom of petition and speech and the freedom of organization." Resolutions Nos. 10, 18 and 126 brought out the longest and liveliest discussion of the convention.

## Civic Federation.

The resolutions denounced and demanded that all the officers of the Federation and of the labor movement withdraw from the Civic Federation. The resolutions were introduced by the miners' delegation, as per instructions from their convention. The debate brought about a bitter attack by Mitchell and Walker against Tom Lewis. Mitchell charged Lewis with packing the miners' convention, stating that he knew positively fifteen men had credentials who were not delegates. This statement and the dissensions of the miners' delegates in and their division on the question had much influence against the resolutions. The miners were instructed to vote for the resolutions and they did. But Mitchell and W. B. Wilson spoke in opposition, and Walker's very bitter attacks on Lewis and the fact that it was construed by some of the delegates as a Socialistic attack against the officers had a general effect to defeat the resolutions. The resolutions were defeated by roll-call vote—11,851 nays and 4,924 ayes.

## The Harriman Strike.

"The convention indorsed the action of the men in going on strike on the Harriman lines in vindication of the right to federate and secure equitable conditions and pledged moral and financial support.

"Labor's Memorial Day was changed from the second Sunday in May to the fourth Sunday in May of each year, to be observed as Labor's Memorial Day.

"The Weekly News Letter was commended, and the secretaries of all organized bodies should co-operate, to the end that the value and usefulness of this service may be extended. The agreement entered into by the White Rats, Theatrical Stage Employes and the Musicians' Union was made part of the official proceedings. The agreement, in part, reads: 'It is recognized that it is to the best interest of those employed in and about a theater that a closer affiliation and sympathy should exist, thus bringing about a more concentrated action when necessary to advance the best interest of the members of the three unions necessary to the production of a theatrical performance.'

## The McNamara Case.

"The McNamara case brought out a very interesting discussion. It was stated Detective Burns circulated a story that organized labor had one million dollars for the defense of the McNamara brothers. When he made that statement he had a motive in view. It was done to discourage future donations and make it appear that we had ample funds or more than was necessary. A motion was carried by a vote of 196 to 7 that all paid officials of the labor movement be requested to give one week's salary to the McNamara defense fund. Delegate Proebstle stated that the unions were not responding to the assessment levied by the Federation; only \$174,000 had been collected, whereas the total amount should be \$436,000. Later another motion was passed that all delegates who are not paid officials be authorized to turn over to Secretary Morrison one day's pay for the defense fund. The Labor Representation Committee, composed of Gompers, Morrison and O'Connell, made a report on the letter received from the Socialist Party asking for financial assistance for the election of Job Harriman in Los Angeles. I will briefly quote a part of the resolution: 'This convention urges the citizenship of Los Angeles, without regard to sex or station in life, whose civic pride and love of justice dominate their action above the greed of wealth, to vote for Job Harriman and his associates for the mayoralty and

municipal legislative offices. We call upon the workers and sympathizers with progress throughout the country to give their moral support and contribute such money as they may be enabled to afford toward the campaign fund in an effort to elect Job Harriman Mayor of Los Angeles.'

## Jurisdiction and Amalgamation.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters was granted jurisdiction of the newspaper and mail deliverers of Federal Labor Union No. 9463 of New York. The controversy between the teamsters and the bakery workers was referred to the president and Executive Council, to call a conference within ninety days, with the object of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations. Delegate F. J. Hays of the miners announced that the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners have organized a Mining Department of the A. F. of L. and submitted their constitution to the Executive Council and asked for a charter. The controversy between the International Association of Car Workers and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen was referred to the Executive Council, to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations. President Richardson of the International Association of Car Workers protested against the granting of a charter to the Carmen and the committee's report. In the course of his remarks he made several charges against Secretary Morrison which were not well founded.

## Charter Returned.

On the last day of the convention he surrendered the charter of the International Association of Car Workers to President Gompers. The charter was accepted, and Secretary Morrison instructed to return the charter to that organization. The reason given for that action was that no official had a right to surrender a charter without the consent of his organization. The jurisdiction fight between the machinists and elevator constructors was referred to the Executive Council for adjustment. The fight between the Theatrical Brotherhood and Electrical Workers for jurisdiction of the Moving Picture Machine Operators was referred to the executive Council. The dispute between the carpet mechanics and the upholsterers was decided in favor of the upholsterers, who were granted jurisdiction over the carpet mechanics and window shade workers. The dispute between the longshoremen and seamen was referred to the president and Executive Council for a decision. The dispute of the cement workers and hod carriers' laborers was referred to the Council for a decision. The Council is to render such decision at its first meeting.

## Referred to Council.

"The long-standing jurisdiction dispute between the brewery workers and teamsters was referred to the council, to appoint a representative to make a thorough investigation; then the council shall call a conference of representatives of both organizations; if they are unable to agree, the council shall render a decision. In the conclusion of the report of the Adjustment Committee it read: 'Whatever excuse or argument there may have been in the past for two organizations in one craft, such argument and excuse are obsolete. The time has now arrived for the A. F. of L. to declare itself, big as this country is, it is not big enough to hold two organizations of one craft.' And it asked the thirty-first annual convention to go square on record in instructing its president to carry into effect the principle and purposes of this resolution. One craft and one organization. This recommendation was unanimously adopted.

## The Building Trades Controversy.

"The Committee on Building Trades recommended the reinstatement of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. The controversy between the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters was left to the Executive Council to bring about an amalgamation of the two organizations. President Kinsella brought in a minority report as a member of the committee to the effect that a convention of steamfitters of both organizations be called to form one compact organization of said craft.

## The Electrical Workers.

The majority report was concurred in by a vote of 138 to 38. The factional dispute of the electrical workers did not consume the usual time of the convention; in fact, very little attention was paid to the seceding organization. The convention recommended to the Reed faction that the joint agreement reached at Rochester be submitted to a referendum vote of this membership, and the unaffiliated organization to authorize and direct a committee to meet with a committee of the affiliated organization, with the view of carrying the provision of the Rochester agreement into effect, and thus amalgamate the two organizations into one comprehensive Brotherhood of Electrical Workers affiliated with the Federation. The action was concurred in by a vote of 163 to 15. All present incumbents in office were unanimously re-elected. George Berry, international president of the International Printing Pressmen, was unanimously elected as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. In the second election of fraternal delegates to that congress, John H. Walker, president of the Illinois Mine Workers, was elected over Wm. Mahon and Owen Miller. John T. Smith, secretary of the Missouri Federation of Labor, was elected unanimously as fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The convention decided, over Seattle and Richmond, to hold its next meeting at Rochester, N. Y., in 1912.

## The Most Important Gathering.

"In conclusion, the attendance, numerically, was not as large as the St. Louis convention, owing to the geographical location of Atlanta. I believe that the convention was the most important one ever held by the Federation, and the work was fraught with much good for the labor movement of this country. The jurisdictional and internal fights were fewer in number than ever before, and the debates of the contestants were featured by the absence of the usual ill-feeling and bitterness. While the resolution on industrial unionism was defeated, nevertheless it is very evident that the leaders of the labor movement realize the absolute necessity of a closer affiliation. The formation of several new departments and the reported success of those in existence brings us nearer to that form of organization. I firmly believe that while we have it in the Federation now, there are many who cannot see it that way, but will next year see the Federation openly declare itself on that question.

## No Improvement Over St. Louis.

"During my sojourn in Atlanta I noticed that accommodations and comforts of the delegates were no improvement over the St. Louis convention last year. The convention hall was more centrally located and nearer to the hotels than the hall of the last year's convention, but I can state we had more hotels and better service. The hall was cold and disagreeable, there were an insufficient number of lights to thoroughly illuminate the hall, and the acoustics were very bad. Miss Hynes of the Button Workers made a personal collection to the amount of \$400. She has been over the entire country, but claims she has done better in St. Louis than in any other locality. From personal observation, I believe that organized labor of St. Louis is contributing just as liberally as any other large city of this country. I keenly appreciate and thank you for the opportunity you have given me to attend this great gathering of labor. I believe the experience has been beneficial and educational to me. I now have a better impression of the American Federation of Labor than ever before.

"Respectfully submitted,  
"LOUIS P. PHILIPPI."

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## News Review and Comment.

Mayor Emil Seidel of Milwaukee will again be the unanimous choice of Milwaukee socialists as their candidate for mayor next spring.

The holiday number of "Hope" is excellent. Its illustrations are "number one," and we can recommend it to all comrades and friends of our movement.

United States Attorney Miller, who has charge of the latest dynamite probe, seems to be very anxious to make a record for himself. He seems to be jealous of Sleuth Burns.

The Gundlach bill for the protection of shade trees, which was introduced in the Council last Friday, should be unanimously adopted by both houses of the Municipal Assembly. Good measures should be endorsed, no matter where they come from.

The McNamara case serves to show us the need of more hard work in educating the workers along class lines on both the political and industrial fields. Let us go to our task with more determination than ever. Let us look up, the sun of freedom is slowly rising.—Free Press.

When Inspector of Engines and Boilers Mr. Hoffmann refused to let a member of the Municipal Assembly copy the list of licensed engineers, he acted like a real bureaucrat who performs his slavish duty as part of the Republican Kreisemann machine. Whose servant is Hoffmann? Is he not paid by the people?

Victor L. Berger, the Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, introduced in the House on the 4th a bill to repeal the Sherman anti-trust law and to provide for the social ownership and operation of industries which are controlled by any combination to the extent of 40 per cent of the total output in the United States.

The Tennessee mine disaster should be promptly investigated by the United Mine Workers' organization, says the Chicago Daily Socialist, in the same manner and with the same promptness that the Cherry mine disaster was investigated. Conditions appear to be very much the same, and it is quite probable that quick action would enable representatives of the workingmen to unearth numerous violations of the statutes.

Capitalist papers have found another mare's nest in Milwaukee to harp about. They claim the Socialists have raised the tax rate, while the official figures show they have actually reduced them three cents on the thousand. Business has expanded and the general growth has been greater in the last two years than in any other like period, necessitating increased expenditures. This has been met in the main by making the big tax dodgers pay up. Hence the kick. Capitalist papers don't like our program.

Federal Eight-Hour Law Upheld by Court! In an opinion by Justice McKenna, the Supreme Court upheld the federal eight-hour law as applied to levee work on the Mississippi river. The defendant, a government contractor, was prosecuted for working employes more than eight hours in violation of the statute. He defended on the ground that the work was of an extraordinary character amounting to emergency work. The court holds that the only cases exempted from the statute are those arising from "accidental or uncommon causes."

Signs of "prosperity"! A surplus of 53,840 cars throughout the country is shown by a bulletin in the American Railway Bulletin. This represents an increase of 10,781 cars over the two-week period ended November 22 last, or an addition of 25 per cent. Coal cars lead in the surplus table. The number of idle coal cars increased from 12,346 on November 22 to 20,662 on December 6. Of this increase 4,187 cars are reported in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Eastern Pennsylvania. There was a substantial increase in idle coal cars in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Western Pennsylvania.

Taylorizing the Arsenal! says the Tri-City Labor Review of Rock Island, Ill. The Review says: "The Taylor system to be investigated in Rock Island arsenal. Congressional committee to be here some time in January. Alfias before congress representing the employes. Time granted the committee to come here and will make a report March 10, 1912. Never in the history of conditions of a like nature has the laborer man been stirred as this scientific management has done. In every city where government work is being done large gatherings of workmen are protesting."

Horror of Child Labor.—A statement that 2,500,000 children are employed in sweatshops, factories and various other places in this country was made by Bishop Fallows of the Reformed Episcopal Church of Chicago before the Children's Aid Society convention a few days ago. "The fact that this number of children, all under 15 years of age, are at work in this country, stunting their mental and physical growth, is a disgrace to the lawmakers and law enforcers of the states and nation," he said. Well, what do the lawmakers and law enforcers propose to do about it? Have they ever given this fact any recognition?

The women in London are keeping up their brave battle for equal suffrage, in spite of all tricks played by the government. A London report of December 12 says: "Twenty-two suffragettes refused to promise the Bow street police magistrate to-day that they would refrain from future outbreaks, and were sentenced to two months in jail on the charge of destroying property during the demonstration at the House of Commons on November 21. All the prisoners pleaded not guilty. When they were marched away to begin their prison terms they were cheered lustily by their friends, who crowded the courtroom."

It is by crooked work that the New Castle old party politicians attempt to save some of their power. The Free Press reports: "Desperately determined to possess the chairmanship of the Common Council, the standpatters pulled off a crooked frame-up when the Councilmen-elect assembled in the Common Council chamber at the city hall at 10 o'clock Monday, but before they could carry out their rank steal the entire Socialist delegation booted the meeting, leaving the standpatters without a quorum. The standpatters tried to work the game of electing the president of the council before the question of membership had been settled."

At the request of Congressman Comrade Berger, Secretary Nagel of the Department of Commerce and Labor has granted a stay in the deportation order against Zolai Marcus, a Russian political refugee, now being held at Ellis Island. Nagel assured Berger that the Russian refugee would be given a square deal and that all his rights would be safeguarded. The Russian government has made the charge that Marcus is an ordinary criminal and is not admissible under American laws. Simon O. Pollock of New York, who is the attorney for the Political Refugees' Defense League, states in a letter to Berger that Marcus participated in the Russian revolution of 1905 and that his "crimes" were such as could be charged against all the people who attempted to overthrow the Russian despotism six years ago.

Speaking of the Socialist Triumph in Los Angeles, Louis F. Post writes in his paper, The Public: "We mean precisely that—a Socialist triumph. Socialists think of it as a triumph, and they are right. With 52,000 votes for their ticket, they may well smile at all the nervous outcries which call the election an anti-Socialist 'landslide.' Those outcries sound very much like whistling up the wind. That the Socialists—with a record of only 11,000 votes at the previous election (less than 18 per cent of the total); in the face of the startling and confusing McNamara episode; with all the business interests and 'respectable' organizations fused against them, including every politi-

cal group but their own; with no money themselves, but plenty on the other side; with all the newspapers but one opposing them—that this party under these circumstances should poll 52,000 votes (over 38 per cent of the entire vote cast) is no laughing matter for the side that 'won' by getting into office once more."

The Old Age Insurance bill was passed by the British House of Lords last Friday. It is known as the national insurance bill, providing for compulsory insurance against sickness and unemployment of the working classes. The bill is now practically completed, only requiring to pass through the formality of receiving the king's assent. The bill was presented to parliament for action by David Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer. It is adjunct to the already existing law providing old-age pensions. Through the operation of this enactment it is calculated there will be about \$200,000 men and 3,900,000 women who will be compelled to insure. Small deductions will be made weekly from their wages, and their employers will be compelled to contribute a similar amount, to which the state adds a further contribution, these three items forming the premium. The deductions from wages and the employers' contribution will be graduated according to the insured person's earnings. The benefits derived under the scheme will be medical relief and a small sum for maintenance during illness, a life pension if permanently infirm and also an allowance in case of unemployment except when the idleness is a result of a strike.

Socialist Members Refuses to Sit With Either of the Capitalist Parties! Under this caption, The District Leader, Bernie, British Columbia, reports: "C. W. O'Brien, the Socialist member in the Alberta House, objected to the rearrangement of the seating, which placed him in the ranks of the government. He said the house committee must have been playing pranks on him, or else were not here last session, when he said that the Liberals and Conservatives were all there in defense of capital, and that he was the only real opposition in the house. He said that the Conservatives should not be sitting on the opposition side. 'They should be back there some place,' he said, waving his arms behind the benches. He asked that his seat should be changed, and that he was entitled to this courtesy. He wanted to be located midway between the Liberals and Conservatives. 'Some of my temperance constituents might object to my sitting beside a hotel man like this (pointing to R. Shaw), or a roughneck like Jim Cornwall,' concluded O'Brien, and the house roared and granted his request. After the adjournment, Messrs. Shaw and Cornwall cheerfully assisted in removing the seat, and all is now well."

Comrade Eugene V. Debs writes in The Appeal to Reason: "Let those who are so swift to condemn the McNamaras put themselves in their places, if they dare. Let them serve just a week in the hazardous service of the structural iron worker. Not one of the moral cowards who are howling for their blood would have the nerve to take such a risk for a single hour. It has just been reported, after careful investigation, that every floor of a skyscraper rests upon the corpse of a structural iron worker. These men have to risk their lives every minute they are at work to feed their wives and little ones. Death is not so terrible to them as it is to the cowards who are denouncing them when they defend themselves in the only way they have learned how under the capitalist system. When these workers, these structural iron acrobats in midair, sacrificing their lives to erect buildings for plutocrats, organized a union to resist the power that oppressed them, Morgan and the steel trust swore that the union must be wiped out. War followed, and ever since the structural iron workers have been fighting for their organized life. Their members have been blacklisted and hounded from place to place, and if this kind of brutality does not drive a man to dynamiting it is because in spite of capitalism the divinity of his abused nature still keeps him in restraint."

Don't Follow the Enemy's Advice! exclaims The Coal Digger, the miners' journal, published in Wilkeson, Wash., and goes on saying: "Advice as to how to carry on the work of Organized Labor are filling the daily papers. And who gives the advice? John Kirby, Jr., the president of the Manufacturers' Association; Walter Drew, the business agent of the National Erectors' Association; William J. Burns, the detective for the same labor-hating association; Harry Orchard, self-confessed assassin and liar, and others of the same ilk. And what do they tell us? They want union labor to free itself from 'the criminal element!' They want the 'radical element' suppressed. They want 'such men as John Mitchell at the head of Organized Labor.' We didn't know we had a 'criminal element.' Unless they mean that it is 'criminal' to want to get all we produce. That would probably be criminal, in the eyes of those men named above, as they all live off the products of our toil. Labor should not act hastily in passing judgment at such a critical moment as this. Under no circumstances should we listen to the arch enemies of Organized Labor. The very fact that they want us to do certain things is a pretty good reason for not

doing them. Therefore let us not ape the journalistic hirings of our enemies. Let us not howl for blood because they do. Let us not take their advice as to changes in our organizations. The hypocritical howls of horror and the clamorings for blood of the mouthpieces of Capital should not be countenanced, much less imitated, by Organized Labor."

In last week's St. Louis Labor we published in full the statement of the A. F. of L. McNamara Ways and Means Committee. In a letter accompanying the statement, addressed to Organized Labor, President Samuel Gompers says: "In the recent past the good name and high ideals of our great labor movement, its men, and the cause of humanity it and they represent, have been attacked as never before. Every enemy, every 'interest' arrayed against the organized workers has howled like dervishes. They hope to bring our tried, trusted and faithful men into disrepute, to destroy your confidence in their integrity, and thereby weaken, and finally crush, the organizations of labor. Every union member deplores violence and crime, whether committed by an ordinary outlaw, by a corporation director or agent, or by a so-called union man. Labor resents the insinuation that because one or two union members became criminally fanatical or fanatically criminal that the rank and file and the officers of the labor movement are responsible either legally or morally. Labor in its history has met, resisted and overcome the bitter hostility of its foes. Labor, standing for the cause of justice and humanity, will win again. Men and women of Labor: Stand firm, be true to yourselves and to each other. Let the spirit of fraternity, justice, freedom and solidarity imbue your every thought, word and action. Stand by your union. Organize the yet unorganized workers, and labor will triumph. The following statement of the McNamara Ways and Means Committee is commended to the thoughtful consideration of you and all interested. Please read it at your meetings and insert it in your minutes for future information and reference. Grit your teeth and organize!"

Dignity and Coercion  
Of Our Judiciary

St. Louis, Dec. 21, 1911.  
Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR:

A juror is an officer of the court pending a trial, and until its conclusion, as much so as the bailiff, the clerk or the judge; in fact, each is about one fifteenth part of the court. The oath of office taken by a juror is more highly respected than would appear to those that have never acted in such a capacity. Jurors are not supposed to know any law in a case; if they did, they would not be accepted. They listen to the evidence under the rulings of the court, and when the plaintiff and defendant have submitted their evidence the facts are weighed and a decision is rendered.

In the trial before Judge Withrow the evidence was permitted to go to the jury, and then, because the jury could not see through the judge's spectacles when he ordered them to bring in the verdict, which according to his judgment he wanted them to bring in, he wanted to lock them up at once, and would have done so had not one of the attorneys in the case called a halt.

For several days thereafter and during the time that the judge was retrying the cause in the newspapers, he did deprive them of their liberty in order to force his verdict. It is only a coincidence, but you should know that five minutes before the judge requested the jury to bring in a verdict in place of the (his) verdict, the writer had an occasion to tell the judge that he was coercing the jurors; that in depriving them of their liberty, in order to force a verdict according to his views, he was doing them and himself wrong by attempting to compel them to do something against their will. He replied, excitedly: "It's the law!"

But, judge, this case is beyond the law stage; it is now coercion, pure and simple. I believe, if this view had been presented to the judge earlier in the case he would not have acted in such an arbitrary manner. Unfortunately, he was surrounded by men who thought more of upholding the "dignity of the court" than to prevent the sacrifice of the judge's own dignity.

JOHN P. HERRMANN.

## Socialist Masquerade.

The Twelfth Ward Branch (West) reports that they will give their first annual prize mask ball at the Concordia Turner Hall, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Saturday evening, December 23. Tickets, 25 cents a person. Everybody welcome.

## COLD STORAGE WINDOW BOXES

At \$2.00 and \$3.00,  
Delivered and put up.  
Fit any Window. Bargain Price.  
HERM. LAURIS,  
3607 Gravois Avenue.  
Sidney 3516L. (568)

## FOR RENT OR SALE.

Cottages, South of City.  
5 rooms, garden 100x124; \$10.00.  
3 rooms, garden 50x150; \$9.50.  
5412 Idaho, 4-room modern brick;  
lot 30x143; \$3,050.00; \$25 monthly.  
HY. MAACK,  
1742 Chouteau.  
(569)

## Harriman On the Result.

This immediate struggle was begun one year and a half ago by Big Business, in an effort to crush the working class of this city, and ended with one of the greatest campaigns ever carried on in any city in America, and was met by Big Business offering the olive branch of peace to the people whom they endeavor to crush. In their struggles for living conditions the working people, under the inspiration of the Socialist philosophy, have become conscious of their power and inspired a hope not only to better their own conditions, but to better the conditions of their political enemies.

When we remember the fact that five daily papers, backed by all the banks, all the public service corporations, and all the big business interests, and substantially all of the leading ministers of the churches, and the liquor merchants, concentrated their efforts in support of the Good Government ticket, we consider that our work has been marvellous and our victory tremendous. No one but a Socialist can understand how those who are fighting for a wet town and those who are fighting against a wet town can unite to work together against the working class, and for the present city administration. They themselves, although they do not understand, know that they did it. The working people know it, and they understand why.

It has been the Socialists who have aided them to thus understand.

We are not only proud of our success, but we are profoundly enthusiastic, and are inspired by an abiding hope and supreme confidence that we will be able to take the state legislature one year hence. Our campaign begins to-day. Our committees will soon be in shape; our convention will be called at an early date; our nominations made and the propaganda and the organization will proceed.

Under our fire the Good Government organization has been dissolved, the money bags and machinery of the S. P. have been enthroned. The most corrupt politics ever known in any city was practiced in the name and on behalf of the Good Government party, which has brought that name into disgrace, while our movement stands to-day with clean hands and no apologies to offer, with our doors open to all true citizens who desire the betterment of mankind.

It so happened that I was at the head of the ticket. This is not a movement for individuals. This great struggle has been possible only because all of our members felt a profound interest in the movement, and I must say I have never seen such loyalty and devotion to a cause displayed by so many men and women. This loyalty and devotion was our chief inspiration.

(Signed) JOB HARRIMAN.

## Los Angeles After Election

## The Good Government Crowd At the Pie Counter.

(By National Socialist Press.)

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 18.—There has been little change in labor and political circles during the past week. The exultation of the labor haters lasted but a few days, when they settled down to the serious business of division of the spoils of the chase.

The so-called Good Government machine is shattered. The Old Guard, composed of the Southern Pacific political bosses, and their henchmen, the liquor interests, the gamblers and divekeepers, are calling for their reward.

The saloon men are getting a slow return for their loyal support. The administration is returning licenses to some of the worst deadfalls that ever caught unwary girls in any American city. One of these, which was suppressed over a year ago, has reopened in the center of the city, and the revelry there is a reminder of the old days when graft and boodle were winked at.

Six houses of ill-fame were reopened within a week after the election. These had been closed several years. This is taken as an indication that the administration will take off the lid in the red-light district.

Corporations are also prompt in making their demands. The City Council sidestepped action on investigation of street car fares. One of the re-elected Councilmen declared there was "no longer any reason for investigating." This is taken to mean that there will be no legislation inimical to the railways, which have a complete monopoly of a large portion of the city streets.

F. J. Zeehandelaar, secretary of H. G. Otis' Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, has written and submitted a "spur track" ordinance which the City Council will undoubtedly adopt. This gives the railways full swing regarding such franchises.

It is the Old Guard, however, that threatens most of the trouble. They were the ones who put through the McNamara plea of guilty when it was found a dicker could be made. The Old Guard raised the half-million dollars used as a slush fund at election time; the Old Guard put up the money and bought 6000 votes; the Old Guard used "strong-arm" methods at the polls and sent thousands of men and women away on false challenges and bulldozing methods; it was the Old Guard that counted the Socialists out of about 7000 votes the night after election; it was the Old Guard that made every banker in the city come across with from \$1000 to \$3000 and forced the

Really Board into action that brought in a hundred thousand or more dollars for the corruption fund.

The question that has arisen in the minds of the people is: What has Mayor Alexander promised the Old Guard and how soon will it take control of the city's affairs? If Alexander does not deliver the goods, then there will be a terrific row at the city hall. If Alexander becomes too bold in paying his political debts the reform element of the city will turn against him.

So great was the "menace of Socialism" that all forces were compelled to fuse. This put the preachers, gamblers, prohibitionists, saloonkeepers, Y. M. C. A., "Royal Arch" (liquor men's association), Y. W. C. A. divekeepers, Democrats, Republicans, reformers, progressives, and reactionaries into the melting pot. All were determined to "save the city," and it appears they have saved it for the gambling houses, the brothels and the dives.

In the meantime the Socialists are organizing a vigorous campaign for next fall. There is a greater demand for Socialist books and pamphlets than before election. Applicants for party membership are pouring in from all sides, and a number of new branches will be organized in outlying districts.

The effect of the McNamara affair was to cause a big desertion from Harriman by the timid men and women who were sympathetic with the workers. The result resulted in 52,000 standing firm under fire, and it is an excellent test of the strength of the Socialists in Los Angeles.

Socialists in Los Angeles have an excellent chance of electing a Congressman and several state legislators next fall. Organized labor has stood firm with the Socialists and hundreds of them are taking out memberships. Both the political party and the unions are growing at a most encouraging rate.

## SUCCESSFUL ENTERTAINMENTS.

The masquerade ball given by Bakers' Union No. 4 last Saturday was a big affair in every way. New Club Hall was full of merry-makers, and the receipts netted a substantial sum for the treasury of No. 4.

The Beer Bottlers' Benevolent Association's select party exceeded all expectations in point of attendance, and it was all but impossible to dance on account of the crowded condition of the hall. Next year the association will have to find a larger hall.

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 COMPANY

St. Louis, Mo.

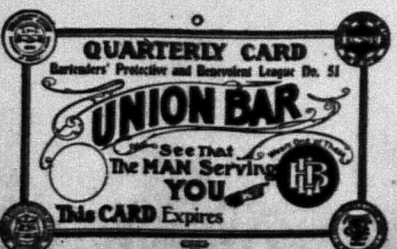
Patronize only

Saloons

displaying

Union Bar

Card



and where

the

Bartenders

Wear the

Blue Button

## Local Labor Field

BY OTTO PAULS

## WAITRESSES KEEP UP GRAND LEADER BOYCOTT.

Waitresses' Union No. 249 is daily informing the crowds of shoppers on Washington avenue that the Grand Leader is unfair and that friends and members of organized labor should deal elsewhere.

On one occasion, while a man was carrying a sandwich sign in front of the store, some one ran out of the store and ripped the sign to pieces with a knife, cutting the man's coat at the same time. Fortunately, the knife failed to reach further than the coat and the man was unhurt. The assailant escaped undetected. This incident indicates that the Grand Leader does not like the boycott and feels its effect on their Christmas trade.

Stay away from the Grand Leader. Buy at a store that is not boycotted.

## BARBERS WIN ANOTHER SHOP.

The barber shop at 2764 Prairie avenue, conducted by W. H. Hud-walker, is now displaying the union shop card once more. This shop is again fair to the Barbers' Union and entitled to the patronage of union men and their friends.

## LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS EXPECT TO STRIKE.

Following a well-attended mass meeting at Fraternal Hall, plans were laid for a strike of all local cloak and skirt makers if certain onerous conditions are not rectified by the employers.

The Ladies' Garment Workers' officials state that one of their principal grievances is that a \$50 deposit is required by the bosses as a guarantee that there will be no strike during the contract.

The quarterly meeting of the Executive Board will take place in Chicago, and the local union expects to then be authorized to call a strike if the situation demands it. The busy season commences about the middle of January and the strike will probably occur at that time.

A ball will be given by the Ladies' Garment Workers at the New Coliseum Hall on December 23.

## LABEL TRADES SECTION.

The initial meetings of Districts Nos. 1 and 2, as laid out by the Label Trades Section, were very successful in point of attendance, and a good start was made in launching a campaign for the use of union label goods.

District No. 1 will hold regular meetings at 1800 South Eighteenth street on the first and third Monday of each month. District No. 2 will meet at Seventeenth and Cass avenue on the second and fourth Tuesday of each month. Every union man and his wife is invited to attend these meetings.

## EAGLE THEATER GETS RIGHT.

Picture Operators' No. 143 have finally convinced the Eagle Theater management that they need a union operator in their business at 1721 South Broadway. The union slide is now shown there at every performance.

## LOCAL UNION OFFICIALS RECENTLY ELECTED.

**Beer Bottlers:** President—Arthur Stahl.  
Vice-President—Jacob Schneider.  
Secretary—Business Agent—Joseph Fessner.  
Secretary-Treasurer—Ben Jansen.  
Trustee—John Wurth.  
Sergeant—John Koehler.  
Inner Guard—Harry Lunsford.  
Outer Guard—John Stutzke.  
Executive Board—J. Wurth, J. Young, H. Gokenbach, W. Anderson, J. Schneider, W. Klages.  
Joint Executive Board—F. Fessner, B. Jansen, L. Philipp, J. Koehler, A. Stahl.  
Delegates to Convention—F. Fessner, B. Jansen, L. Philipp.  
**Beer Bottlers, Branch No. 1:** President—Ella Aldrich.  
Vice-President—Stella Wahl.  
Business Agent—Sarah Aldrich.  
Sergeant—Clara Brune.  
**Musicians No. 2:** President—Owen Miller.  
Vice-President—Andrew Goodrich.  
Treasurer—Joseph Bergman.  
Recording Secretary—D. K. Howell.  
Financial Secretary—T. H. Sims.  
Trustees—A. J. Stoehsel, August Guenther, Jerry Vrana.  
Executive Board—Vincent Wolf, I. N. Gavin, Hans Boeck, Leopold Mueller, W. J. Siebenman.  
Sergeant—August Schwendener.  
Delegates to Omaha Convention—Owen Miller, Otto Ostendorf, T. H. Sims.  
Delegates to C. T. & L. U.—Owen Miller, O. Ostendorf, T. H. Sims.  
Delegate to Missouri Federation of Labor—Owen Miller.  
**Barbers 102:** President—Jerry L. Hanks.  
Vice-President—Phil Wiegand.  
Recording Secretary—Hugh Station.  
Recording Secretary and Business Agent—Fred A. Heller.  
Treasurer—George Kuhn.

## PEACE ON EARTH!

Merry Christmas! Peace on Earth! Good Will to Men!

In the many thousands of churches of Christendom the Christmas greetings are heard: Peace on Earth! The same words have been repeated over and over again for the last 1900 years: Peace on Earth!

Yet there was no peace, there is no peace to-day.

From the time of the legendary birth of the poor carpenter's son in the stable of Bethlehem to the present day the greeting, "Peace on Earth!" has been a mockery. The last 1900 years of Christian civilization may rightfully be chronicled as the bloodiest era in the known history of mankind. From the days of the old Roman empire, under Augustus and Tiberius, to the "reign of glory" of Charlemagne—a period of eight hundred years—the historian must travel over the immense battlefields where the "children of God" were slaughtered by the millions, in order that the rulers by "divine right" might establish their "hereditary power" on these mountains of murdered men.

Peace on Earth! With this inscription on his banners of war, Charlemagne, this most Christian of all Christian rulers of the Franco-Allemanic-Roman era, extended his bloody warfare in all directions. In order to subjugate the freedom-loving Saxons and other Germanic peoples and to force them to accept his Christian religion of "Peace on Earth!" he made his Christian armies of soldiers wade through rivers of "heathen blood."

What queer conception the heathen Saxons, Teutons and other Germanic tribes must have had of a religion of peace that was taught them by means of incendiary, devastation and human slaughter!

From Charlemagne to the so-called dark middle ages the history of the most powerful Christian rulers is one long, long story of most cruel warfare and bloodshed. The "Peace on Earth" was changed into "War on

Earth! Death and Ruin to all who refuse to submit to our rule by 'divine right!'"

Then came the dark, bloody centuries of religious persecution and the almost desperate fights for supremacy between the ecclesiastical potentates in Rome and the feudal rulers of Northern Europe, which reached their climax with the great Reformation and the Thirty Years' War.

Bloodier days, more horrible scenes of human slaughter than those in the Thirty Years' War are not recorded anywhere in the history of the human race.

In the name of God, in the name of the great Nazarene, in the name of the religion of "Peace on Earth!" the great Christian countries of Central Europe, especially Germany, were devastated and almost depopulated. Christian armies fought against Christian armies; Christian soldiers slaughtered Christian soldiers; Christian popes and prelates, Christian emperors and kings ordered the devastation of Christian countries! Yet on every Christmas day during this Thirty Years' War the same hordes of warriors, following the commands of their rulers by "divine right," would join the chorus, chanting:

"Peace on Earth! Good Will to Men!"

But there was no peace!

The Thirty Years' War of the Reformation was followed by the great Revolution in Christian England, where in bloody civil war a great Christian nation tried to solve the problems of ages that the "Peace on Earth!" greetings failed to solve. Before this drama in British history was concluded Charles I. had met his Cromwell and lost not only his crown by divine right, but also his head.

In France, in this pioneer country of Christendom, the year 1789 surprised the nations of the world with that great drama known in history

as the great French Revolution, which was preceded by the American Revolution. In both these great civil wars Christian fought against Christian, and the religion of "Peace on Earth!" was the religion of all the warring factions.

Then came the Napoleonic wars in Christian Europe, and there could be no "Peace on Earth!"

War after war divided Christian Europe for decades. In 1870 two of the leading Christian nations of Europe—Germany and France—again met on the battlefields, and within a few months about half a million of Christian soldiers had been slaughtered in murderous combat.

This Franco-Prussian War was preceded by the great Civil War in our own great, Christian Republic of Uncle Sam. Within three years a million of our best Christian fathers, brothers and sons from North and South sacrificed their lives on the bloody battlefields, while in a hundred thousand Christian churches the same good old song was repeated:

"Peace on Earth! Good Will to Men!"

We, the greatest of all Christian nations, went into war against Spain—this most Christian of all Christian countries! We suspended the "Peace on Earth!" rule until we had shot the wits out of our Spanish Christian brothers.

Then we returned and repeated the chorus:

"Peace on Earth!"

To-day every Christian country, not excepting our own, resembles an armed camp, a tremendous vessel, loaded with the most powerful and destructive explosives.

One spark may ignite the hell of war—but stupidly on we go, singing our "Peace on Earth!"

Our modern business life is a permanent state of warfare. A war of competition and mutual destruction in every direction.

Our social relations and life shows no resemblance to the "Peace on

Earth!" religion that has been preached for almost two thousand years.

On goes the great social war between the working class and the capitalist class. We like "Peace on Earth!" but there is no peace.

There cannot be peace until the economic basis of society is so organized that co-operation and peace will displace competition and war.

Wars are not declared and fought for mere ideas or capricious notions, but for material interests and economic and political power.

"Peace on Earth!" will continue to be a mockery under the capitalist class rule and class exploitation.

"PEACE ON EARTH!" will become a living reality when Socialism gets into power.

When some months ago the capitalist governments in Paris, Berlin, London and Madrid were loudly talking war, 500,000 Socialist working men, women and children gathered in a Berlin public park and proclaimed their solemn pledge to "Peace on Earth!"

And there was peace, because the Socialist working people of Paris, London and Madrid took up the refrain:

"Peace on Earth!"

Let all those who believe in and who are ready to work and fight and suffer for "Peace on Earth!" join the great world-wide Socialist and Trade Union movement.

Join the Socialist Party, not only as a voter, but as an active party member.

Ten million citizens and voters in all civilized countries are to-day marching under the banner of the International Socialist Party! Within another decade there will not be less than twenty-five millions!

Fall in line! Comrades, Brothers, Sisters, join the Socialist Party—the only powerful organization in the world that is true to the religion of "Peace on Earth! Good Will to Men!"

G. A. Hoehn.

## WHY TRIALS BY JURY?

Old rags, old flags, old dust-laden law books and old crustaceans on the bench are some of the curses of the human race.

Old rags are disseminators of germs and bacilli.

Old flags are disseminators of fetichism and pseudo-patriotism.

Old dust-laden law books are disseminators of moths that gnaw at the life of justice.

Old crustaceans on the bench are the disseminators of the dead letters and feudal rules that obscure the plain views of the live laws of common sense.

St. Louis now has a celebrated McDermott case.

Mrs. Mary Farrington, a hard-working woman, sued the Reverend John White of Holy Innocents' Catholic Church, executor of her mother's (Mrs. McDermott) property, alleging the priest had exerted undue influence in obtaining possession of the property, a house and lot on Old Manchester road.

The case came up in Judge Withrow's court last week. A jury was chosen in the manner prescribed by law and the case proceeded in the usual way.

Suddenly the unexpected happened. Judge Withrow, with all the dignity and personal impressiveness at his command, instructed and ordered the jury to retire forthwith to the jury room, there and then agree on a verdict in favor of the defendant, and report back the verdict in favor of Rev. John White as commanded by the court—i. e., Judge Withrow.

There the jurors sat for awhile like old Roman statues dug out of the lava of Pompey! When recovered from the first shock of surprise their indignant faces turned toward the judge, then toward each other. From their countenances could be read these words:

"Are we intelligent citizens or darned fools? Are we here to serve as jurors or as poodles?"

The jurors agreed to strike. They refused to bring in a verdict in favor of the defendant. They defied the court by informing Judge Withrow that they would not return a verdict as commanded by him.

For three days the jurors continued their strike, and finally they returned a verdict in favor of Mrs. Farrington, the plaintiff.

During these three days the case was "tried" in the columns of the daily press, over the counters and tables of saloons and restaurants of the court-house district.

Last Friday Judge Withrow announced that he would set aside the verdict of the striking jury within a week.

Every local lawyer, wise, unwise or otherwise, expressed an "opinion" on the case, which has become known as the "McDermott Case." As could be expected in any other case, some lawyers claimed Judge Withrow was right, while the others asserted with equal emphasis that the judge was wrong.

Since it seems to be generally agreed that the minds of great men run in the same direction, it need not surprise any St. Louis mortal that ex-Judge John A. Talty came to Judge Withrow's rescue with this opinion:

"Those jurymen have no conception of the power of the court whose right to issue peremptory instructions has been established for ages."

Possibly Hon. Talty's professional pride suffered a severe shock

because Judge Withrow failed to send the striking jurors to jail, instead of discharging them.

"What fools these mortals be!"

Hon. Talty, one of the crustaceans among those "learned in the law," like his colleague, Hon. Withrow, is a worshipper of ancient customs, ancient laws, dust-laden law books, whereby he tries to prove the "powers of the courts established for ages."

It is the curse of our modern capitalist jurisprudence and judiciary that right and justice are frequently buried beneath the dust of ages. The lawyers and the presiding fossils on the bench speak of rights and powers "established for ages," and to prove their case they transport wagon loads of moth-eaten law books into court, but the spirit of the law of common sense, applied to present-day conditions, which should permeate the construction of every law on the statute books, is too often completely disregarded.

It was this disregard of the modern progressive conception of civic rights and duties, freedom and justice which led Judge Withrow to do what he did in the "McDermott Case."

It is silly for ex-Judge Talty to speak of the court's powers "established for ages." Why, Hon. Talty don't seem to know that for thousands of years the Caesars, Imperators, Kings, Princes, and other members of the feudal fraternity made the people believe that their divine powers to rule the universe dated back to the days when old Grand-grandmother Eve and her innocent husband, Adam, were enjoying the monopoly of human life in the Garden of Eden.

The "powers established for ages" remain because the people submit to them, just as the nations were governed by "divine right" until they got tired of it and declared:

"Enough! Stop! Stop right here and now!"

Has Hon. Talty ever read the Declaration of Independence of 1776? It might do him no harm to read it, for in that great document we are informed how to proceed against "powers established for ages" whenever they become a nuisance or public danger.

How some of those "powers established for ages" were abolished in past centuries we know from the fate of Charles I. of England and Louis XVI. of France. Now, we do not wish to be misunderstood; some mischief-thinking mind might insinuate that we are after Judge Withrow's head. Nothing of the kind!

Kings Charles and Louis lost their heads after they had done all the mischief they could do.

With Judge Withrow it is just the other way: He lost his head before he went into the mischievous work!

We do not doubt for a moment that the Honorables Withrow and Talty may find clauses and higher court decisions to support their attitude in the McDermott case, but that wouldn't improve the situation one iota.

Any man or woman with the least common sense will agree with us in asking:

"What's the use of calling for the service of a jury, when every juror is threatened with contempt of court and imprisonment unless he signs and returns a verdict as dictated and commanded by the court?"

In the "McDermott Case" another question is in order:

"What should induce the public to believe that the verdict dictated by the one man on the bench was more in line with right and justice than the verdict agreed upon by the twelve citizens who served as jurors?"

G. A. Hoehn.

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## BARTENDERS NO. 51 REMEMBER CHRISTMAS.

Donations for the widows and children of members who have died are now being received by Bartenders No. 51. Each year the union endeavors to bring Christmas cheer to those among them who are bereft. The usual celebration will take place at their headquarters, 3204 Lucas avenue.

## GEORGE B. WEBSTER TO ADDRESS ENGINEERS.

On Saturday, December 30, Engineers No. 2 will hold an open meeting at 3001 Olive street, which will be addressed by George B. Webster on the subject, "Municipal Duties and Conditions." All interested are invited.

## Socialist Party

National Headquarters  
Socialist Party,  
Chicago, Ill., Dec. 16, 1911.

## NATIONAL CONVENTION IN OKLAHOMA CITY.

Committee Selects Western City by Referendum Vote.

OPENING DATE IS MAY 12.

Chicago, Dec. 20. The vote taken by the National Committee of the Socialist party on the time and place for the 1912 convention closed today. Oklahoma City, Okl., was selected as the convention city and May 12 as the opening day. Indianapolis was second choice and Cincinnati third.

The Bohemian Socialists have affiliated with the national organization under the terms of the National Constitution relating to foreign-speaking organizations. Jos. Novak, 1808 South Ashland avenue, Chicago, has been elected national translator-secretary by referendum vote.

State Secretary Rin-ler of Pennsylvania reports as follows: "Fullerton Branch of Lehigh county expelled David R. Thomas and Ralph Thomas for voting at the Republican primaries. Published by request of the Lehigh County Organization."

This paper is put into your hands for inspection and approval and is an invitation to subscribe.

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# Worse Than Starvation

We will take the clipping below as one of the examples of how Capitalism pays its slaves:

Louisville, Ky., December 1.—Women in the employ of the ten-cent stores of this city receive on an average \$4.06 a week for their work, according to the report of Inspector S. M. Hartman.

The inspector also declared that the 1600 women employed in the department stores of the city are making ridiculously low wages, 50 of them getting from \$2.00 to \$2.50 a week and 785 less than \$4.00 a week.

He said those that receive big pay can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Just stretch your imagination, if you can, and try to imagine a girl living on the pittance of \$4.06 per week; that, the inspector states, is the average. But some are even lower. How do they exist on a salary (?) of \$4.06 a week?

Think of the "luxurious" home she is able to furnish, think of the "fine" clothes she can wear, think of the "epicurean" food she can eat; and then she could take the beauty course, as suggested in one of the papers of Madame Somebody's Beauty Hints.

Oh, but the tragedy of such a life. It is too serious to joke about. Is it any wonder so many girls are driven to a life of shame, prostituting body and soul, in order to keep from starving?

# Signs of Prosperity

The following clipping from the daily press tells a story that might cause us to stop and think. It is so out of place in a country that boasts of being the best on earth:

"Superior, Wis., December 5.—Two hundred men, desperate from hunger and need of the necessities of life, fought for work in front of the stevedore office on Tower avenue.

"There were just four jobs open on the docks and 200 men sought them. Three of the tickets had been dealt out, when the demand for the remaining one became so clamorous that the agent in charge threw the fourth one into the air above the men's heads.

"As it fell the men in the crowd rushed for it, fighting desperately to secure possession of the little slip of paper which meant the right to work and the attendant meager wages."

Just imagine, if you can, a crowd of two hundred men, hungry, perhaps on the verge of starvation, perhaps a wife and children at home, hungry and cold, with no food to appease the hunger, no fire to relieve the cold.

Now, there are just four jobs and two hundred men; three of the tickets are gone; just one job and one hundred and ninety-seven men left. Draw a little closer, hear their curses as they struggle and push for a chance for work. They become like animals; you can see the murderous gleam, hear the wolfish snarl as some stronger one pushes his way to the front. The struggle grows fiercer; so the man in the office throws the remaining ticket out in the crowd, and they fall upon one another, fighting for its possession like a pack of hungry wolves.

And its value. Oh, just a chance to go to work. So that is the incentive to work that Capitalism supplies.

# Judge Withrow And the Jury

St. Louis, Dec. 17, 1911.

Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR:

The dignity of the judiciary had to be upheld in the now celebrated McDermott case which the judge tried in the newspapers. I desire to give you a few examples of "upholding."

Former Judge Zachritz is quoted in the press as saying: "The jury is clearly wrong. There is nothing for the jury to decide in this case."

This seems as clear as cheese. As there is nothing for the jury to decide, the jury ought to decide for the defendant.

Former Judge Sale is quoted thus: "Judge Withrow should have sent the jurors to jail when they refused to sign the verdict."

This is the judge who, while on the bench, used to go out of his way to publicly insult juries and jurors. Then he wanted to be re-elected, and the jurors voted to return a verdict for the judge which read: There is no place like home!

Former Judge Reynolds was quoted, saying: "The man on the bench is the judge of the law, and if juries are going to usurp his power we might as well abolish our judiciary and let the mob rule."

Strange how quick a jury is converted into a mob when it does not permit itself to be used as a legal dishrag to pervert facts. Watch this judge at election time running after the mob to get votes! Now, considering that the foregoing are expressions of former judges, ought we not to be thankful that they really are "former."

Judge Douglas, in the case of Russell vs. Cassidy, fined three jurors for contempt; they did not bring in a verdict according to the judge's desires. Is it possible that the other nine were coerced?

In the case of Karbe vs. Hollans, in Judge Williams' court, the fear of being fined for contempt caused the jury to bring in a verdict in accordance with the judge's instructions. Cases like these are too numerous to dwell upon.

Ex-Mayor Noonan has been very emphatic in his denunciations of the police methods in using the third degree, but as a judge, if my recollection serves me, he used this method of coercion to force a jury to render a verdict in the case of the State vs. The Board of Police Commissioners.

The third degree has been applied so often by the judiciary that it has been accepted by some as a matter of course. How long is it to continue? Coercion becomes a crime when judges lock up juries for a week trying to force them to act against their judgment. Threats and intimidation of this character should be beneath the dignity of a judge, but, then, they are human, childish or bullheaded, verily. Coercion has

come to be a judicial weapon, a contemptible cudgel—dangerous in the hands of a man attempting to learn law on the bench, instead of attending law school. An autocrat may be a judge; most judges are autocrats! Courts are respected, but deliver us from the man-made laws of judges. "CURIOUS."

## KENTUCKY CIGARMAKERS WIN.

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 20.—After a controversy extending over a period of three years, a settlement has been reached with the firm of J. A. Lancaster & Co., cigar manufacturers, and the local union of cigarmakers. At the beginning of the contest the firm, after having built up a large business through the use of the Cigarmakers' label, announced its intention of conducting a non-union establishment. The result attained is exceedingly gratifying to the local union of cigarmakers, as well as the movement in general.

## FOR FIRST-HAND INFORMATION

Concerning the Socialist Party you should subscribe to ST. LOUIS LABOR \$1.00 per year. 966 Chouteau Ave.

# PLATFORM OF THE Socialist Party OF THE UNITED STATES.

## What Human Life Depends On.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce, food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw material and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

## The Cause of Class Rule.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

## Men Are Made Slaves.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of industrial masters.

## Ruling Class as Parasites.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

## The Class Struggle.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploiting propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hand of the dominant class. The wage workers are, therefore, the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

## Overproduction and Idleness.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation. The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

## Labor's Exploitation.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own

insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

## Power of Corruption.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

## The Vital Issue.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than his master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

## The Rock of Class Rule.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

## Land and Public Welfare.

There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bonafide manner without exploitation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

## Labor's Interests Identical.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working-class victory to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

## PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

## GENERAL DEMANDS.

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such work shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities, without interest, for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misuse of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication.
3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.
4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
5. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.
6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

## INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.
  - (a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.
  - (b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
  - (c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.
  - (d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
  - (e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all unspected factories.
  - (f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against employment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

## POLITICAL DEMANDS.

8. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9. A graduated income tax.
10. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.
11. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.
12. The abolition of the senate.
13. The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of congress or by a referendum of the whole people.
14. That the Constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
15. The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of health.
16. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.
17. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.
18. The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

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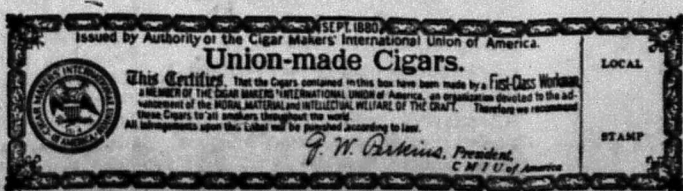


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They want the men to fall at their feet and ask them for a job, so they can pay the employes small wages and work them the hours the feel like.

# THE McNAMARA'S

By Robert Hunter.

I have been trying to imagine the headlines of the capitalist press had the McNamaras been Socialists.

I can see them, great and black and terrible, carrying horror into every heart and making the very blood of the ignorant and prejudiced run cold.

Death masks, skeletons, fiery torches, prostrate victims, red flags, bombs, anarchy—I can see it all.

I can see the terror of Labor! How the reactionaries would preach their hypocritical sermons and warn the toilers against Socialism.

I can see the horror of the church! How the parsons and the priests would raise their hands and call upon God to save the world from the red terror.

I can see the horror of the politicians! Murder is Murder? No, Murder is Socialism! And how they would orate about bombs, destruction, anarchy, universal ruin, to frighten the workers back into the service of Graft.

Can you not all see the whole drama? And, therefore, it seems almost like an act of Providence that these men should not be Socialists, but Democrats, Catholics, and pure and simple Trade Unionists.

We taught these men nothing. What they knew of the wrongs of Labor and the rights of man they learned not from us. Their methods of fighting came not from the teachings of Marx or Engels. It came from elsewhere.

They are not Socialists, they are Democrats. They are not materialists, they are Catholics. They are not revolutionary unionists, they are "pure and simple" unionists.

Where, therefore, did they get their hatred of the capitalist? Who taught them their method of trying to right the wrongs of Labor?

Had they been Socialists we should have been accused of teaching them their philosophy. Shall we, then, accuse the Catholic Church, the Democratic party and the Gompers-Mitchell Unionism as responsible for their acts?

Yes, because the Democratic party has taught them the futility of Political Action. They voted and voted and voted. They were always betrayed by grafters and sold out. The very men they elected to represent them made laws to serve their masters and ruin them.

Yes, because the church has taught them that Socialism is a monstrous thing, and that those who advocated a working-class party were atheists, free-lovers and enemies of mankind.

Yes, because the Gompers-Mitchell Unionism has taught them that they should vote for their betrayers and keep out of working-class politics. They must not sit at the grimy board, they must leave that to the grafters and the tools of the corporations.

Every one of their teachers fought bitterly and everlastingly the only teaching that would have saved them and their class from misery and ultimate slavery.

I answer: No, because they did not teach them to fight as they fought. That no one taught them but their despair and their defeats.

Their church, their party and their union taught them that all wrongs of society were due to individual wickedness, individual oppression; so they naturally fought the individual.

**Abrogate the Russian Treaty! Why is it that Uncle Sam is ever ready to uphold his dignity when insulted by insignificant, helpless nations, while for years he has silently submitted to the outrageous work done by the Russian Czar against American citizens? We repeat: Abrogate the Russian treaty!**

**McNamaras Defiant! We find the following clipping in a daily capitalist paper: Los Angeles, December 9.—Defiant to the last, John J. McNamara and his "kid" brother, James B., prepared for their journey to San Quentin prison to-night. Every demand made on them to tell what they knew about the alleged dynamite conspiracy fell on deaf ears, and as a result the federal grand jury investigating the allegations made by Ortie McManigal in his story which now has lasted three days, will not meet again until Tuesday. There was a sensational scene in the county jail last night when Oscar Lawler, enraged over admissions from Indianapolis that there had been friction between the federal authorities as Los Angeles and the Indiana city, demanded that the McNamaras "come through." J. J. McNamara, still secretary-treasurer of the Iron Workers, became angered. "What in h— are you trying to do?" he demanded. "You have been an agent of the prosecution a long time, but whether you are an agent of the steel trust or not, I state frankly that I will not confess. Why should I? Freedom is nothing to me."**

## TWELFTH WARD DANCE.

The Twelfth Ward (West Branch) will give their first annual entertainment and dance Saturday evening, December 23, at Concordia Turner Hall, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets. Tickets, 25 cents; everything strictly union.

The Young People's Socialist League will co-operate with the Twelfth Warders in their effort to

The individual boss was trying to destroy the union and to impoverish the worker, so they fought to destroy the individual boss.

There were good capitalists and bad capitalists, so they made their choice. The ones they considered bad they set out to exterminate.

They did not seek class action in politics or in industry. They were dealing with individuals. Destroy the boss. So they resorted to direct action, sabotage, terrorism. Just as the anarchist uses any weapon to destroy the political master, so they used any weapon to destroy the individual master.

Ask them the meaning of sabotage and they could not tell you. But they knew how to make the life of the individual capitalist unendurable and they delivered the goods.

It was the old method—the only method known to Labor before Marx. Bakunine made of it a philosophy, but men adopted it because they were too miserable and ignorant to think.

And now to-day these two men stand without a defender. Only the anarchist will speak a kind word for them.

Not one of those amongst us, who yesterday was preaching the method of the McNamaras as a philosophy is to-day fearless enough to say:

"These men are of our faith. They have done their duty and laid down their lives in pursuit of the tactics we have taught."

The capitalist press gets somewhat frightened by the loose dynamite talk of their patron saint, Detective Burns. Even the Globe Democrat sees fit to editorialize thus: "Perhaps he (Sleuth Burns) is correct in his assertion that Gompers knew all along about the guilt of the McNamaras, and that the "shock" which came to Gompers last week when these worthies turned state's evidence was not because of their crime but of its confession. From what the general public has read about the career, the teachings and the example of that personage, the average man is ready to believe almost anything about him that is evil, short of committing an overt act. But it might be better to let those charges against Gompers wait until his case comes up before the grand jury, if it is to come up. Just at present he is not on trial in any court except that of public opinion, and that court has, as yet, received no tangible evidence that the chief of the American Federation of Labor knew that the McNamaras and their associates had started out on their orgy of crime." If President Gompers would be as closely allied with the Republican party machine as he has been with the Democrats, the Globe Democrat would not hesitate a moment to minimize the McNamara affair and to let Gompers alone. When Gompers declared war on the Republican party during the 1908 campaign, the Republican party organs suddenly changed their policy toward Gompers. The "old, conservative labor leader" was at once denounced as a dangerous demagogue. In view of the coming national campaign the Globe Democrat is anxious to kill Gompers' political influence by trying have the A. F. of L.'s picture put in the Harry Orchard rogues' gallery.

make the affair an enjoyable one for all who attend.

## MACHINISTS NO. 41 ELECT.

Lodge 41 of the I. A. of M. has elected officers for the ensuing term as follows:

President—H. Gernhart.  
Vice President—H. Fleischer.  
Recording Secretary—Ed Gaebler.  
Financial Secretary—W. Darmstaedter.

## HIGH FINANCIERS HOLD MEETING.

The American Bankers' Association held their thirty-seventh annual convention in New Orleans some two weeks ago.

We are quite sure that this will be news to most of the working-men of this city, because up to date we have not been informed of any having attended.

The Independent Magazine says, in speaking of the affair: "Many otherwise intelligent and well-informed persons know little or nothing about banking, and, therefore, are not accustomed to give to such meetings the credit and weight which they deserve."

And this is, indeed, true. I am really ashamed of it, but must confess that I am rather short on this particular question. But would like to say that my shortness comes mostly from inexperience.

About the only use I could have for a bank would be to borrow money, and in that case they would have no use for me.

And as for giving "the association the credit and weight they deserve," we do, for when four thousand money-changers get together we must realize that it is a rather "hefty" proposition, and all of us, whether we know it or not, must bear the burden.

Most of the time of the convention was taken up in discussing the Aldrich plan for currency reform.

Just what this plan is no one seems to know, but as to how it would work out there can be no doubt.

It will be remembered that Aldrich was one of the authors of tariff schedule "K," which has the magical effect of making raw wool higher and woolen clothes cheaper.

It is very hard to explain this wonderful plan to men who do not possess a thorough knowledge of the banking business.

But we are told that the plan provides for "co-operation rather than concentration or centralization and for co-operation, of course, by means of an organization."

This would result in Mr. Morgan taking over the United States Treasury and the entire money-issuing power of the government.

This plan would spare the government the expense of paying clerks and bookkeepers and also the responsibility of keeping the money in the public treasury.

We also know that Mr. Morgan is a thorough financier, and, of course, everyone would regard it a great favor if he would save our government this needless expense.

President Schurman of the association pronounced our national currency system "the worst in the world."

Whether this is true or not, we have no doubt that if it is left up to the bankers they will be able to make some improvements. For, according to the present plan, a workingman is able to occasionally get hold of a dollar or two, and as long as such conditions exist there will be room for improvements.

If the bankers want a currency privilege, the proper thing to do is to give it to them, because if we don't they will be forced to the unpleasant task of having to take it.

Whatever they say we are sure will be all right. We could have no cause to doubt them, for no one would accuse them of giving us a prejudiced opinion.

## THE BOY SCOUTS.

To the mind of the average newspaper reader the avowed aim of the Boy Scouts is to teach boys woodcraft and the value of organized effort, while the real aim, in spite of all indignant denial, is to accustom boys to act together at word of command, like soldiers, in order to fit them later on to fight foreign peoples whenever they refuse to buy things from our business men, and to fight our domestic workmen whenever they become too impudent.

None, however, can demonstrate the workings of another man's mind. Criticism, therefore, can be directed only to the avowed purpose of this boys' organization.

Woodcraft is, indeed, very pretty to contemplate, and to play with; but the knowledge to build a fire in a snowstorm is about as useful to the great mass of city boys as the knowledge of Sanscrit. The eye, certainly, should be taught to see, the ear to hear, the brain to think and the hand to do something useful. Straight thinking, however, is best taught in the class room, accurate perception by nature-study either in school or in the open, but without military frills and drills. Manual dexterity is best acquired in the kindergarten and in the school shops; recreation is best provided on public playgrounds. There is no need here for boyscouting.

So, also, is the teaching of organized effort for a common purpose done better in a construction camp than in a military camp, because the production and conduction of something useful is vastly more ennobling than the training for a record in the killing of men—for war.

Compulsory military service, though in its final consideration indefensible, serves one grand useful purpose besides its ultimate one—it teaches discipline. It brings each individual on in life to his true level; it teaches him order, cleanliness and the intelligent co-operation of various groupings of units for a common purpose. Compulsory industrial service would afford the same advantages as the other, without its drawbacks. Enroll every male youth for one year in a great industrial army, where rich and poor work hand in hand. Put the young recruit to pushing a wheelbarrow for a day's work; if he cannot do this, make him feed a machine in some factory; if he is too feeble for this, have him wash dishes and peel potatoes in the kitchen, though this, mayhap, places Mama's Reggie boy under the orders of her butler's son. There is nothing degrading in such service, if it is a public service and not done for the personal benefit of idle individuals.

This proposition is evidently at present without practical value. Nevertheless, its mere consideration may help to show the folly of boyscouting and to render it unpopular. It may also help to break down class barriers and to pave the way for a true industrial democracy.

JOHN Q. ADAMS.

St. Louis, Mo.

## ARE YOU A SHAREHOLDER

IN THE  
LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY?

Comrades:

The LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY is now nearing the close of its second year. Its organization was decided upon when the existence of the St. Louis Socialist and labor press, ST. LOUIS LABOR and the ARBEITER ZEITUNG, was threatened by the Manufacturers Association and its chief lieutenants, Van Cleave and Post, who had induced this publishing firm to refuse service. What has been accomplished during this time speaks for itself. The record is one of which every comrade and every shareholder may well feel proud. How loyally the comrades and many labor organizations took up the gauntlet, subscribed for stock and within a few months laid the foundation for the present printing plant of the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY is known to all readers of ST. LOUIS LABOR of that time. Three thousand shares of the stock, at par value of five dollars, were issued. Of these about 2400 shares have been sold, leaving 600 shares still in the treasury.

## Expansion for 1912.

While great things have been accomplished in the short time of its organization, the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY will be called upon to perform much greater service to the Socialist and Union movement in the presidential campaign year of 1912. A number of improvements must be made and some new machinery installed to improve the efficiency of the plant. Foremost is the need of a large automatic power paper cutter, to take the place of the small cutter which came with the job printing plant purchased from Mr. Morlang, and which is entirely too small for cutting newspaper sheets. The lack of a large cutter entails much loss of time and extra cutting charges. A cutter of the best make and adequate size will cost nearly \$900.00, with installation and motor. We hope also to be able to give you the details in next week's ST. LOUIS LABOR of an addition to the publications issued by the LABOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, which will reach out far beyond the present sphere of influence of our press and make possible a far-reaching cam-

FOR

FINE  
JOB WORK

GO TO

CO-OPERATIVE  
Printery  
966 Chouteau Avenue

paign of education and organization during 1912. The carrying out of these plans successfully requires that the shares of stock still on hand be subscribed for by the comrades and loyal friends of this undertaking. Many comrades who were unable to do so at the time of the organization of the Publishing Company are now probably in a position to do so, and others who subscribed may be able to increase their shares. Number 531 is the number of the last stock certificate issued, which includes cancelled and transferred shares, and shows that less than 500 individuals and organizations have contributed to the capital of the company.

You are now extended an invitation to join in the building up of a publishing institution which must be made a mighty weapon in the struggle of the working class for its emancipation. Join the builders of the coming daily with its powerful influence at all times on the side of the tolling millions. The present issue of stock will in all likelihood be the first and the last offered. As stated, only 600 shares remain now for subscription.

Beginning with the next issue of ST. LOUIS LABOR the names of the subscribers for these shares will be published weekly, and by the time of the annual meeting of shareholders in January the remaining shares should be taken up. Add your name to the list at once by sending one dollar for every share you wish to subscribe for and remit the remainder within ninety days to the management of the

LABOR PUBLISHING CO.,  
966 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

## Maack's Academy.

Draftsmen's, builders' and mechanics' courses; day or evenings; diplomas issued. Saturdays for children; drawing, German, arithmetic. Maack's Technical Academy,  
1742 Chouteau Ave.

## OFFICE HOURS SUNDAYS.

For the purpose of giving information to inquirers on naturalization laws and regulations, Socialist Party, trade unions, literature of the Socialist and labor movement, etc., the business office will be open every Sunday morning from 8:30 to 11 o'clock. On the first, third and fifth Sundays Comrade Eckert will be present and on the second and fourth Sundays Comrade Hildebrand will be at the office to meet callers.

## ARE YOU PAYING \$10 MONTHLY RENT?

We want the address of everybody who is now paying a monthly rent of \$10, total \$120 a year; don't you know that this represents an accumulation of \$1200 capital within 10 years that you are now paying into the coffers of the landlord? Upon receipt of your address we will show you that we can sell you a house of 4 rooms and you will pay it with your present rent money within less than 10 years. Are you interested? A postal with your address will cost you 1 cent. Is it worth while to spend it to get this information? Drop postal to-day to  
TOMBRIDGE AGENCY,  
324 Chestnut street.

## FOR SALE.

An Opportunity for Unions. A choice piece of property, with 12-room house and a 2-story brick stable; lot 115x276. Street and sidewalk made. Located at 4421 South Broadway.

Buy direct from owner at a bargain. (569)

Fine  
SHOES  
UNION MADE.

Frank Siedhoff,  
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Hats, Nightshirts, Shirts, Shoes  
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FREE LUNCH ALL DAY...  
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110 Nord Broadway...110  
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# SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS

## MEETING DIRECTORY.

General Committee—Second and fourth Monday, Labor Hall, 966 Chouteau ave. W. M. Brandt, Sec.

Ward 1—1st and 3d Tuesday, 5018 Florissant. G. A. Diers, Sec.

Ward 2—3d and 4th Thursday, Blair and Salisbury. A. Rosenkrans, Sec.

Ward 3—2d Tuesday, 1515 Warren. W. E. Kindorf, Sec.

Ward 4—2d and 4th Wednesday, 966 Chouteau. A. Michler, Sec.

Ward 5—Last Wednesday, Souldard Library, 7th and Souldard. Wm. Burger, Sec.

Ward 6—3d and 4th Thursday, Ninth and Lamt. E. J. Mueller, Sec.

Ward 7—2d and 4th Thursday, S. W. Turner Hall, Ohio and Potomac. A. Dambacher, Sec.

Ward 8—3rd Thursday, Chippewa Hall, Oregon and Chippewa. Frank Str. Sec.

Ward 9—(East)—3rd Monday, 6201 Michigan. Robt. Poenack, Sec.

Ward 10—(West)—1st and 3d Friday, 7262 Gravois. Robt. Haul, Jr., Sec.

Ward 11—(South)—2d and 4th Thurs-

## TENTH WARD BRANCH SOCIALIST LECTURES.

The Tenth Ward Branch will begin a series of monthly lectures, to continue throughout the winter. The first lecture will be held Thursday evening, December 28, 8 p. m., at the South West Turner Hall, Ohio avenue and Potomac street. Comrade George Safford will be the speaker of the evening.

Admission will be free. Everybody invited.

## NEXT GENERAL COMMITTEE MEETING, TUESDAY, DEC. 26.

The next meeting of the General Committee will be held Tuesday evening, December 26, at 966 Chouteau avenue. This change was made at the last meeting of the committee on account of the regular meeting night falling on Christmas. The delegates should bear this in mind and be sure to attend, as considerable business will have to be transacted.

## ATTEND THE TWELFTH WARD FESTIVAL!

The Twelfth Ward Branch (West) will give their annual prize mask ball at the Concordia Turner Hall, Thirtieth and Arsenal streets, this Saturday evening, December 23. Tickets, 25 cents a person. Everybody welcome. The Young People's Socialist League have joined hands with the Twelfth Warders in this affair and all indications point to a rousing big time for all who attend.

The net proceeds of the dance will be used to establish a library, giving the members a full opportunity to read some of the latest and best books on Socialism and the labor movement.

## ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN FUND.

Emil Wehnacht	\$.50
Frank Gerber	\$.50
Jul. Meyeranowitz	\$.50
Anton Mauer list:	
Joseph Oswald	\$.50
Sebastian Huk	\$.25
Frank Flaish	\$.25
Robert Haas	\$.25
John Kuns	\$.25
Jos. Wagner	\$.50
Ambros Roth	\$.50
Henry Reikel	\$.25
Anton Mauer	\$.50
A Friend	\$.50
F. X. Eckel	\$.50
R. M. list:	
George Hertel	\$.50
R. M.	1.00
Martin Stamm	\$.50
Frank Huber	\$.50
W. B. Wisely	\$.50
Walter H. Wisely	\$.50
H. Zimmermann	\$.20
Frank Sedenka	\$.25
Henry Struckhoff	1.00
Adam Graef	\$.25
Fred Schreck	\$.25
G. A. Diers list:	
Cash	\$.50
A. Haines	\$.25
George Kuebler list:	
George Kuebler	\$.50
Mrs. George Kuebler	\$.25
George Kuebler, Jr.	\$.25
Previously reported	\$15.60
Total to December 19	\$828.55

## TWENTY-SEVENTH WARD SOCIALISTS MEET.

The two branches of the Twenty-seventh Ward held their regular semi-annual joint meeting Wednesday evening, December 13. Comrades Prendergast, Brockelman and Hirschenhofer were elected delegates to represent the ward in the General Committee.

In Precincts 1, 2 and 3 of this ward there were 491 Socialist votes cast at the November 10 election. The meeting decided to thoroughly canvass in this district (which is known as the Walnut Park district) for new subscribers to our papers, ST. LOUIS LABOR and Arbeiter-Zeitung; also to strengthen the ward organization, realizing that if this is done this ward will continue to remain one of the Socialist strongholds. It was decided that their annual entertainment and dance will be held Saturday evening, January 27, 1912, at Marx's Hall, Florissant and Robin avenues. Admission, 10 cents a person.

day, 4725 Varrelman. L. Schwarze, Sec.

Ward 13 (East)—2d and 4th Wednesday, 2847 S. Compton. O. Zuefle, Sec.

Ward 14—1st and 3d Monday, 2623 Lemp. Emil Simon, Sec.

Ward 15—1st and 3d Friday, 2632 Caroline. Wm. F. Crouch, Sec.

Ward 17—1st and 3d Tuesday, 2816 Delmar. H. L. Hunter, Sec.

Ward 18—1st and 3d Wednesday, 1812 N. Twenty-third. F. Nelson, Sec.

Wards 19 and 20—1st and 3d Monday, 2500 N. Grand. F. A. Messenger, Sec.

Ward 21—1st and 3d Thursday, Freiheit Hall, 4444 Penrose. C. Metz, Sec.

Ward 22—Last Wednesday, 4286 Easton. J. A. Kenney, Sec.

Ward 24—1st Friday, N. E. cor. Vandeventer and Kingshighway. A. Stepmann, Sec.

Ward 27 (South)—1st Wednesday, Lazar's Hall, Union and Easton. T. Prendergast, Sec.

Ward 27—(North)—2d and 4th Wednesday, 2601 Thrush. Chas. Brockelman, Sec.

Bohemian—3d Sunday, 3 p. m., National Hall, Dolman & Allen. H. Siroky, Sec.

Jewish—Every Friday, 1530 Wash. Leo Weinstein, Sec.

Letish—1st Saturday, 8 p. m., 1700 S. Seventh. Albert Klaus, Sec.

## Plaster Frauds Are Admitted

### UNION PROVES CHARGES AFTER LENGTHY TRIAL.

#### Municipal Courts' Contractor Fined for Using Inferior Material.

#### B. P. I. WAS COMPELLED TO ACT.

The charges made by Plasterers' Union No. 3 in regard to plaster frauds in the new Municipal Courts building has been sustained by the Board of Public Improvements, and the contractor has had \$391.40 deducted from his pay.

That plaster of paris at \$9 per ton had been substituted for Keene's cement at \$18 per ton was the charge made by the union. This was vehemently denied by President Reber of the B. P. I., and he threatened to make it hot for those who dared to suggest that anything was wrong with the plaster work.

An investigation was had and the use of fraudulent material fully proven. The board then decided that the C. L. Gray Construction Co., who had sub-let the plastering, must pay the difference in cost of material. The amount deducted appears to be a mere guess and very inadequate punishment for the admitted substitution.

Many cracks and breaks have already appeared in the plastering on the Municipal Courts and extensive patches have been made. Examination of plaster work in the City Hospital shows it to be in almost perfect condition, and as this job was done by a St. Louis firm union men contend that this is another argument in favor of home talent on all municipal work.

Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR: Enclosed find copy of the Globe-Democrat's ad. page. I have marked a lot of very attractive ads. of Leigh Bros. Employment Agency. It is a fair specimen of what you can find in the Globe-Democrat any day.

One would suppose the agency had these different positions to fill, but the truth is it is only a scheme to get suckers to come and register with them at \$1.00 per. If an applicant goes to them for a certain job as advertised, they tell him, "The place has just been filled, but we have many requests such as that, and if you register we will try to get you a place."

Now I fell certain they have one hundred applicants registered for every or any kind of a position; yet they advertise daily. I venture to say they have ten to twenty thousand names on their books. It is the biggest graft in this city, and they take the money from people that are out of work and need the dollar those leeches get out of them. True, they sometimes land a job for one of their subscribers, in which case the poor devil must pay from 25 to 50 per cent of his first month's wages.

My son once registered with them, and when I found they were grafters I got the dollar back. When I tried to get the police to go after them, the Chief said he was satisfied they were crooked, but that he could not get the evidence.

I asked the advertising manager of the Globe-Democrat why he took such ads. He said he could do nothing unless there were complaints from the Police Department. As long as Leigh Bros. can pay for ads the Globe-Democrat will take them. This and similar "labor agencies" ought to be run out of town.

I noticed the article in ST. LOUIS LABOR on the subject. The law seems plain enough, and I wish you would call the Labor Commissioner's attention to it. It should be easy to get cases on them by simply sending a few applicants to them and then watch the result.

A. LANGSTEAD.  
St. Louis, Mo.

How different all this would be if the city were to go into the bread business in the same way that water is now furnished to every household?

Let us suppose that the city would establish two large bakeries, one south and one north. Each driver would be given a certain district to cover. There would not be five or six drivers delivering at the same place. The present force of bread drivers would be sufficient to cover the city and reduce the hours of work about one-half. In the same way, the bakers could produce all the bread required in about five or six hours' work per day.

It would be a matter of course that a city with sense enough to establish a municipal bakery would also provide union conditions and wages for its employees.

The city would buy to the best advantage and get the benefit of low prices for large quantities. Our bread would not then be like the tasteless, leathery product that is sold in St. Louis now. With the people owning and controlling the bakeshop, there would be no incentive to make or sell the worthless, adulterated stuff called bread to-day.

This is true of bread, and it is true of every necessity of life. Instead of going back to competition, as Fatty Taft proposes, we must go forward to co-operation. If we can print postage stamps and sell them to all for the same price, why can we not bake bread, make shoes and deliver milk in the same way?

## LABOR AGENCY TRICKS.

Editor ST. LOUIS LABOR: Enclosed find copy of the Globe-Democrat's ad. page. I have marked a lot of very attractive ads. of Leigh Bros. Employment Agency. It is a fair specimen of what you can find in the Globe-Democrat any day.

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A. LANGSTEAD.  
St. Louis, Mo.

## THE GREAT RAILROAD STRIKE ON HARRIMAN LINES.

Washington, Dec. 16.—From every quarter comes favorable reports of the great strike on the Harriman lines and Illinois Central. While it is impossible to give in detail the exact situation, yet, from all informa-

tion at hand, the position which the strikers hold is exceedingly good. J. W. Kline, president of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, in nominal charge of the strike, says: "The strike on the Harriman lines and Illinois Central goes on; the prospects look much brighter for the men every day. Dead engines and bad order cars fill the sidings and clog the yards. There is no doubt about our final victory."

## Our Daily Bread.

BY OTTO PAULS.

Nearly every grocer in St. Louis is compelled to handle from three to six different kinds of bread.

Let us take a grocer that has five different bakeries delivering bread to him. Each bakery puts a box in front of his place, and every day in the year five bakery wagon drivers reach there at various hours in the early morning and leave bread. In nearly every case each driver must take back some stale bread. Men in the business say that the bread returned is frequently one-third or one-half of the amount delivered. This means that an immense amount of bread is wasted.

There are about a dozen large bakeries in St. Louis, each one delivering all over the city and competing as hard as they can. Each one has a force of drivers that work long hours for small pay. Each one has enormous quantities of bread that goes to waste. Each bakery duplicates the plant and work of every other bakery in the city. None of them co-operate with each other, except to keep down the wages of their employees.

The result of this competition in the bread business is that we have dear bread and poor bread and the employees work long, disagreeable hours and are poorly paid. All the cost of useless bread boxes, of extra horses and wagons, of stale bread, of five deliveries instead of one, is added to the cost of bread or taken out of the wages of the employees. Such is the insanity of competition.

### A Municipal Bakery.

How different all this would be if the city were to go into the bread business in the same way that water is now furnished to every household?

Let us suppose that the city would establish two large bakeries, one south and one north. Each driver would be given a certain district to cover. There would not be five or six drivers delivering at the same place. The present force of bread drivers would be sufficient to cover the city and reduce the hours of work about one-half. In the same way, the bakers could produce all the bread required in about five or six hours' work per day.

It would be a matter of course that a city with sense enough to establish a municipal bakery would also provide union conditions and wages for its employees.

The city would buy to the best advantage and get the benefit of low prices for large quantities. Our bread would not then be like the tasteless, leathery product that is sold in St. Louis now. With the people owning and controlling the bakeshop, there would be no incentive to make or sell the worthless, adulterated stuff called bread to-day.

This is true of bread, and it is true of every necessity of life. Instead of going back to competition, as Fatty Taft proposes, we must go forward to co-operation. If we can print postage stamps and sell them to all for the same price, why can we not bake bread, make shoes and deliver milk in the same way?

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# Missouri Notes

## W. A. WARD ELECTED STATE SECRETARY.

Advance reports indicate that Comrade W. A. Ward has been elected state secretary for the year 1912. This will have the effect of bringing the state headquarters to St. Louis once more.

Ward is secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship and has traveled very extensively for that organization, both in Missouri and elsewhere. This change in the state headquarters will likely be for the better—it could hardly be for worse.

## MISSOURI LYCEUM LECTURES.

The national office has issued a list of the Lyceum dates of the various circuits, and it appears that only two Missouri locals have contracted for the lectures, and they are Flat River and Hannibal.

This is a good thing which Missouri seems to have missed almost entirely. It is difficult to think of propaganda that would have been cheaper and more effective than the Lyceum course. It is deplorable that this matter was not properly put before the locals, so that we could have had the benefit of five lecturers covering the state before spring. It would have been an excellent starter for the campaign of 1912.

## WHAT WE CAN EXPECT.

The presidential campaign of 1912 will develop some new features for Missouri Socialists. Heretofore the enemy has treated us with ridicule, a reiteration of the stock objections, or by ignoring the movement altogether.

That day is past. From now on we can expect the bitter hatred and venomous opposition of both the old parties. They feel their power slipping away and will stop at nothing in their warfare on the Socialist Party.

In St. Louis the Socialist gains come mainly from the Republican wards and shatter that party's hopes of again carrying the state. In the country districts that are usually strongly Bourbon, the Democrats will be the losers. Neither of the old parties can tell which will get hit the hardest by the steady and continuous gains of the Socialist Party.

Hence their mutual dislike and frantic denunciation.

It is a matter of indifference to us where our votes come from. We are solely interested in making the vote as large as possible. Meanwhile, look out for some fancy brands of campaign lies and political stiletto work. The Globe-Democrat and Republic of St. Louis are already issuing samples of what they can do in that line.

"Lay on, MacDuff, and damned be he who first cries, 'Hold! Enough!'"

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make it their special business to demand the Label on all Goods possible; ask for it.

Their new store is on **Lemp Avenue and Arsenal.** Pants, Shirts, Hats and Caps, Underwear, Overalls, Suspenders, Neckwear, Hosiery.

## Notice to Tax Payers!

Collectors Office City Hall.

The month of December will be the last month in which Taxes for the current year, 1911, can be paid without penalties.

Would advise those who have not paid, but desire to do so, and be promptly waited on, not to wait until the last few days, when the office is crowded.

Statements will be furnished if request is accompanied by postage.

Edmond Koeln, Collector of the Revenue.

## You are invited to attend the COMPLIMENTARY Grand Reunion Ball

GIVEN BY THE

## Ladies Garment Workers Local No. 67

AT Aschenbroedel Hall, 3535 Pine St. Saturday Eve., December 23.

## First Annual Prize Masquerade Ball

GIVEN BY

## 12th Ward Socialist Club

(WEST BRANCH)

at the Concordia Turner Hall, 13th & Arsenal Sts. SATURDAY EVE., DECEMBER 23, '11

Tickets 25c. For the Purpose of Establishing a Library and the Young People's Socialist League School.



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