

Complete

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

ST. LOUIS LABOR

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

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

THE FEARLESS CHAMPION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

OFFICE: 966 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

ST. LOUIS, MO., JANUARY 7, 1911.

PHONES: Kinloch, Central 1577; Bell, Olive 4198.

No. 518

St. Louis Socialist Party Ready for Municipal Campaign.

That St. Louis Socialists are certain that the charter will be defeated is apparent from the action taken in the City Convention, which nominated a ticket for the spring election and adopted a platform on December 30th.

A strong resolution against the charter, expressing the belief that the voters would defeat the same, was adopted, after which the meeting proceeded to nominate a full ticket, including candidates for the House of Delegates, thereby voicing the firm conviction that the spring election will take place under the old charter.

The membership attended in full force and the meeting was harmonious and enthusiastic throughout. Comrade Workman presided as chairman. The Committee on Platform and resolutions, consisting of Kloth, Brandt, Pope, Hoehn and Mason, retired to prepare a report, while the meeting proceeded to elect local officers for the ensuing year.

Otto Pauls was re-elected as Secretary-Treasurer. Otto Kaemmerer was then selected as Assistant Secretary, in preparation for the extra work that the two pending elections will cause.

Socialist Party Ticket for the April Elections.

- The recommendations of the Committee on Nominations were taken up seriatim and the following candidates were decided upon:
- House of Delegates.**
- Ward 1—Everett Ely.
 - Ward 2—H. F. Rosenkranz.
 - Ward 2—L. M. Rosenkranz.
 - Ward 4—John Muraski.
 - Ward 5—M. Finkelshtein.
 - Ward 6—T. C. Stephens.
 - Ward 7—Chris Rocker.
 - Ward 8—W. H. Kaufman.
 - Ward 9—Peter Ehrhard.
 - Ward 10—W. M. Brandt.
 - Ward 11—Edw. Ottesky.
 - Ward 12—W. M. Holman.
 - Ward 13—Fred Berkel.
 - Ward 14—C. Bolling.
 - Ward 15—W. F. Crouch.
 - Ward 16—Samuel Resh.
 - Ward 17—Mark Stanley.
 - Ward 18—P. H. Mueller.
 - Ward 19—F. J. Heuer.
 - Ward 20—L. E. Hildebrand.
 - Ward 21—Louis Krueger.
 - Ward 22—H. A. Spradling.
 - Ward 23—Henry Siroky.
 - Ward 24—L. H. Schwarz.
 - Ward 26—Edw. Kummings.
 - Ward 27—Hubert Morrison.

Board of Education.

F. F. Mueller, L. G. Pope, J. A. Weber, W. P. Mason.

City Council.

W. H. Workman, G. A. Hoehn, Max Stopp, Otto Pauls, W. E. Kindorf and Otto Kaemmerer.

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

Adopted December 30, 1910, at New Club Hall Convention.

The Socialist Party of St. Louis, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the Socialist Party of the United States and endorses the National Socialist platform.

The people of this country are gradually awakening and recognizing the fact that too little attention has been paid to the management of the municipal affairs in most of the leading American cities. The great mass of the people themselves are to blame for this general neglect of civic duty and lack of a higher standard of civic pride.

The result of this deplorable state of affairs is general demoralization and political corruption, under the influence and guidance of capitalist corporation interests.

came synonymous with private graft. Under such misgovernment the very foundation of our democratic form of government is bound to suffer severely. The cause of this political bankruptcy is due to the general neglect of duty on the part of the people, who blindly and carelessly entrust the management of their municipal affairs to the mercenary political machines of Capitalism.

True democracy rests on the will and efforts of the people. In view of the fact that the great majority of the people are workingmen, it is necessary that the working class take a more active part in the political struggles, in order to ring about the desired public improvements and ameliorations.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have failed to provide the City of St. Louis with a really progressive municipal administration. Both old parties have become the agencies of the capitalist class and carry on their political work, to the great detriment of the wealth-producers.

Municipal government is instituted for the protection of the people, not for the purpose of becoming the instrument of exploitation of the community by capitalist cliques and corporation interests.

The Socialist Party, while realizing that Socialism in its final effects will benefit all the people, insists that no political party can represent the interests of all the people under the present capitalist conditions. The Socialist Party takes pride in announcing that its supreme efforts are to defend and represent the interests of the working class.

It is with this clear conception of our political mission that we enter this municipal campaign to bring about the reforms and improvements in the management of the public affairs of St. Louis, as outlined in our Municipal program, and to strengthen the political organization of the working class, with a view of increasing the power and influence of the wealth producers, so necessary in the great struggle for the emancipation of labor from the bonds of wage slavery.

Program.

1. Home rule for St. Louis.
2. The city to own and operate the entire street railway system.
3. While the street railway system is still under private ownership and management, we insist that the following rules be enforced:
 - (a) No seat, no fare.
 - (b) All cars to be kept in sanitary condition, well heated and ventilated.
 - (c) Eight hours to constitute a day's work for all street railway employees.
 - (d) No discrimination on account of union.
4. Municipal ownership of gas and electric light and power plant and other public utilities.
5. Public toilet and comfort stations in all parts of the city.
6. Extension of the public bath house system.
7. Rigid pure food inspection.
8. All grade crossings to be abolished, at the cost of the railroads.
9. Extension of the system of small parks and playgrounds in the residence districts.
10. A warm meal to be served for children at public schools during the noon recess.
11. Municipal lodging stations for the unemployed and homeless.
12. Municipal ice plant in connection with city water works.
13. Public employment bureaus; private employment agencies to be abolished.
14. All children in public schools to receive free medical attention.
15. A municipal loan office; private pawn shops to be abolished.
16. Free legal advice and service in suits for wages and against mortgage, garnishment and loan sharks.
17. City forestry department to have sole charge of planting and caring for shade trees along residence streets.
18. Residence building permits to be granted only on condition that dwellings be provided with modern bath and toilet facilities.
19. The contract system in all public work to be abolished; eight-hour workday under union conditions, and civil service for all municipal employees.
20. In order to relieve the serious condition of the thousands of unemployed wage-workers, we urge the inauguration of public works, thus enabling them to properly sustain themselves and those dependent upon them without the bitter crusts falling from the tables of charity.
21. No more franchises to be granted, sold or leased to private individuals or corporations.
22. The establishment of public markets in the residence districts, where the farmers can sell their

SOCIALISTS, TRADE UNIONISTS, CITIZENS!

Your Help and Co-Operation is Needed to Defeat the Dangerous New City Charter.

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

The attempt to force the proposed new City Charter on St. Louis means a desperate attempt to disfranchise the working class of this city.

It is an attempt to kill our democratic form of municipal government.

It is an attempt to deliver the entire city government absolutely into the hands of the Big Cinch, the North American and other capitalist corporation interests.

On January 31 the special Charter election will take place. Within three weeks an energetic campaign must be fought. To the front, comrades!

Your help is needed. Meetings must be visited. Literature must be distributed at meetings of unions, societies, lodges, etc., every evening.

Call at headquarters, 966 Chouteau avenue, for further information and instruction.

Let your watchword be:

"THE PROPOSED NEW CITY CHARTER MUST BE DEFEATED!"

products direct to the consumers. In this connection, we recommend the Baltimore system of public market houses.

23. The abatement of the smoke nuisance; the railroads to be compelled to substitute electric motive power for coal-burning engines in the city.

Resolution Against the Proposed City Charter.

WHEREAS, The new City Charter submitted by the Board of Freeholders, and to be voted on at the special election on January 31, 1911, does not contain any of the fundamental measures advocated by the Socialist Party for the interest of the working class;

WHEREAS, The adoption of the new Charter on January 31 would mean the abolition of the democratic system of government and the establishment of an oligarchy under the control of capitalist corporation interests; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Socialist Party congratulates the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis for its determined and vigorous opposition to the new Charter as fixed up by the Board of Freeholders;

RESOLVED, That this convention calls upon all the members and friends of the Socialist movement in the city of St. Louis to work and vote against this new Charter and bring about its defeat on January 31.

Nominate a Full Ticket for House of Delegates.

The following resolution was adopted by unanimous vote:

"WHEREAS, This convention of the Socialist Party is firmly convinced that the citizens and voters of St. Louis will not endorse the corporation-made Charter of the Board of Freeholders by their votes at the special election on January 31;

"WHEREAS, The defeat of the new Charter will mean the retaining of our present system of municipal government by the will of the people, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, nominate a full ticket for the municipal elections in April, 1911, under the old Charter, including candidates for the House of Delegates."

Municipal Lighting Plant and Water Works Railway.

Within the last few months attempts were repeated to abolish the municipal light and power plants in the City Hall and other public buildings; also to sell or lease the Municipal Water Works Electric Railway line to the Chain of Rocks.

These attacks on the municipal enterprises come from the same private corporation, namely, the North American Company, with its subsid-

Author of "Men and Mules" in St. Louis.

Comrade W. F. Ries of Toledo, Ohio, the author of "Men and Mules," "Monkeys and Monkeyettes" and other Socialist propaganda pamphlets, spent a half-hour at our headquarters, 966 Chouteau avenue, last Monday morning. Comrade Ries is a man of action. This we could see at the first glance and feel with the first handshake. Some day in the near future we have the pleasure of having Comrade Ries as speaker at one or two public meetings in St. Louis. He is now in Girard, Kansas, to assist Fred D. Warren during his "vacation work."

"Wisconsin Governor" in St. Louis.

Comrade Jacobs of Milwaukee, candidate for Governor of Wisconsin at the last election, paid a very pleasant visit to our Socialist Party headquarters in St. Louis. Jacobs is no stranger to the St. Louis comrades, having been active here as an agitator years ago. He is full of hope for the Socialist movement. He was rather amused to see the St. Louis movement "disfranchised," but was by no means afraid to greet his old comrades as heartily as ever before. Some day in the not very remote future Comrade Jacobs may deliver a series of lectures in St. Louis.

whose interests are the main factors in checking and preventing the completion of this free municipal bridge.

Resolved, That we condemn the Democratic and Republican parties for permitting their leading representatives thus to work against the best interests of the people of St. Louis, and we ask the voters to rebuke this dereliction of public duty in the only way possible—by voting the Socialist Party ticket.

Outer Boulevard System or Better Sewer System?

While at the last election the West End aristocrats and interested real estate speculators made desperate efforts to have the city spend millions of dollars for a so-called outer park and boulevard system, we find that in the outskirts of the city, where thousands of workingmen have bought lots and built little homes, there is a general lack of sanitary drainage and sewer system. There the most unsanitary conditions exist and all kinds of diseases are the result. Without sewers, without streets and sidewalks made, these people are compelled to live in those districts, and their children must wade in mud on the way to and from school. The Socialist Party insists that these districts be provided with a sanitary sewerage system and such other improvements as will make the districts healthy and fit for human habitation.

Resolution on Market and Court House.

Whereas, There is a movement on foot in favor of selling the Union Market and Court House properties to private concerns, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Party Convention emphatically protests against any and all attempts to rob the city of this valuable property.

Resolved, That we favor the improvement of the Union Market, in order that it may serve as a really modern public market place.

Smoke Prevention.

Each year the smoke nuisance becomes more of a danger to the life and health of every citizen. The tremendous volume of smoke that is constantly being emitted causes a suffocating fog of smoke and gas to hang over the city that is detrimental to all that must breathe this poison-laden atmosphere.

The worst offender is the Terminal Railway Association with its many soft coal burning engines in the Mill Creek Valley. This flagrant monopoly makes no effort to abolish the great masses of health-destroying smoke its engines produce. The city smoke inspector is of the usual incompetent spineless variety that is so common among old party politicians, to whom private profits are more sacred than the public welfare.

The Socialist Party favors the exclusion of all coal-burning locomotives within the city limits. All switching and handling of cars to be done by electric or other non-smoke-producing engines. We further demand that comprehensive ordinances be passed and rigidly enforced, so that violations of the smoke ordinances will be far more costly to the offenders than smoke prevention.

THE PEOPLE'S LEAGUE ORGANIZED.

To Fight Proposed New Charter and Bring About Its Defeat on January 31.

STRONG MOVEMENT WILL BE EFFECTIVE.

At a conference of labor organizations and progressive civic societies, held last Monday evening at 3535 Pine street, the movement against the proposed new Charter was organized under the name of THE PEOPLE'S LEAGUE.

The conference was called to hear the report of the temporary Committee on Organization. The report was adopted, and the following officers elected: Dr. William Preston Hill, president; Louis C. Phillippi, who is president of the Central Trades and Labor Union, first vice-president; C. J. Anderson of the South Broadway Merchants' Association, second vice-president; J. P. McDonough of the International Union of Steam Engineers, third vice-president; August G. Nahm, a member of the North St. Louis Business Men's Association, fourth vice-president; Frank H. Gerhart, a director in the Real Estate Exchange, treasurer; George W. Wilson, member of Typographical Union No. 8, secretary; Dr. Hill, chairman of the Finance Committee, with power to select committeemen; G. A. Hoehn, Dr. Hill, Sheridan Webster, William Vincent Byars, Committee on Publicity and Literature; James C. Shanessy, S. L. Moser, M. Stopp, Otto Kaemmerer, P. Coughlin, Committee on Meetings and Speakers; L. G. Pope, Sheridan Webster and Mrs. D. W. Kneffer, Special Press Committee.

The good work is on. No time for lengthy reports! Everybody get busy! Down with the Jephtha Howe-Lehmann charter!

"The Shoulder to the Wheel."

Jere L. Sullivan, general secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, issued a very original New Year's greeting. Under the caption, "Still Believe in Signs?" Jere pictures himself with the shoulder to the wheel. "Boost, Brothers, Boost—Hunks Handle Hammers," he sends the greeting: "With our Shoulder to the Wheel we wish you a Happy and Prosperous New Year, 1911."

Jere would make a fine ad. writer for an automobile factory.

Debs on Warren

Comrade Eugene V. Debs has taken charge of the editorship of the Appeal to Reason. In a personal announcement he says:

"To Our Friends and Comrades:

"Fred D. Warren, having been relieved of his official duties by Judge Pollock, by authority of the power in him vested by the 'rich malefactors,' under whose beneficent rule the Appeal has become the object of special solicitude, I have come to Girard to take his place (not to fill it—he alone can do that). With a very efficient staff of writers and a most faithful corps of workers in every department of the paper, my task will be as easy as it will be agreeable.

"Comrade Warren, it is due him to say, demurs to what is being printed in the Appeal in reference to himself, but as he has been judicially shorn of his editorial authority, it is to be understood that he is in no wise responsible for what now appears in these columns. I shall be wholly to blame for what is printed during the next six months, and I shall be entirely satisfied if at the expiration of that time Warren and I again exchange places.

"Earnestly entreating all our friends to unite with us in the undertaking to hand the Appeal back to Comrade Warren with a million subscribers to hail his return to Girard, I remain

"Faithfully your servant,
"EUGENE V. DEBS."

New Subscriptions

Have been secured by the following comrades and friends:

- J. Reichlin 1
- W. F. Crouch 1
- W. A. Vanderslice 1
- N. Eberhard 1
- A. Ortnr 1
- G. H. Gibson, Eureka Springs, Ark. 3
- Hy. Schwarz 5
- J. J. Leuenberger 1
- G. W. Whitley 1
- Carl Meyer, Baltic, Conn. 1
- Val. Haase 1
- A. A. Hageln, Baltimore, Md. 1
- L. Volkert 1
- J. Meisenbach 1
- O. Kaemmerer 1
- J. W. Link 1
- H. J. Morrison 1
- J. Netrvai 1
- Jno. Peterson 1

The Reign of Terror in Tampa.

A civil war has been raging in the city of Tampa, Fla., for about six months past.

- Not a figurative civil war, but an actual civil war.
- A civil war with all the most aggravated features of such a war.
- A civil war with a reign of terror.
- A civil war with deprivation of the citizens' constitutional rights.
- A civil war with the murder of citizens in the streets.
- A civil war with the hanging of suspects.
- A civil war that has driven many of the inhabitants to flight and exile.

For six months this strike has been raging as the result of a strike of the cigar workers against the cigar capitalists. But the governor of the State of Florida took no notice of this war. And the people of the United States took no notice of this war.

The people of the United States were kept in ignorance of the state of affairs. The daily newspapers, metropolitan and other, their columns filled with all sorts of worthless information, were silent about the civil war in Tampa.

But the governor of the state of Florida, was he silent because he knew nothing of this civil war, or did he keep silence for the reason that in this civil war the capitalists of Tampa had the upper hand of the workers of Tampa?

At last, however, this conspiracy of silence as to the bloody goings on in Tampa has been broken.

It has been broken by the Socialist and Labor press, and by the magnificent solidarity exhibited by the cigar workers throughout the country.

For months past the Call has been publishing news items, contributed articles and speeches exposing the reign of terror in Tampa. The organized cigar workers throughout the country have been taxing themselves for the benefit of their striking brothers in Tampa. And Tampa cigars have been laid under an effective boycott, so that the dominant industry of that city is practically at a standstill.

It is this last fact, above all, that has finally loosened the speech of the authorities in Tampa and in Florida. The most sensitive nerve of the capitalist is his pocket nerve. And the virtual destruction of the leading industry of Tampa has finally compelled the mayor of that city and the governor of the state to attempt to justify themselves, through the medium of the Call, before the forum of public opinion.

Public opinion will give small heed to the words of the mayor of Tampa. His statement abounds with flat denials and charges of falsehood. These denials and charges are themselves transparent falsehoods. For instance, of the charge that the plant officials of the city of Tampa handed over the two workmen prisoners to a small gang of lynchers who hanged them, he says that it is "false from beginning to end." From this one would infer that there was no lynching at all. Further on, however, this precious public official admits the lynching, but says that the prisoners were in charge of county officials, who arrested them "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," and that "the men were never within the limits of the city of Tampa from the time of arrest till the lynching occurred." So while men were lynched, the mayor of Tampa was in no way concerned. Nevertheless, he says still further: "Had I known that it was contemplated, I feel sure that I could have prevented it." But if the lynching occurred "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," how could the mayor of Tampa have prevented it?

But the mayor of Tampa is no other than Donald B. McKay, who, according to general report, was one of the "Citizens' Committee" that, in 1901, kidnaped prominent members of the Cigarmakers' Union and had them transported to the wilds of British Honduras, while other men active in the union were flogged, placed on trains, and taken out of

Tampa. Naturally, it is not safe for union men to walk on the streets of Tampa while Donald B. McKay is mayor.

But now comes the governor of Florida. He starts out, in the usual way, with the assertion that he is a friend of the unions. Let us see how his friendship works out in actual fact.

Friendship No. 1.—"There were charges that men were forced to go to work. These charges were supported by the affidavits of four laborers." But the governor was not convinced. "The testimony in rebuttal showed in each case a different result." And to justify his dismissing the charge, the governor wants us to imagine—"as you can well imagine"—that "a great many men had been forced to quit work by the strikers."

When we are called upon to "imagine" one thing, why may we not also "imagine" that the "rebuttals showing a different result in each case" were also "imaginary"?

Friendship No. 2.—It was claimed that two representative union men had been forced to leave the city—deported. But the governor found that "both men left voluntarily—on account of the fear for their personal safety." And again, to justify this fine "imaginary" conclusion, we are informed that cigar manufacturers had received threatening letters! Pray, let us "imagine" so. But will this help the governor of Florida in justifying his existence?

Friendship No. 3.—Two workmen were arrested and lynched by the swell mob. But "one of them had been tried for murder three times and had always proved an alibi," and "a reputable citizen made oath that the said party had offered to kill any person whom he might wish killed for \$250." Henceforth let us lynch every man whom we cannot hang according to the forms of law, and let us take oath after we have murdered him that he pled the trade of assassin! And what about the other man who was lynched? Is there no "reputable" citizen in Tampa to swear that he was an anarchist and atheist and only got what was coming to him?

Friendship No. 4.—The union hall was smashed up, closed, and the deportations of 1901 by reminding us of the feud that then existed between the two rival cigar makers' unions. But the kidnapers were "reputable" and prominent citizens, not workmen. The governor is decidedly expert in the cuttle-fish act.

Friendship No. 5.—The union hall was smashed up, closed, and the records saved. This is admitted. But Governor Gilchrist tells us that later on the hall was reopened! Sure enough, you can't lynch a hall, as you can a workman, into eternity!

Friendship No. 6.—Three strikers were tried by a jury, found guilty and sentenced. The strikers complain of a prejudiced court and a packed jury. Does the governor know anything about it? He doesn't know and he doesn't care. "As to the merits of this trial I know nothing, and if I did it would not be in my province to criticize one way or the other, either favorably or unfavorably, the actions of the jury and the trial officers."

Governor Gilchrist of Florida! There was once a governor of Illinois, a member of your party. But he was an honest Democrat, not a damned hypocrite. Several men had been lawfully murdered by a prejudicial court and a packed jury, and two men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by the same court and jury. And when this honest Democrat—not a damned hypocrite—became governor of Illinois, he pardoned the two innocent survivors of that horrible conspiracy, and published the facts to the world. That man's name, Governor Gilchrist, is immortalized in history as that of one of the world's great moral heroes, while your name will be disgraced as that of a traitor to his trust, a foul coward who besmirches the name of the helpless dead, and a damned hypocrite who pretends to be fair to Labor while he has sold his soul to Capital!—New York Call.

class interests of this one class, the agitation began that set in motion the machinery of conventions and legislatures that ultimately resulted in the Constitution.

The Liberty of Children

Robert G. Ingersoll.

If women have been slaves, what shall I say of children, of the little children in alleys and subcellars; the little children who turn pale when they hear their father's footsteps; little children who run away when they only hear their names called by the lips of a mother; little children—the children of poverty, the children of crime, the children of brutality, wherever they are—flotsam and jetsam upon the wild, mad sea of life?—my heart goes out to them, one and all.

Children have the same rights that we have, and we ought to treat them as though they were human beings. They should be reared with love, with kindness, with tenderness, and not with brutality.

When your little child tells a lie, do not rush at him as though the world were about to go into bankruptcy. Be honest with him. A tyrant father will have liars for his children; do you know that? A lie is born of tyranny upon the one hand and weakness upon the other, and when you rush at a poor little boy with a club in your hand, of course he lies.

When your child commits a wrong, take it in your arms; let the child know that you really and truly and sincerely love it. Yet some Christians, good Christians, when a child commits a fault, drive it from the door and say: "Never do you darken this house again." Think of that! And then these same people will get down on their knees and ask God to take care of the child that they have driven from home. I will never ask God to take care of my children unless I am doing my level best in that same direction.

But I will tell you what I say to my children: "Go where you will; commit what crime you may; fall to what depth of degradation you may; you can never commit any crime that will shut my door, my arms, or my heart to you. As long as I live you shall have one sincere friend."

Do you know that I have seen some people who acted as though they thought that when the Savior said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, for such is the kingdom of heaven," he had a rawhide under his mantle, and made that remark simply to get the children within striking distance?

I do not believe in the government of the lash. If any one of you ever expects to whip your children again, I want you to have a photograph taken of yourself when you are in the act, with your face red with vulgar anger, and the face of the little child, with eyes swimming in tears and the little chin dimpled with fear.

like a piece of water struck by a sudden cold wind. Have the picture taken. If that little child should die I cannot think of a sweeter way to spend an autumn afternoon than to go out to the cemetery, when the maples are clad in tender gold and little scarlet runners are coming, like poems of regret, from the sad heart of the earth—and sit down upon the grave and look at that photograph, and think of the flesh, now dust, that you beat. I tell you it is wrong; it is no way to raise children! Make our home happy. Be honest with them. Divide fairly with them in everything.

Give them a little liberty and love, and you cannot drive them out of your house. They will want to stay there. Make home pleasant. Let them play any game they wish.

Progress in France

"L'Humanite" recently contained some interesting figures relating to the Socialist Party in France. The figures were given by the party secretary, Dubreuilh, in the course of a report to the National Council on the position of the party.

During the last twelve months this has risen from 57,977 to 68,950; an increase of nearly 11,000 as compared with 2,000 the year previous. In the electoral field the party progress is revealed by the increase of the party vote from 877,999 to 1,106,047; this is an increase of 228,048 votes or an augmentation of 20 per cent at the last general election over the previous one. At the same time the party forces in Parliament were increased from 54 members to 75. At the cantonal elections also the party has achieved a similar measure of success, the party candidates elected being now 149.

Some three years ago, or thereabouts, "L'Humanite," the central organ of the Socialist Party in France, was, we remember, in difficulties, but a strenuous effort was made to pull through the crisis, and the figures recorded by Deubreuilh show that the famous daily journal is now very much alive and flourishing. In Paris alone the average sale during the summer of this year was 41,000, and even during August and September—which are about the worst months in the year for the newspaper press—the circulation never fell below 36,000. In France generally the circulation is steadily rising. Taking this average daily circulation of the journal, we find that during the months of July this was 106,000, and in August from 90,000 to 95,000. During the great railway strike, when special editions were rushed off the press, the figures reached 220,000. At the present moment the daily circulation has reached an average of 115,000. "L'Humanite" being the organ of a militant and growing party, its influence is, of course, much greater than its circulation would imply.

As regards the financial condition of "L'Humanite," it is estimated that the profits for the year will amount to 25,000 francs, or, roughly, \$5000.

The Infallible Constitution.

By Wm. Morris Feigenbaum, A. M.

In a former lecture I spoke of the consummate wisdom in our being bound down by the Constitution of 1787. I made those remarks to undermine the holy reverence in which that instrument is held. I hope I have succeeded so far as to have prepared you for the objective discussion of the Infallible.

In 1774 the conflict with the Mother Country began to come to a head. In September of that year the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. The fruit of that Congress was the Revolution. The delegates presented certain recommendations to the people, and certain dignified petitions to the crown. It is from those acts that the independent existence of the United States really dates. For, by the acts of the Congress, the sovereignty of Parliament was suspended by the sovereignty of a congress of the representatives of the people. That these delegates were elected to protest and not to legislate, is an entirely irrelevant matter. The fact is, that from the moment that the "Association," a sort of an omnibus boycott against all British things, was promulgated, and accepted by the people, that moment the authority of Parliament ceased and another sovereign took its place. I, therefore, contend that the real Declaration of Independence was the series of acts by the First Continental Congress.

Now, that declaration was in exactly the same boat as any revolution—if it succeeds, it is a revolution; if it fails, it is a rebellion. The revolution succeeded. This left the constitution of the country in an anomalous state. It was something like Mohammed's tomb—neither here nor there, suspended in limbo, between heaven and earth. The real constitution of any country is the de facto plan of its government. The colonies were governed by officers under charters, most of which had been granted by the kings of England during the preceding century and a half. That was the de jure situation. But part of that situation was the submission to the laws of England.

This latter feature had been abolished by the action of the Continental Congress. Therefore, "these United Colonies," both were and were not "free and independent States." They were in fact; they were not in theory. When the colonies became conscious of what they had really done—that is, burned the bridges of conciliation behind them—they declared to a

candid world that they were free and independent. All of which is well-known history.

The resolution that started the debate that ultimately led to the great declaration was introduced by Richard Henry Lee, in May, 1776. Part of that resolution requested the newly formed states to overthrow their old forms of government and set up new ones, in accordance with their new status as states. This they all did, with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island. These two states had such excellent charters that they were virtually republics, electing their own governors, and earning thereby the undying hatred of the crown. Their charters served them as state constitutions until 1818 for the former, and 1848 for the latter. The remaining states proceeded to follow the advice of Congress; indeed, some of them had already done so before they were requested.

We now see a peculiar state of affairs; there are thirteen separate states warring on one nation. The name state is a misnomer for what the "Fathers" intended the communities to be. The proper name should have been "Commonwealth." But the word "state" exactly describes what they really were. These states were engaged in a common struggle—that of the war then raging. Therefore, they most naturally gravitated together. And so this was the actual state of affairs in the early years of the Revolution, a number of separate states with an approximately common origin, and with a common purpose for the time being.

In 1777, a committee of Congress reported "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," which finally were adopted in 1781. The reason of this long delay in their passing was the protracted opposition of the state of Maryland. And yet, all the time that the country was without an organic law, it went blithely on, as if nothing were the matter, fighting England as hard as Washington could urge on his old Continentals. The lack of the force of a constitution was not felt. The states went on in their way soberly, tilling the soil and remaining mutually independent; fighting England and remaining united. Just as far as there was a common cause was there union. As for the rest, there were thirteen states, with more or less common origin, and more, rather than less, mutual jealousy.

When the Articles of Confedera-

tion were finally adopted, strange to say, there was very little change in the status of the country. Just as if, in England to-day, where there is no written constitution, a committee of Parliament should undertake to write out these facts—that We, the people of King George, in order to secure more perfect union, promote justice, and so on, do proclaim this constitution. That the king shall confine his functions to setting the fashions and opening horse shows; that the House of Lords shall meet but once in a generation, and confine the rest of their time to hunting and eating. That the House of Commons, elected by the vote of nearly all the people, shall rule the country, and the leader of the dominant party in that house, as elected by the people, shall be the premier and select the cabinet from his party and be the real executive head of the nation. This is the true constitution of Great Britain at this moment, and it would make no difference at all to have it written. It is as different as night is from day from the real fiction of government.

During the Revolution, the committee of Congress drafted a plan of government that was the reflex of actual facts. In essence it was purely provisional. It provided for a working connection of the thirteen states for the war purpose of doing corporeal damage to England.

Shortly after the adoption of the Articles, the war closed. The occasion for their promulgation had passed away forever, but yet they were "perpetual." As a result, the country naturally disintegrated into thirteen parts. During the war there had been two sets of forces, one set working toward cohesion, the other working toward adhesion. At the end of the war cohesive force was removed, and now the petty jealousies and the mutual antipathies and the real differences of interest were the ones that came to the fore. The war was fought and won. Through the astuteness of Franklin we had secured a vast Western Empire. But some of the states were large and some were small. Some of them bordered on the sea. The men of the backwoods wanted free navigation of the Mississippi, and the men of the seaboard did not care a rap for that great commercial asset, as it did not touch their pockets. New York and Philadelphia were great seaports, as were Providence and Newport. Each city and state levied its own import duties on the great and growing trade that began to pour into this country. But as the foreign shippers counted up the cost of paying duty at port after port for the state revenues only, they began to

pause before they traded any more with this nation.

There was no federal tax. When, in their infinite wisdom, it occurred to the great minds in Congress that it would be an excellent idea to have some money to pay for the starving army, or for the interest on the nation debt, or for some other of the trivial incidents of running a nation, they figured out how much they needed, and then they figured out how much each state ought to pay, on the basis of wealth or the size of the states. And the states paid—if it pleased them. The Journal of the Continental Congress looks like a ledger book, it is so full of financial calculations.

These were some of the difficulties that the infant states had to contend with. And these were complicated by the Northwest Territory. What to do with it was a problem that was to be solved by a strong central nation, and not a conglomeration of little statelets like these.

In a word, the fears of some and the hopes of others had about come to pass. The country was drifting to ruin and the colors of the United States were dishonored and ridiculed everywhere.

The merchant marine of the country was the agency for the displaying of that flag on all the seven seas. There was no capitalist class. The class that at that time occupied that position that is held by the capitalist class to-day was the merchant class. The industrial revolution had not set in, but the world was becoming an economic unit as far as trade was concerned. In the colonial days the best ships on the seas were made by the men of Massachusetts, and the best sailors, even at that time (1787), were the men of Marblehead and of Salem. And the plutocrats at the time were the men who profited by the great trade. Indeed, it was the trade that had caused the Revolution. The commercial restrictions of England made it unlawful for Americans to engage in any trade at all. But on account of the laxness of enforcement, many men became wealthy through smuggling. Sam Adams and John Hancock were smugglers. And it was when England was able to enforce these laws that the enraged Massachusetts men stirred up the strife that ended in the war.

This class of men was able to see the interests of the whole country, while the rest of the people could think in terms of their own state only. They could see that this inchoate system of affairs was ruining the trade of the country, and the trade of the country was where they came in, too. As a result, then, of the

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You, Up There!

There are fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, out of work. That means cold, hunger, nakedness.

The babies, down here, are crying for milk, for food. Many cry in vain. They are dying.

Do you know that—you, up there? Do you know that there are babies down here? You must have forgotten it, or you would come to their rescue. You don't want mothers to go hungry. You don't want babies to starve. But you are letting them starve. Because you are far away and have forgotten.

The babies did not strike. Their fathers and mothers struck, not because they do not love their babies, but because they wanted to save their babies. They starved before the strike. The sweatshops of Chicago and New York starve babies. They push them into their graves.

You stand by listlessly—because you don't know.

You say: "It is not my business." It is your business. If it is not your business, whose business is it? It is your business and mine—everybody's business.

The men who own the shops say it's not their business. They pay wages—wages that starve, wages that freeze—wages that open the red-light den—wages that stunt—wages that kill the soul and wreck the body.

Then they say: "We have done our part."

Perhaps you think they have. Perhaps you think God wants these babies to starve. Perhaps you think of your own children. They must be fed. Perhaps you think the money to your credit is your money—your mills—your railroads—your bonds—your stocks—your palaces. You think—think.

Stop thinking. You think too much. Think how to get and keep. Think of your pleasures, your parties, your swell affairs, your Christmas dinner—your receptions. You think you are on top—on top of somebody. You are on top—you, up there. You are standing on a human heart.

Stop thinking. Feel! Give your heart a chance. Your heart knows

the mother cry. It knows the moan of the hungry little one. The cold, long nights, the dreary days. No work. No pay. No food. No sunshine.

Follow your heart. It will lead you right. It will bring you to your sisters and your brothers—to yourself. You are not yourself up there alone. Down here is your place. Not to stay down here, but to rise with your brothers and your sisters.

Down here the compact of comrades is made. Here it is sealed with tears—tears of joy. Your tears—my tears. Tears of redemption. Tears of a new birth. Tears of brotherhood, from whose fertile moisture shall grow the tree of freedom.

You are alone up there. Always alone—no matter how many there are.

Each one is alone—afraid—ashamed—bitter. That is because you think without your heart—because you are cut off from your brothers.

This strike is a revelation. Here in the mud of poverty lies buried heart-gold, loyalty, devotion, brother love, father love, mother love. This underworld—boisterous, sullen, turbulent, hopeful, despairing—pouring forth upon the streets; parading, fighting, picketing, shouting, moaning, crying, cursing in many languages—is elemental. Here are the primal qualities, you, up there, have lost. Your heart is cold and barren. Come down here and help. Help now. Help with money—with voice—with pen. Go to your masters. Tell them they must let us live—must not rob us of our manhood, our womanhood, our lives.

Thunder it into the ears of the people that something is wrong—that the wrong must be righted.

We work, but we starve. We strike and we starve. We starve in America—the land of plenty—the land of freedom. We starve under the star-spangled banner. Do you hear? We starve because you are unjust—you, up there. Not God—not nature. You—you, up there—are unjust.

Come down and we will compact an agreement of eternal brotherhood. Then no one will starve or be cold.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

lecting to train the boys in those duties and privileges? If not, then the question at once resolves itself into one of "how." If the message needs to be delivered to the male section of humanity, how best can it be done?

It is all very well, so far as it goes, to invite the fathers to the exhibition of the Child Welfare Association and other such meetings heretofore confined to the mothers. Some few of the leisure-class men may drift in and these should be patted on the back and encouraged in every possible way, not antagonized by hard raps about a degenerate fatherhood or wounded by ironical banter and negative criticism. The average paternalist has been brought up on the traditional pay of masculine superiority and male absolutism to such an extent that he doesn't take kindly to all this talk about the "rights of the child" and the chances are ten to one that he will not attend your child welfare meetings even when he is invited. Immersed in business or ground down to the limit in some treadmill of a job in the effort to grab the means of existence or of social show, this average man cannot be expected to overcome the selfish habits and masculine prejudices of a lifetime. Probably the most to be hoped for in these "old dogs" is to soften their attitude toward the child problem and to prevent them from opposing the real remedy.

There is, then, a real remedy? Well, there seems to me but one thing to do which holds out hope of some tangible progress, and the marvel is that it has not been seriously considered, so far as I know. That the proposal to give our young men in college and out formal training and a formal literature as to "the right of a child to be well born" and to be properly and fairly dealt with after that event comes now to mind with the shock of novelty and innovation is only further evidence that we are still living in a man-governed world. The idea of training the girls for motherhood has been for years so hammered into the public consciousness by educators and editors that it has become a commonplace, a truism of modern sociology and domestic science. It may still be a moot question whether the training of the girls for motherhood is all that it should be. The philosophy of eugenics has been barely scratched in the motherhood courses.

However that may be, surely the time is ripe and over-ripe for seriously presenting to our young men the important part which it is their privilege and duty to play as the future fathers of the race. The young man prepares for business or a profession or learns a trade for the purpose of earning a living for self and a family. But if he is left to imagine that his duty ends with the mere providing of the material basis of life he falls far short of an adequate conception of the possibilities of husbandhood and fatherhood in what we term civilized society.

Progress along this line must start from the period of boyhood and this means a different home and different school program for our sons. They can be encouraged to express at an early age their frank approval or disapproval of what parents in general do and ought to do and this while getting right ideas about their own conduct and obligations. The best father is usually one who has an accurate remembrance of how it seemed to be a boy. The college that will first offer a comprehensive course in child rights and needs for men students will blaze a trail of great importance to human uplift. For after all is said as to the importance of the mother in the home it must not be forgotten that the father in almost every case, under present conditions, is the dominating economic factor in the equation. He brings in the money and has the authoritative veto power as to any betterments for the children which a wiser mother may have learned. Who will be the first far-seeing benefactor of the race to endow a chair in fatherhood? A chair in fatherhood! It does sound a little odd, doesn't it? Of course, the occupant would need to be a live one to make it worth much. Alive to the frightful abuse of childhood in our modern industrial system! Alive to the persisting despotism of the average home and the deadening repression of the great bulk of our schools! Alive to the rights and needs of the little individuals in whom rest the hope of a better world to be.

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NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

PRINCIPLES

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.

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 easy 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 effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

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.

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.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited 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.

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.

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 workingmen 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 workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and force large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

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 insti-

tutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

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 workingmen 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 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.

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 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 bona fide manner without exploitation.

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

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 this 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 misrule 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 uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, 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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Laws — Where they are Executed and Where they are Not.

I.

One passage from President Taft's message deserves to be quoted and widely remembered. Thus:

"It seems to me that the existing legislation with reference to the regulation of corporations and the restraint of their business has reached a point where we can stop for a while and witness the effect of the vigorous execution of the laws on the statute books in restraining the abuses which certainly did exist, and which roused the public to demand reform. If this test develops a need for further legislation, well and good, but until then let us execute what we have."

It must be for our sins that providence has sent upon us the author of this twaddle.

"The vigorous execution of the laws on the statute books," says this unfortunate gentleman.

What "vigorous execution" and what laws?

We have on the statute books laws "restraining the abuses" of trusts and of combinations in restraint of trade. Would Mr. Taft mind pointing out to us which of these laws is being "vigorous executed?"

Under these laws the number, power, audacity and criminality of the trusts daily increase. Under these laws Mr. Morgan's Steel Trust, absolutely immune against any law, has so bedeviled the steel market that nearly one-half of its employes are now idle. Under these laws Mr. Ryan's Tobacco Trust, immune against any law, is daily putting retail merchants out of business. Under these laws Mr. Morgan's and Mr. Rockefeller's Railroad Trust, immune against any law, is perpetrating a gigantic swindle upon the American consumer. Under these laws Mr. Morgan's Milk Trust, immune against any law, puts up the price of milk and makes life and health dearer for the children of the poor.

Would Mr. Taft kindly give us his opinion of these specimens of "vigorous execution?"

II.

But under these same laws the Danbury Hatters' Union has been mulcted \$220,000 for damages resulting from a strike, although no such application of the laws was ever intended.

And under these laws Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have been sentenced to jail for exercising the constitutional right of free

speech, although no such application of the laws was ever intended.

Which of these "vigorous executions" is the particular "vigorous execution" that the President has in mind?

Some persons have thought it very wonderful that a man so dull as this should ever be President of the United States. That is not the true wonder. The really wonderful thing is that a man so dull should be alive. You would naturally expect him to put his fork into his eye instead of his mouth, or try to open a wall instead of a door.—Coming Nation.

Education for Fatherhood.

By Edwin S. Potter.

That there is a father of some sort in the majority of homes where children abound may be postulated on biological and economic grounds. Yes, there must be extant a lot of fathers unknown to fame and glory as their existence is unrecognized by the child-welfare sociologists or in the bulk of the child-welfare literature.

But at last the father is coming into his own. For the first time in all history, so far as can be ascertained, a great public movement for the betterment of child life is to pay some attention to the nominal head of the family. The New York Child Welfare Association, which soon is to hold a free exposition of the conditions and needs of children, has actually invited opinions from the fathers about the father's share in the responsibility of child rearing.

Now, as one of the postulated and unknown men who have assumed the paternal responsibility, I am far from complaining of the efforts of our sociologists and educators to bring up the girls with an eye to their more or less supreme, though not necessarily inevitable, duties as the mothers of the race—that is, not inevitable to all of the girls. It is natural enough that the girls should be the first consideration of the child welfare experts—the girls and the mothers. In the formative years of infancy and childhood the child is, of course, much closer to its mother than to its father, more directly dependent on her.

But is there rhyme or reason in leaving the poor fathers to wallow in their ignorance as to the duties and privileges of fatherhood or in neg-

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The United Railways Priest at Freeholders' Meeting.

To the Editor of ST. LOUIS LABOR:

The Globe-Democrat of Friday, December 30, in its report on the final signing of the Charter (page 7, column 1), contains this interesting news: "Aside from the board's counsel, the only visitor at the meeting was H. S. Priest, general counsel for the United Railways Company."

Judge Priest, the notorious author of the words, "Bribery is merely a conventional offense," the only privileged visitor at the signing ceremony. This fact alone speaks volumes and ought to open the eyes of every citizen as to what interests are behind this new Charter. M. I. S.

KREISMANN AND WELLS.

Former Mayor Rolla Wells was the recipient of a New Year's call from the Board of Public Improvements of St. Louis, headed by Mayor Kreismann.

Wonder whether they smiled when greeting each other? No doubt they did. The very thought that both had been equally eager and active to delay the work of the free municipal bridge must have caused a mutual smile.

Better mayors the big corporation interests have never had! Wells favors the new Charter, so does Kreismann. Both will do all in their power to have the Big Cinch instrument jammed through on January 31. Abef nit!

THE SOCIALIST CITY CONVENTION.

The Socialist Party City Convention and general meeting, held in New Club Hall last Friday evening, was a remarkable gathering.

A movement composed of such enthusiastic and determined men and women is bound to succeed.

The ticket selected for the municipal election in April is composed of reliable and able men, all well-known comrades and workers in the Socialist and Trade Union movement.

We earnestly urge upon our readers to carefully study the Socialist platform and resolutions adopted by the convention. The resolutions against the new Charter, on the free municipal bridge, against the smoke nuisance, for sanitary drainage and sewerage system, against the wholesale murder by the street railway monopoly, etc., deserve the consideration of every fair-minded man and woman in the community.

"SOCIALISTS TO THE RESCUE."

Under the above caption, the St. Louis Republic published a lengthy editorial attempting to criticize the Socialist Party City Convention for its outspoken opposition to the new City Charter.

The defense which the Big Cinch organ puts up for the work of the Freeholders is very flimsy, indeed. In plain language, the St. Louis Republic argument runs like this:

It is not true that the Freeholders have abolished the democratic form of government in its entirety; they have left a little of it. In other words: they have cut the cat's tail off, but there is still a little stump of it left.

Read the statements issued by Brother J. P. McDonough, of the Central Trades and Labor Union Legislative Committee and by Dr. Wm. Preston Hill, President of the People's League, in this issue of ST. LOUIS LABOR. They are the best answers to the Big Cinch sophistry of the St. Louis Republic.

HONOR TO EMIL SIMON.

Comrade Dr. Emil Simon has become PERSONA NON GRATA with the St. Louis Republic.

Because Dr. Simon, as a member of the School Board and as a Socialist, had the audacity to fight the introduction of militarism in our public schools, the St. Louis Republic goes after him in the usual clumsy way.

According to the Republic's hypocritical arguments, the boy scout movement was as harmless as a pie-eating contest. Where could Dr. Simon get the idea that militarism teaches the shooting at human beings — i. e., shooting with rapid-firing guns!

Nothing of the kind! says the St. Louis Republic.

And how rude it was for Comrade Simon to express his conviction that the soldier boys might some day be used to shoot at striking wage-workers!

The St. Louis Republic knows better. According to its assertion, militarism is simply an innocent sport.

"DECLARATION OF REVOLT."

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, editor-in-chief of the Appeal to Reason during Fred D. Warren's unsolicited vacation, wrote a "Declaration of Revolt" covering the entire front page of the Appeal. "Lincoln's Birthday will be Inaugural Day for the Demonstrations of Protest and Revolt" against the imprisonment of Comrade Warren.

It is indeed surprising to observe the shortsightedness of the ruling classes. Blindly they rush to their own destruction. By their cruel work against the people they see nothing but the immediate, temporary advantages they must gain, but fail to realize that they are digging their own grave.

By sentencing Fred D. Warren they simply erected another "station of passion" on the thorny path to Golgotha, where millions of proletarians may soon be gathered to pledge their word of honor, to pledge their life, for the noble cause for which Comrade Warren was sentenced to imprisonment.

"Après nous le déluge!"—after us the deluge—declared the drunken

Socialists Will Sweep Germany in 1911

Dr. Suedekum in Farewell Interview
Tells of Party's Growth.

HAS SEVENTY DAILY PAPERS.

Class Consciousness of American
Capitalists the Most Notable
Sign Here.

New York, January 1.—"The year 1911 will be a decisive year in the history of the Socialist movement of Germany and of the world."

The speaker was Dr. Albert Suedekum, Socialist member of the German Reichstag from Nuremberg, and an international authority on municipal questions. Dr. Suedekum has just completed a three months' tour of the United States, where he lectured on municipal affairs. He leaves for Germany to-morrow.

"You see," Dr. Suedekum continued, "the election to the Reichstag which takes place next fall will show the world that the Socialist Party of Germany has the majority of voters in the Fatherland behind it. We expect a tremendous victory at the polls at the next election."

One of the things Dr. Suedekum made plain in his talk is the fact that in spite of all that has been written about the Socialist movement in Germany, the full strength of the Socialist Party has never been revealed to the masses in the United States.

"You, here," Dr. Suedekum continued, "judge the strength of the Socialist movement in Germany most universally by the number of members in the German Reichstag. Now,

this alone is a great deal, for we have 52 Socialists in the Reichstag. But this is not all of the strength of Socialism by any means.

"In addition to the 52 members in the Reichstag we have about 200 Socialists in the various Diets, or state parliaments. Then we have nearly 6,000 Socialist representatives in the various city and town councils.

Great Municipal Work.

"These latter Socialist representatives are doing great work for Socialism. Whatever advance Germany has made over other countries in labor legislation, in the solution of the housing problem, in the checking of infant mortality, was made largely through influence of the Socialist representatives. The renaissance of municipal life in Germany is due to Socialist activity, Socialist struggles, and agitation.

"That we are well equipped to carry on this struggle can be seen best from the fact that we have about 70 daily papers in Germany now, having 2,000,000 subscribers."

The great issue which the election of 1911 will usher in will be the question of redistricting Germany, not according to territory, but according to population. On this point Dr. Suedekum said:

"In Germany to-day the Socialists according to the number of votes they have, are entitled to about 130 representatives in parliament. But they have only 52. The reason is that the election law in Germany is such that it wastes millions of votes of workmen in the big cities.

Plan Revision of Elections.

"In the year 1871 Germany was

divided into a certain number of districts, each district to have so and so many representatives. At that time the population of Germany was about 40,000,000. Since then the population has increased to about 65,000,000. This increase of population has gone largely to industrial cities, and, of course, a great majority of them are Socialists. Now, according to this system, which allots the representatives in congress, not according to population, but according to territory, the Socialists are cut off from a great many seats in congress. Socialist candidates always have great majorities. In fact, majorities that are sufficient to elect several candidates.

"After the election of 1911 the Socialists expect to begin a campaign for the enforcement of a clause in the German constitution which provides for a representative in parliament for every 100,000 population. On that basis the cities will get a larger number of representatives, and, of course, the Socialists will be the gainers, for the cities are the places where Socialism has its stronghold. Berlin, with a population of 3,000,000, has to-day six representatives in the Reichstag. According to the clause in the constitution, which is not in force now, Berlin is entitled to thirty representatives.

"And it will be for this change in the election laws that the Socialists expect to make their fight after the election of 1911."

The strongest impression which Dr. Suedekum carries away with him about America is the class consciousness of American capitalists.

Capitalists Class-Conscious.

"Your capitalists outdo European capitalists by far in their class feeling," Dr. Suedekum said. "They see the signs of the times, the impending struggle between capital and labor for the possession of the earth, much more clearly than the working people see them. In fact, it was disappointing to me to see how apathetic your working class is toward politics.

"However, the American people is a very complex proposition, and can not be judged offhand. It is, of course, surprising to any German to find the people tolerate such utter anarchy in matters like employers' liability. The capitalists in America are on the lookout, as it were, fortifying their interests, while the working people lag behind and are indifferent.

"In spite of this apparent apathy on the part of the people and of its indifference, I have no hesitancy in saying that I believe that once the ball of Socialism is started rolling in this country, there is no telling what speed it will gain. The election in Milwaukee has broken the spell, and I believe that things will be moving here from now on toward Socialism at a much faster rate."

Dr. Suedekum said that one of the great needs of international Socialism is for Socialists from each country to travel and study the Socialist methods and tactics, as well as the economic conditions of other countries. Such an interchange of information would be of great benefit to the Socialist movement of the world, he said.

TO THE WORKINGMEN AND PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS

Why Every Freedom-Loving Citizen Should Vote Against the New City Charter on January 31

St. Louis, Mo., January 2, 1911.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE UNIONS, CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETIES:

Greeting:

Every Local Trade Union in the City of St. Louis is called upon to rally to the standard of Organized Labor.

The powerful corporation interests are lining up to force upon the people of St. Louis a new Charter, which, if adopted, would mean the funeral of our democratic form of municipal government.

For many years the progressive citizens of this city had been working hard to secure Charter revision. The object of working for a new City Charter was repeatedly stated in plain language by Organized Labor. The Central Trades and Labor Union, and practically every Local Union, insisted that the reason why a revision of the Charter was wanted was to secure more democracy for the people and to give St. Louis a municipal form of government in which the people should rule instead of the capitalist corporations and their political henchmen.

A Board of Freeholders, consisting of thirteen men, was elected to draft a new Charter. Six of these Freeholders were lawyers, six business men, and one a representative of Labor.

Brother Owen Miller, the Labor member of the Board, refused to sign the new Charter!

The Freeholders held their meetings behind closed doors. It took them about eighteen months to prepare the instrument. What the New Charter would contain the people had no idea of, because these infallible charter makers took the ground that they were the great lawmakers to do the work and the people be damned!

Now, after eighteen months of star-chamber and hide-and-seek work, twelve of these New Apostles of Corporation Chartism appear before the people with a proposed new Charter and insist that the people swallow the same within thirty days, irrespective of whether they understand its contents or not.

The Freeholders, backed by corporation influence, succeeded in having the Municipal Assembly fix the date for the Special Charter Election for Tuesday, January 31, 1911. This was done in spite of the unanimous protest of Organized Labor and many civic improvement and other associations at a public hearing in the House of Delegates' chamber.

Organized Labor Unanimous.

The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, at its regular meeting, held on December 25, after hearing the report of the Legislative Committee, decided by unanimous vote to fight the new Charter and organize a movement, in conjunction with the progressive civic associations, to bring about the defeat of this new Charter, for the following reasons:

Because it does not contain the fundamental principles wanted by Organized Labor, such as the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, the election of all appointive officers now appointed by the Mayor, the retaining of the present system of legislative assembly, namely, the Council and the House of Delegates, and the employment under prevailing rates of wages of all employed on city contract work.

Want Us to Swallow Their Work.

Every effort is now made by the Freeholders and their powerful corporation friends to deceive the citizens as to the real contents of the new Charter. Little, flimsy points contained therein are held up by them as ideal, while the fundamental and vital questions are slyly hidden and covered up by means of cheap phrases and lawyer-made technical arguments.

Under the new Charter St. Louis would get a Mayor equipped with the power of a despot. Autocratically he could rule the city by means of the almost unlimited power vested in him, which gives him the right to

appoint the chiefs of all the leading departments of the municipal government.

A Mockery on Democracy.

Very clumsily the advocates of the new Charter, including some newspapers, argue that the Mayor would by no means do as he pleased, because he could be removed by a two-thirds vote of the Council.

Such an argument is almost too ridiculous to be considered. Such a procedure would make democracy a mockery. Think for a moment! The Council would consist of fifteen members.

After 150,000 voters of St. Louis have elected the Mayor of the city, ten politicians who happen to be members of the Council may constitute themselves into a "Two-Third Majority" and remove the same Mayor from office!

Where does democracy come in? We object to having a Mayor with the power of a despot or Czar, and we also object to having a Council of fifteen members, ten of whom might agree or conspire at any time to remove the highest city executive officer from office.

We Want the People to Rule.

We want the people to have the exclusive right to remove the public officials elected by them!

In view of the fact that half of the members of the Council hold over from the preceding election, and only seven or eight are to be elected at each election, would it not be possible that the following might happen:

Suppose the present Republican administration would be followed by a Democratic administration at the next municipal election. A Democratic Mayor would go into office. With the Mayor four Democratic and three Republican Councilmen would be elected. With the eight hold-over members the new Council would be composed of eleven Republicans and four Democrats.

What could happen? The eleven Republican Councilmen, representing two-third majority, could remove the Democratic Mayor from office, in spite of the fact that he may have been elected by an overwhelming majority of the people's vote.

Prompt Action Is Necessary.

Brothers and fellow-unionists of St. Louis, the new Charter must be defeated. It is an insult to Organized Labor. It is an insult to the great mass of the people who demand more democracy and less autocracy and oligarchy.

We request your Local Union to immediately pass resolutions endorsing the action of the Central Trades and Labor Union and the progressive civic improvement associations in opposition to the new Charter. Send copies of the resolutions to the press for publication and notify each and every member of your Local of the action taken.

In meetings, factory and workshop we must agitate against the new corporation-made Charter, in order to bring about its defeat on January 31 by scratching the word "Yes" on the ballot.

Prompt action is necessary, because the time is short and the big corporations, assisted by some of the daily newspapers, are working like beavers to force this dangerous new Charter on the people of St. Louis.

Show by your action and your vote on January 31 that the people shall rule St. Louis and that the corporations cannot make us swallow the Charter that may suit them, but be a detriment to the public welfare and a crime to this and future generations.

Fraternally yours,

J. McDONOUGH,

Chairman Legislative Committee of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and Chairman of the Joint Conference of Organized Labor and the Civic Improvement Associations.

Address: C. T. & L. U. Headquarters, 3535 Pine street.

courtiers of the proud French king, Louis the Fourteenth.

And the deluge came, sure enough, but king and queen lost their heads. Such is the teaching of history's divine law!

Actors' Unions Amalgamated.

The Actors' International Union of America and the White Rats of America, to be known hereafter as the White Rats Actors' Union of America, have amalgamated. At a meeting held on Tuesday night, December 20, both old organizations passed out of existence, so far as their former names implied, and a new organization, under the title of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, was duly instituted by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, who came on from Washington, D. C., especially to present the charter to the newly installed officers and members. He was assisted in the work by General Organizer Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor, who is the New York representative of that body. The combining of both organizations makes this the largest, strongest and most powerful and influential organization of theatrical people in the world. They number now some 9000 members, men, and women of the theatrical profession.

Concert, Ball and Vaudeville

ENTERTAINMENT including Moving Pictures

given by the ST. LOUIS

Brewers' Benevolent Ass'n No. 1

with the assistance of the Vorwaerts and Suavian Singing Societies

8—First Class Vaudeville Acts—8

Saturday evening, January 7th, 1911

Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal Sts.

Tickets 25 cents a person; Children under 14 years free.

Proclamation to the Citizens of St. Louis.

PROCLAMATION On the NEW CITY CHARTER.

To the Citizens of St. Louis:

On Tuesday, January 31st, you are to vote on this proposed new Charter which, if adopted, may govern your city for years.

WHY THIS SUSPICIOUS HASTE IN FORCING THIS ELECTION SO SOON?

The Freeholders took eighteen months in secret, behind locked doors, to prepare this Charter, while the Immortal Constitution of the United States was prepared in only four months, and the Constitution of Missouri in three months, and now they give us less than thirty days to examine their work before they "jam it through" a special election.

The people of St. Louis are to have no time to deliberate whether they will remain "The People" or become the serfs of the "Big Cinch."

WHO SELECTED THE BOARD OF FREEHOLDERS?

The "Boss" of the Republican party selected six of them and placed himself among the number, and the "Boss" of the Democratic party selected the other six, and these twelve picked out the thirteenth.

Mr. Fred W. Lehmann, the former attorney of the Terminal Association and United Railways Company and other franchise monopolies, was chosen as their chairman.

It is well known that these "Bosses" of the two parties are the agents of the Big Franchise Monopolies, known as the "Big Cinch."

Therefore a Board of Freeholders picked out by these bosses is merely a Board picked out by the Big Cinch itself.

From a Board so constituted you could only expect to get a Plutocratic-Oligarchic Charter.

This new Lehmann Charter is the most dangerous and insidious attack yet attempted on our American institutions.

It tries to substitute Plutocratic bossism in the place of free, popular government.

It attempts to carry us back to the period in St. Louis of the single legislative house of malodorous fame, which was surnamed "the sweet sixteen," and the despotic Mayor in the palmy days of Overstolz and Mike Madden, when St. Louis had the worst, most corrupt and flagrantly inefficient government in all her history.

This new Charter, therefore, instead of being a progressive step, would take us back to the old things and worse, from which we have escaped.

This new Big Cinch Charter would concentrate all the power of the city in the hands of a single boss, "the Mayor," and in a plutocratic Council of fifteen members, with no check on them whatever when they combine against the people.

But they tell us a two-thirds majority in the Council will be able to remove "the Mayor."

THIS WILL MAKE POPULAR GOVERNMENT A FARCE.

Are you going to allow a combine of ten politicians in a Council to remove a Mayor that 150,000 voters have elected?

Only the people who have elected him should have the power to remove him.

The Freeholders have pretended to put in a Recall by the people in the new Charter. They did this by reconsidering their action at the last minute, after they had voted for eighteen months to leave it out.

They did this because they saw that their work was provoking a gathering storm of popular disapproval and not because they wanted it or believed in it.

Hence the Recall they put in is not a genuine Recall.

IT IS A FAKE AND A FRAUD.

It provides that more than 35,000 qualified voters must sign the petition to invoke it, and each signature must be attested by oath. Such a thing is clearly impossible.

Furthermore, this proposed Recall could only be invoked at the November election after the Mayor had served eighteen months. If he should be recalled, however, he would continue to hold his office for six months longer, until his successor is elected at the succeeding spring election.

Could anybody imagine a more dangerous provision? Would anybody in his private business leave his money in charge of a dishonest cashier for six months after he had found him out and told him that he was going to be discharged?

This new Lehmann Charter proposes to abolish the most important and indispensable office of Auditor, which has given St. Louis the best control over its accounts of any city in the United States, so acknowledged by City Counselor Bates.

The City of Washington, D. C., tried the experiment of abolishing its Auditor about twelve years ago, and in less than nine months its accounts ran behind \$360,000, and the Auditor, J. S. Petty, was quickly reinstated to save the city from bankruptcy.

This new Lehmann Charter proposes that the Mayor shall appoint the Comptroller, Board of Public Improvements and other city officials which are now elected by the people, in spite of the fact that under the present old Charter these officials have always ranked higher in moral integrity than many of the Mayors. The political parties always nominated the best men they could find for Comptroller, Auditor, etc., so as to help elect "the Mayor," whom they relied on to distribute the political pie.

Under this new Charter he would have all the pie to distribute. Will he select superior men for his subordinates or will he reward his political henchmen and pie hunters? Will you get better or worse officials by that change?

But they tell us the new Charter will contain the merit system. A beautiful scheme to reward your friends and oust your enemies, especially when "the Mayor" himself appoints the Civil Service Commission, and can discharge them at his pleasure. Will they obey him or not? What is to prevent him from appointing on this commission the Bosses who named the Freeholders?

The concentration of such a power in the hands of such a Mayor will be a relapse into barbarism and a disgrace to our city.

Instead of giving us a genuine Initiative and Referendum, demanded by nine-tenths of the people of St. Louis, the Freeholders have tried to hand us

ANOTHER FAKE, FALSELY LABELED REFERENDUM.

Instead of compelling every franchise to be submitted to the vote of the people, before being granted, under this new Charter (after your franchises have been given away), you MAY call an election if you can secure the signatures of about 25,000 voters to a petition in ninety days, every signature attested by oath, a feat that is almost impossible without somebody patriotic enough to spend a fortune to save the city's property.

If the Referendum be good for this one thing, why not for other matters? If the Referendum be good, why not the Initiative?

The Initiative and Referendum are embodied in the State Constitution, why not in the new Charter?

The Freeholders left them out on the flimsy pretext that the Supreme Court might declare them unconstitutional.

THE REAL REASON IS THAT THE "BIG CINCH" DID NOT WANT THE PEOPLE TO HAVE THE POWER to control their own city.

Hence these Freeholders found everything that the people wanted and demanded unconstitutional (without waiting for the Supreme Court to decide it) and everything that the Big Cinch wanted perfectly legal and proper.

The "Big Cinch," having already "taken over" nearly everything in sight, are now trying to absorb the whole city itself under the guise of this new Lehmann Charter. There is only one answer that the friends of popular government and of St. Louis can make to this insidious proposition, and that is—

Vote it down! Vote down this plutocratic, oligarchic Charter! Vote down this conspiracy against our citizenship, our liberty and our city's welfare and progress!

VOTE AGAINST THE BIG CINCH AND THE ENEMIES OF THE FREE BRIDGE! Save St. Louis from their clutches!

Scratch the YES and leave the NO to be counted as your vote!

THE PEOPLE'S LEAGUE,

Dr. Wm. Preston Hill, President.

George W. Wilson, Secretary.

IMMORTAL SOULS.

The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union, by unanimous vote, decided to fight the proposed new City Charter.

Not one delegate defended the Charter. Yet there were over 200 delegates in attendance.

Not one delegate voted in defense of the charter.

No wonder that the capitalist daily press was "up the tree." In despair these papers were looking for some one to "prove" to the public that the Central Trades and Labor Union was not the Central Trades and Labor Union.

Happily there exists a Million Population Club, where smaller and bigger and biggest men find an opportunity to elbow with each other.

Side by side with big capitalists we find common mortals and uncommon immortals, like Brothers Witter and Sharpe. In order to be good, these good people tell the Million Population sphynx that the Central Trades and Labor Union, in opposing the new Charter, did by no means represent the rank and file of Union labor.

And the daily press applauded.

Next comes Mr. Hertenstein, president of Typographical Union No. 8, and tries to outdo Brothers Witter and Sharpe.

Some day the gentlemen may regret their action. When it comes to a show-down between the Million Population Club and the Big Cinch on the one side and the Central Trades and Labor Union and the people on the other side, we take especial pride in lining up with the progressive central body of Organized Labor.

Sophistry and goody-goody conservatism don't go in an important movement like the present fight on the new City Charter.

Fall in line, Brother Hertenstein, fall in line!

If not, you may fall by the wayside and get lost.

Lost and forgotten!

HIRE ASSASSINS.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch of January 2 is responsible for the following report:

"The spirit of militarism was assigned as the cause for the common carrying of weapons, and for crimes of violence resulting from that practice, in Archbishop Glennon's New Year sermon at the New Cathedral Chapel.

"The military man," said the Archbishop, "is a parasite on the community. He is a hired assassin, paid to kill men at so much a head. His gold lace and epaulets signify only that he is living on public revenue and doing no productive work in return. He deserves no admiration, and it is wrong to hold him up as an ideal.

"Boys get one benefit from military training, in that they learn obedience, but the war spirit is harmful to them. It is contrary to the spirit of Christianity.

"The love of arms inculcated by militarism leads to widespread crime. We have murders every week and executions perhaps once a year. This is wrong. Irresponsible persons and children should be taught that firearms do not help their mental or bodily growth. The dime novel hero is a hero only among savages.

"War is a survival of the spirit of the cave man. I hope no one will accept the statement that to promote and preserve peace we must increase our preparations for war, and be always adding a few more regiments and a few more battleships. There is no logic and no sincerity in such a way of preserving peace."

Archbishop Glennon must have read Dr. Emil Simon's Socialist speech against militarism, delivered at the December meeting of the Board of Education. Rev. Glennon uses almost the same language as Dr. Simon's.

Now, be good!

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST THE NEW CHARTER.

Carpenters' District Council

Met last Tuesday evening and passed resolutions against the new City Charter.

Machinists' Union No. 394

Held a meeting last Tuesday evening at the Labor Hall, on Chouteau avenue, and decided to oppose the new City Charter. All members were urged to work and vote against it on January 31.

Bircher Heights Improvement Association,

At a meeting held last Tuesday evening at Wren and Woodlawn avenues, after a thorough discussion, passed a resolution unanimously condemning the proposed Charter for its concentration of too much power in the Mayor and its abolition of the House of Delegates. R. J. Goodenough, member of Typographical Union No. 8, is president, A. Spence vice-president and H. H. Godejohann secretary of this association.

BUYING SILENCE

Last week Collier's Weekly reviewed in full the causes of its disagreement with Charles W. Post, dealer in Grape Nuts and slander, and comments lightly on the fact that while it obtained a verdict for \$50,000 from Post very few people knew it. The reason is that Post is a heavy advertiser, and immediately after the trial he handed out several half-page advertisements to those papers in which he wished silence.

Consequently, as Collier's says, "notwithstanding the importance of the case, the newspapers were generally silent or very taciturn. The Postum Company spends about a million dollars a year in advertising. Moreover, on the day after the trial closed, C. W. Post, head faker of the company, began a series of advertisements which garbled the testimony of Collier's medical experts to make it appear that they had indorsed the virtues of grape nuts."

There's the reason the papers got advertising, and through this advertising Post purchased silence.

The Call has frequently pointed out the high price at which Post sells bread crumbs and bran. Here is the testimony brought forward by Collier's: "Postum is made from roasted and ground bran, wheat and molasses—mostly bran." Bran is the outer shell of the wheat. "It contains nutritive elements, as sawdust does, but, as with sawdust, they are not in such form that the human stomach can assimilate them. Cattle, with their four stomachs, can get nourishment from bran. We cannot." As a "food drink" it is a little more nourishing than hot water, but not much. Grape nuts is very similar to brown bread. "Ten cents' worth of entire wheat bread or graham bread has one and a half times the fuel value of ten cents' worth of grape nuts."

There's another reason and a beautiful sidelight on the gentleman whom Collier's designates as "C. W. Post, Faker." He is all of that because of the claims he makes relative to his bran coffee and his roasted bread crumbs. He is all of that because of the methods he uses in pushing his product on a gullible public. He is a little more. His dealings with organized labor show him to be one of the most unrestrained blackguards in this country. Collier's, a powerful, aggressive, rich paper, was able to call a halt when Post libeled it and asserted Collier's was trying to blackmail him into advertising. Collier's was able to collect \$50,000 of the money Post has made from bread crumbs and bran coffee.

His attacks on labor unions are another matter. He draws, or attempts to draw, an indictment against every union man in this country. He slanders every man who has combined with his fellow men for the purpose of improving the condition of the working class. But he does it with impunity because they cannot sue him.

And he is able to do that because the profits from his products—he uses 8,000,000 pounds of bran a year—are enormous. With them he is able to purchase space in which to conduct his campaign of slander against the labor unions. He is able to buy from the papers the same space they sold him right after the Collier trial. In return for the money he gives them and in anticipation of the money they hope to receive in the future, these papers were willing to stifle all news about the libel case. Had it been necessary, there are some of them who would have gone further and supported Post in his preposterous contentions.

Their space is for sale and those who buy their space can command their opinions. Either advocacy or silence can be purchased, and the Collier-Post case richly proves it.

Such a state of affairs is a disgrace to American newspapers. But it is one that generally prevails. A Post can have whatever he pays for, and what he has paid for so far shows the level to which he and his newspaper allies have sunk in their pursuit of cash.—New York Call.

OWEN MILLER IMPROVING.

To the Editor of ST. LOUIS LABOR:

Labor Leader Passes Crisis, but Needs Rest to Recover.
Owen Miller, labor representative on the Board of Freeholders, who has been dangerously ill at his home, 2820 La Salle street, for the last week with typhoid-pneumonia, shows decided improvement in his condition. Dr. George Stelzlini of 1215 Grand avenue, who is attending him, stated that Mr. Miller had passed the crisis and was improving nicely, but was in need of absolute rest. He has forbidden him to see anyone, as he is very weak, and rest and quiet are needed to avoid a relapse.

Another "Joker" in the New Charter.

The arguments advanced in defense of the proposed new City Charter shows more plainly than does the document itself that it is framed in the interest of that small class which, though doing only the clerical part of the world's work, tries to cover its greedy grasp for the lion's share with bragging self-assertion, in the interest of "business."

The last amendment to this new Charter also well illustrates this:

"To put the question beyond controversy, the board amended the section to read as follows: 'Subject to the right to amend, alter or repeal the same in whole or in part, and to forfeit the same at any time for misuse or nonuse.'"

This is an attempt to appease the inconvenient public clamor for efficient control of public utilities with a "joker" in the guise of a concession. How long will it take the courts to determine the legal existence of a "misuse"?

Not until public utilities are run, like our waterworks, not for private profit, but for the public good, will the nightmare of graft be lifted and a healthy evolution of public policy become possible.

To guard against public ownership is one of the main objects of the new Charter. Kill it!

JOHN Q. ADAMS, 412 S. Fourth street.

St. Louis Brewers' Benevolent Society

Will give its annual ball and entertainment at Concordia Turner Hall, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, on January 7th. A fine program for the entertainment of visitors has been arranged for and consists of several selections by the well-known workmen's singing society, "Vorwaerts," and the Suavian Saengerbund; eight first-class vaudeville acts and moving pictures, followed by a ball. The Brewers' Benevolent Society is one of the oldest in the city, and its entertainments are al-

ways enjoyed by a large number of participants. For further details see the ad. in another column.

WORKINGMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE 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. Every member will be pleased to give information regarding the aims and plans of the society. Payments on shares are accepted in any business meeting.

PETER KIEFER, Secretary,
5116 Cologne Avenue.

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Lightly Touched

If You Order a Suit of US

Berger
& Casey
Union Tailors

705 PINE ST. + ST. LOUIS

Suits and Overcoats \$20 to \$35

SATISFACTION and FIT Guaranteed

Cigars { PEN MAR - 10c
SUNRISE - 5c

Brandt & Stahl, 319 Walnut Street

Australia's Labor Premier Pays Visit To South Africa.

ANDREW FISHER DELIVERS MESSAGE

TO SOUTH AFRICAN WAGE WORKERS.

The Labor Party's Place in the Nation.

"It is absolutely necessary that the interest of the toiling masses should be protected by law, so that they should receive, if not the full product of their labor, at least fair and reasonable remuneration as defined by Mr. Justice Higgins, president of the Federal Arbitration Court: 'Sufficient to enable a man to keep himself, his wife and his family in a reasonable state of comfort as human beings living in a civilized community.' That is the industrial charter of the workers."—Andrew Fisher, Labor Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia.

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, November 26.—Andrew Fisher, the Labor Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia, has paid a visit to South Africa. He was given a rousing reception by the organized wage workers of Johannesburg.

Speaking of this visit of the first statesman of Australia—a common union workingman—the Johannesburg Worker, official organ of the South African Labor Party, says:

"The strong man of the South Seas—a man whose record is more brilliant and more heroic than that of any of the world's conquerors so much worshiped in history—has been with us, and has given us our opportunity to gather a much-needed message.

"Here we are commencing our fight, as a United South Africa, against the capitalist parties. Here we have to fight our way inch by inch against ignorance, tyranny and prejudice. But in Andrew Fisher, the victimized miner of Gympie, who has fought and conquered, we have had before us the map of our cause—the sign that we are not fighting in vain.

"Remembering that our hero was here as the guest of the South African government, and as representing the Austradrian nation—not the Australian Labor government—we are enjoined to make it clear that it would be unworthy of him to criticize South African conditions, whether political, social or industrial. In the course of several chats, however, this leader of men could not but give a number of vivid expressions which we are quite justified in turning to account for the good of the South African workers—that is, 'for the good of the South African people.'

Don't be Alarmed!

"First: 'Let no man of our party expect the path of our progress to be strewn with roses. 'Don't you be a bit alarmed,' said Mr. Fisher. 'the capitalists will fight. They can't be worse here than they were with us.'

"And how did they succeed?"

"In Gympie we never bowed the knee to tyranny or faltered in the struggle." There we have the secret of why there is a Labor Premier of Australia, and why the man who entered Parliament with him—Labor won both seats at Gympie in 1899—is now President of the Commonwealth Senate. And another Queensland Laborite who entered Parliament that year is Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"And while we were fighting our way in those days," said Mr. Fisher, "the capitalist press and parties were thundering forth that if we ever got into power the country would be ruined."

"Do not be disheartened or bluffed by the outcry of privilege or the monetary interests!" he added. "They are of use in certain instances; but as a guide in political affairs they are seldom useful."

"Let the South African worker, whether in mine or office, or on the farm, listen to those words.

Constructive Hints.

"So much for the general issue. Now for a few constructive hints:

"(1) Be South Africans. Create a South African national sentiment. Sweep distinctions of race aside and let the Labor Party stand for the nation.

"(2.) Be united. Decide the main issues on which you are united, and go for big things. You will lose in particular interests, but you will gain your place in the hearts of the nation.

"(N. B.—The Australian Labor Party went before the commonwealth on the following four planks:

1. White Australia.
2. Invalid and old age pensions.
3. The initiative and referendum.
4. The taxation of unimproved land values.)

"(3.) Let your Parliamentary Labor Party, no matter how small, elect its leader and get on business lines! Either you mean to be a party or you do not. Meet the House with a leader and meet South Africa with a leader!

"Such were the constructive hints dropped by the man who, in the words of Johannesburg's mayor, 'has a record almost unequalled in history.'

Party Points.

Next let us take some points for the party's consideration and hear what Mr. Fisher has to say.

Are we going to claim as the reward of toil in South Africa a share in the profits of South African industry? or are we going to claim as the reward of toil 'a reasonable living wage?'

"There is a vital difference. That difference has been the subject of pitched battles between rival sections of thought in Australia's Labor Party, and it is necessary that the party should appear before the public with a clear-cut position. The former proposition involves uncertainty—possibly a small return, possibly no return, and possibly loss, for participation in the profits involves participation in the losses also. Hence this idea, which has a tremendous attraction to a section of the party, affords a very poor basis of payment for labor—a very poor foundation on which the superstructure of the Labor Party must be built.

"Here is what Mr. Fisher had to say on the subject during our party's reception to him:

A First Principle.

"To-night I want to give you a word of advice regarding the line you ought to take. There are those amongst us—warm-hearted and leal and intelligent—who think the sharing of profits is the best step we should take. I have never been of that opinion. I have always been of the opinion, and strongly urged it, in Parliament and out of Parliament, on the platforms of the party, that the first principle we ought to lay down is this: That it is no business of the worker to enquire whether an industry pays or does not pay. His business is to declare that he ought not be asked to sell his labor except for the reasonable living wage as defined by Mr. Justice Higgins. And when the wisecracks come and tell you that that is impossible, because there are industries that cannot pay, our reply is—and it seems to us to be ample—first, that as regards the wealth produced in the country there is more than enough to provide handsomely for all and specially for the workers, and, second, that, while it may be that some industries do not pay and others are paying well, it is a disaster, a curse and a disgrace to a civilized community that any man or woman, amidst abundance and prosperity should suffer want, misery and death. (Cheers.) Therefore we take the first step, and say that the minimum share that any industrious worker and honest citizen of the country should be asked to accept is that minimum of comfort I have stated. If, on the other hand, you claim a share of the profits, you will be divided amongst yourselves. Some industries will be declared profitable, others unprofitable. Some workers will claim a larger share, some a lesser share. And even in a country prosperous on the whole some will be living in misery and some in comfort. We say, and we must say it plainly, that the interests of each are the interests of all. I ask you to take that view. (Cheers.)

An Ultimatum.

"Then to the contention of our opponents that if we do this we will destroy certain industries, we reply quite openly, that if there are industries that will not pay fair wages those are not industries that we are going to have in our midst. (Cheers.) Coupled with that, we say that provision must be made for the aged, the invalid and the unfit. (Cheers.)

The Pension Scheme.

"It is necessary for us to see that the health of the people is pre-

served. Nothing is so necessary—especially in young countries, where that the health of the workers should be protected. Therefore, we in that the health of the workers should be protected. Therefore we in Australia, now that we have obtained the measure of power, hope by our legislation to further protect the toilers in the factories, the mines, and everywhere else. I hope the time is not far distant in Australia when it will be possible for Parliament to declare that every mother's son in the commonwealth, when he attains a certain age, whether he has money or not, shall be paid a retiring allowance. That may sound to you like a dream; but there is no half-way house in the pension scheme of the Labor Party. (Cheers.)

Lions in the Path.

"There are lions in the path in Australia as well as here. We find trusts, combines and monopolies growing up there, too. And we find ourselves with a constitution, not like yours, where you are free to work as you please, but with a constitution which hampers our actions in dealing with trusts. Therefore we appealed to the people of Australia at the last election and told them that if we were returned we would endeavor to pass laws to enable us to appeal to the people by way of referendum to amend our constitution to empower the Federal Parliament to deal with trusts, monopolies and combines in restraint of trade.

"We have passed those laws. (Cheers.) 'The opportunity will be given to the people of Australia early next year to give their verdict upon the trusts. (Cheers.) I hope their verdict will be the one we desire; but if it is not we will not feel disheartened. We will return to the charge, even if we are defeated at the polls. Until that matter is dealt with we should never be able to make the satisfactory progress that is necessary.

"We have come forward and asked the people to give us the power to nationalize monopolies. When our industry is being carried on by a few people, who are filling their pockets by robbing the nation, the time has arrived when the whole people should take over the industry and run it in the interests of the people. (Cheers.) That is a practical policy; on those lines we intend to proceed as long as we are in power.'" (Cheers.)

Journeymen Barbers' International Union

A CLOSE SHAVE.

Being a Brief and Concise Dissertation Concerning the Barber.

By James C. Shanessy, General Organizer.

Speaking of a close shave, this little "mind jogger" does not treat of the matter in a literal sense, for the simple reason that barbers always accommodate their customers with this desired shortening of the capillary growth, though, at the same time, seldom realizing that they are getting "close shaves" every day in the year, and this without the asking. This will interest the barber of brains; it ought to. Those devoid of gray matter will kindly be jabbed in the ribs by sympathetic fellow workers.

Wake up and take notice!

Everybody knows that of all callings on earth the barber's hours are the longest. People sympathize with him and, as they pass the shop during unseemly hours of the day or night, are wont to refer to him in tender-hearted manner, to-wit: "The poor barber; see how he toils; when does he sleep?"

And during all this time the aforesaid "poor barber" is being shaved close, and appears to like it. He had experienced the process of close shaving so often that apparently he has grown used to it. But occasionally one awakens, then life takes on a different complexion for that observing knight of the shears, comb, razor, hot towel, massager, etc., etc., ad lib.

Up to the present time some thirty thousand barbers have "got next to the close shave proposition and turned the tide of their affairs into more prosperous channels. They don't work such long hours and their salaries are materially increased, all of which goes to show that with the right sort of spirit and effort many things of benefit can be realized.

In these days of high prices, when everybody is having "a close shave" in "getting by," the barber sees "everything going out and nothing coming in." What strange twist of legerdemain has put the price of everything up? He knows not. But up it is, and to render the close shave just a trifle further under the cuticle, customers are calling for more towels and hotter ones, with powder and perfume, all of which cost money and take time to administer.

Then the poor barber lets out a howl, and wonders why he is being "shaved so close," especially when he didn't call for it, and the supply man tells him "things have gone up," and the landlord raises the rent—and the barber wishes some good Samaritan would rub his aching brow and gently place a towel thereon—a cold one will do, only hurry with it.

This little "mind jogger" applies alike to employer—and employee—for are not the interests of both identical? The boss doesn't want to keep shop open any longer than is necessary to make his profit out of the business, and the employe would like shorter hours. The way to bring about this condition is for both sides to come together on a base of understanding. This can easily be brought about through the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, whose membership throughout the United States, Canada and Porto Rico numbers around thirty thousand.

This growing organization extends

an invitation to all eligible men of the craft to join with us in our struggle for better conditions and the general uplifting of the profession. Any competent journeyman barber, having served three years at the trade, is eligible. Make application to the Local Union in the city where you are located. The general laws call for an initiation fee of not less than \$3.00, but this fee will be waived to those whose names appear on the charter application and who have paid the charter fee. Such members will be entitled to full benefits of the International Union.

The Union will benefit you socially, morally and financially. In other words, it will keep you from getting "shaved so close."

Wonderful progress has been made by the barbers during the past few years. Fourteen states have license laws which are being strictly enforced, and Sunday closing is gaining rapid headway. The organization of our struggling brothers has brought about these changes.

Remember, no headway can be made in any business without concentration, arrangement, system. These are the fundamentals of all great enterprises. "United we stand, divided we fall." Let us unite. The International Union stands ready to aid you. Let us hope the "close shaves" you have received have acted as an educational lesson rather than a demoralizing influence. All things have their reward. Let the reward of the "close shave" be a clearer vis-

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ion of the future and a determination on the part of all barbers to confront them as they really exist, not as they "wish" they could be.

If you need further enlightenment, write the undersigned, and a reply will reach you in short order.

JAMES C. SHANESSY, General Organizer Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America.

His Own Idea.

"It was Satan," said another to one of her children, "who put it into your head to pull Elsie's hair."

"Perhaps it was," replied the little girl, "but kicking her shins was my own idea."—Youth's Companion.

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

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

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

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

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

UNION MEN AND FRIENDS.



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

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

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

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

Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



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Baby Chinaman.

Mr. Smith was reading aloud from a magazine about the size of China's population. The article stated that every fourth child born into the world was a Chinaman. Little Carmen, the third child in the family, looked up and exclaimed: "O mother! Our next baby will be a Chinaman!"

Forgetful.

Professor (returning home from visit)—Ah! Your absent-minded husband didn't forget to bring home his umbrella this time. See!

His Wife—But, Henry, when you left home you didn't take an umbrella.—Boston Transcript.

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Our Lawless Courts

The complaint is frequently and justly made that we have too much law in the United States and too little observance of its provisions.

Too many laws enacted to protect workmen have contained hidden and cunningly contrived channels through which shrewd lawyers, with the courts' consent, are able to conduct employers, so that the intent of the law is nullified and made inoperative. When the law is plain and solid, then, too, frequently it is declared unconstitutional.

Even when the law cannot be twisted and hamstrung the workman has but little opportunity of securing justice in the courts when he is opposed by employers, until the condition has become such as to cast grave reflection upon our methods of judicial procedure.

This condition has become such a fertile field for injustice that some of our most prominent citizens are calling public attention to the public necessity for a change.

President Taft, whom no one will accuse of too friendly an attitude towards organized labor, or inclined to say anything reflecting upon our courts, at a conference held in Washington this summer said:

"If there is anything in our whole government, state or national, that justifies an attack upon our present system of living, it is the delays in our judicial system of procedure and the advantage that wealth gives in the struggle in the courts against those who haven't the means to meet the expense that is now imposed upon them."

The feature of our judicial procedure which gives wealth a great advantage in our courts is far from being the most serious cause for just complaint and dissatisfaction. More dangerous to the rights of labor is the fact that a large number of our courts have built up a theory of special rights as between employers and workmen.

One well-known instance will serve to illustrate this fact. A large number of our courts have held that employers are within their legal rights when they apply the blacklist in their contests with workmen, while they as strongly affirm that workmen commit an illegal act when they adopt the boycott in self-defense.

Whether in this instance there has been too much or too little law, or whether the fault lies with the courts, the fact stands out that there is a gross injustice in such decisions, for one group, and this the most powerful one, is given rights and privileges which are denied to the other.

Entirely apart from the way in which laws affecting labor's rights are interpreted and hamstrung, there is another phase of labor's rights as they are affected by our courts which has developed one of the most grave and alarming conditions.

It is serious when through the methods of our judicial practice the wealthy are given an advantage over the poor, it is a matter of grave concern when laws enacted to protect labor can so easily be overthrown by declaring that they are unconstitutional. But dangerous as these conditions may be when the courts are concerning themselves with laws which exist, the most dangerous condition to our rights and liberties arises when the courts, without law, attempt to define the rights of workmen.

To-day many of our courts, without law to guide them, without the action of the people's representatives crystallized into legislation on which to base their action, hand down decisions resting upon no other law than their personal opinion, based perhaps upon the opinion of some other court. Precedent resting upon precedent, plus the court's inclination, is turned into law.

The courts, without sanction of law, boldly assume the role of legislator and hand down court-made laws which workmen are expected to obey.

This deplorable and dangerous condition has resulted in a confusing mass of court opinions, from which it is almost impossible to discover what rights labor has when engaged in an effort to elevate the workman's standard of living through collective action.

One court will hold that labor has a right to strike, and that trade unions have the right to discipline their members, another court holds the direct contrary, and both will base their decisions upon a mass of precedents.

At times it would appear that the determination of the courts on these far-reaching questions depends more upon the court's inclinations and the number of precedents which one group of attorneys have presented, than upon the justice of the case or the principles of equity which are involved.

These thoughts have arisen through the astonishing decisions which have been handed down in recent times, some of which have struck down the most essential provisions which were inserted in the Constitution for the protection of true liberty and the guarantee of justice and equality of rights between men.

Under the cloak of an equity court some of our judges have invaded a field in which the legislator alone has a right to speak, with the result that they are gradually piling up precedents upon which other judges will base their opinions, and in them find their excuse for placing shackles upon workmen, while leaving the employer free when an industrial contest has arisen between them.

Little by little, but as surely as the ponderous glazier slips over its bed into the valley below, these decisions have been going farther and farther, piling up precedent upon precedent for the purpose of limiting or denying the rights which labor has under the Constitution, and when it is entitled to if there is to be equality of rights between employer and workman.

Within the last few years the Supreme Court of Massachusetts announced that the right of workmen to strike depended upon the court's opinion as to whether the causes which led to the strike were legal. This opinion was followed by a number of decisions which held that strikes entered into to secure certain conditions were illegal and would not be permitted.

Without a statutory law to guide them, but acting in the role of legislators, this court has decreed that in Massachusetts it is illegal for workmen to strike for the purpose of creating or maintaining a union shop; to strike in sympathy with other workmen; to strike against working with non-union workmen; to enforce the collection of a fine levied upon a member who remains at work after the union has declared a strike; to in any manner interfere to prevent employers to have access to a free labor market, that is to take the position that as union men they will refuse to work with strike-breakers, or men employed to disrupt the union.

In view of the prejudice shown by many courts toward organized labor, and their unfortunate ignorance of the actual conditions and forces operating in the industrial world to-day, it is not surprising that other courts would build upon the precedents laid down by the Massachusetts highest court.

In July of this year, Judge Richardson, of the Supreme Court of Boston, Mass., issued an injunction directed at the members of Photo-Engravers' Union No. 3, restraining them from picketing a shop where a strike was in progress and from paying anyone for not entering into the firm's employ, or impose any fine, punishment or discipline upon any person who entered the struck firm's employment, or proceed with the strike.

In a word, the strike was declared illegal, and the union forbidden to continue it. What statutory enactment or constitutional provision gives any judge the right to declare illegal the reasons which men may have for refusing to work for an employer? Absolutely none. Such a decision is a lawless one, and merely judge-made, but, nevertheless, under our present judicial procedure it is as binding upon the workmen as though it was a statutory law, and while after months of effort such a judge-made law may be reversed by a higher court, the injury inflicted upon the workmen may have become irreparable.

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

The court-made law of Judge Goff of New York, issued in connection with the cloak-makers' strike, is still fresh in our memory. He declared that the purpose of the strike, which was to destroy the sweatshop and abolish the sub-contracting system which had held the cloakmakers for years, was in his opinion to uphold the union and enforce union conditions, and that this purpose was illegal.

This tyrannical interference with natural liberty and constitutional rights worked effectively and in a manner which throws added light upon the dangers which exist when courts, without law to guide them, arrogate the rights of legislators. One of the New York papers, the Jewish Daily Forward, opened its columns for subscriptions to a fund for the relief of the strikers' families. After Judge Goff's court-made law this paper was notified that it must cease assistance, because under the injunction such contributions were to assist in continuing an illegal act, and was, therefore, illegal.

Against such a condition as is found in our present judicial procedure and assumption of authority we are in open and determined opposition. If we have too much law in our country, we have also too many weasel laws and lawless courts—that is, courts who, without statutory law to guide them, assume the right of making laws by which workmen are to be governed.

We have carelessly allowed the courts to assume legislative as well as judicial functions, and the time has arrived when justice and liberty both demand that the judicial and legislative branches of our government should be kept separate and distinct from each other. Liberty and judge-made laws cannot exist together in any land; one or the other must, and will, dominate.

We know that our Constitution affirms that all men are created equal, by this meaning that all men are born with equal rights.

No man is born with special privileges. Special privileges arise through the cunning and influence of men in a land where equality of rights and opportunities has not been adequately safeguarded.

We require no trained lawyer, no deep student and no erudite judge to tell us what our rights as workmen are. Our forefathers and the true principles of equality and liberty have given us a sure rule.

Labor is entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the employers; their rights are equal. What one may do so may the other. If the employers have a right to discharge workmen individually or collectively for any reason, or without reason, so have the workmen the right to quit an employer as individuals or collectively.

Whatever rights may be enjoyed by the one must be granted to the other, or else equality of opportunity is destroyed and special privileges established.

Many of our courts have established special privileges, and these are in every instance given to the employers.

Many steps may be necessary to correct the evil which has grown up through certain forms of judicial procedure, but one of the most important for us at the present time is the enactment of a law similar to the Trades Disputes Act of Great Britain. There must be a reaffirmation of the Bill of Rights in the form of statutory enactment.

There must be a law defining labor's rights, for without it we are daily witnessing the denial of our rights by our courts and the growth of a judicially credited group to whom special privileges are given.

In addition, an effective and just anti-injunction measure must be enacted by Congress.—Iron Molders' Journal.

THE NEW NATIONAL HYMN.

My country, 'tis of thee,
Land where things used to be
So cheap, we sing,
Land where folks once could buy
Things that are now so high,
To thee with many a sigh,
Our memories cling.

Some of our children swear
That what they eat and wear
Takes all their wad.
Others avow that they
Eat only once a day
And for it cannot pay,
So help them God.

Thy people humbly crave
To pull from out the grave
At least one leg.
We do not ask to dine
On flesh of beef or swine,
But give us, Lord Divine,
One good fresh egg.

Our Father's land, with thee,
Blest home of liberty,
We choose to stop.
We don't exactly like
So soon to henceward hike,
But we must hit the pike
If things don't stop.

—Exchange.

The Stand of the Desperate

By Robert Dvorak.

Driven from pillar to post, robbed, fined and persecuted for years, the garment workers of Chicago turned desperately and refused to be driven further.

Despised, ridiculed and looked down upon as inferior timber, the garment workers, mostly foreigners, turned like the timid deer, fatigued by long chase, and decided to rather starve than be driven any further.

Six terrible years of persecution and abuse at the hands of the garment bosses' slave drivers had embittered the helpless garment workers to such an extent that anything was preferable to a life in the tailor shops under the old established conditions.

Standing at bay, the rebelling tailors inspected their ranks. They found to their horror that they were unorganized and not capable of carrying on a fight of any duration.

They found pitted against them a merciless foe backed by the woolen mills and capital of the country, as well as the press.

They appealed to organized labor and the labor press, and their appeal was not unheeded.

The labor press and Socialist publications came to the rescue with a will.

Organized labor emptied its pockets willingly and a desperate fight between labor and capital began in earnest.

To-day the striking garment workers standing as a unit are the puzzle and marvel of the age.

Considered for years to be the weakest link in the labor world the spurned tailors turned and exhibited a class solidarity that has astounded even the old labor leaders.

Slow in deciding upon a desperate move, the garment workers are now exhibiting the same characteristics about deciding upon another desperate move.

They are refusing to go back to the slave drivers they had quit unless they get a guarantee of better treatment and a recognition of their right to organize.

The labor leaders, facing the possibilities of a cruel winter and possible starvation for the workers, did their best to get a speedy settlement of the strike.

Three peace offerings were presented to the strikers by Hart, Schaffner & Marx, and each was rejected.

None of them had the desired guarantee of better conditions and the right to organize in the shops.

The agreements guaranteed the acceptance of employes without discrimination, as to unionism, but failed to guarantee the recognition of the union and its principles.

Puzzled by the determination of the strikers to stick out for a better agreement, in spite of possible hunger and cold, the officials of the unions have nothing left to do but support the determined army of 41,000 until the strikebound firms give in or extreme starvation forces the strikers to work.

Every one feels that the success of the strike depends upon the support of those on the outside.

If the funds necessary for the continuation of the strike stop, the workers will have to go back to conditions that may be even worse than those borne before the strike.

Going back to work as losers will dishearten the strikers.

Going back disheartened will mean loss of enthusiasm in the union and spell disorganization.

Once disorganized the garment workers will never be able to get together for many years.

The strikers will have to go back to work with a spirit of enthusiasm.

A victory of the garment workers will spell the rise of labor in Chicago.

The loss of the strike will spell the downfall of many labor organizations in Chicago.

Looking at the present strike closely, the strikers have won a victory already, but it offers the determined workers but little encouragement, after striking for almost eleven weeks, to know that they had won a signal victory by getting together in a compact body and building the nucleus for a giant union.

The strikers want material results besides those that are encouraging and theoretical. They want to feel a victory—not only read about it.

The workers in Chicago and other cities can help the garment workers gain a victory if they will stick with them.

Jesus the Carpenter

Many of the little folks who will read this issue of The Progressive Woman go to Sunday school, and there they learn the story about Jesus of Nazareth. That is what your Sunday school is for—to teach you all about this great and good man, and to tell you how to follow his commandments.

But I wonder if they really do teach them everything about Jesus. I wonder if you have learned in your Sunday schools that Jesus was not only the son of a carpenter, and was a carpenter himself, but that he was distinctly of the working class, lived and taught among the working class, and belonged to a working class organization—something akin to the labor unions we have to-day. In Osborne Ward's history of The Ancient Lowly we find that Jesus "learned to be a good, intelligent member of his union. * * * He was not above work. This is the everlasting glory of Jesus * * * that he was a lowly, humble, refined, faultless, perfect workingman, against whom never a fault of movement or slip of judgment was discovered from the days he trod the earth down to our loving age."

Jesus wanted the poor people—who were mostly slaves—of his age to unite and better their conditions. why he was crucified. The rulers of who he was crucified. The rulers of his time didn't want the poor taught, didn't want them organized, didn't want so great a leader among them. So they crucified Jesus, the leader.

When you think, at Christmas time, of the babe in the manger, remember that he was one of your class, that he wanted your kind to unite and better your conditions. That for your sakes he gave his life.

And so this spirit of sacrifice for the poor and lowly on of the earth should be in you, not only on Christmas, but at all times, to the extent that you, too, will work for the poor, will unite with the big and little children of your class, and work as hard as you can to bring about that unity of working people for The New Time, that Jesus taught.

If your parents have not already

done so, I hope some time they will read "Ancient Lowly" and tell you the story of Jesus, and the workingmen's unions to which he belonged, and which struggled so very hard to exist in his day. It is a very fascinating story, and I am sure you will listen carefully to it.—The Progressive Woman.

On His Track.

"Why are you standing on that railroad track?"

"I am looking for the president of the road."

"Do you think you will find him?"

"Well, you see, I am on his track."

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FOR OUR PRESS.

Receipts for subscriptions to stock of the LABOR PUBLISHING CO., and donations, since the report on October 31st, 1910, were as follows:

Table with columns: Name, Shares, Amounts. Lists donors like Joseph Schneider, Brewsters and Malsters' Union No. 6, etc., with their respective share counts and monetary contributions.

Total receipts to Jan. 3, 1911.....1993 shares \$10,932.48

Received since October 31, 1910..... 67 shares \$ 424.75

Received as previously reported.....1926 shares 10,498.73

Total receipts to Jan. 3, 1911.....1993 shares \$10,932.48

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.

Bakers' International Union, Local No. 4, Will Celebrate Saturday, January 14.

Local No. 4, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary and silver jubilee at New Club Hall, Thirteenth and Chouteau avenue, Saturday, January 14, beginning at 8 p. m.

Bakers' Union No. 4 invites the members of organized labor and its friends to join with it on this occasion. We assure you that you will be entertained to your heart's delight.

- 1. March, "Flag of Victory".....Orchestra
2. Overture.
3. Cornet soloSelected
4. Song, "May Day Evening".....
.....Mass Chorus Workingmen's Singing Societies
5. Address Chris Rucker
6. Concert WaltzOrchestra
7. SongsMrs. Matilda Pruffrock-Bauer
8. SongWorkingmen's Singing Societies
9. Baritone solo.
10. Address, "History of International and Local Unions".....
.....Peter Beisel, Member of International Executive Board
11. Comical sketchesMr. Henry Pollack
12. "Marseillaise"Orchestra and Mass Chorus Dancing.

The hall will be profusely decorated. A number of organizations have decided to attend in a body with their banners. Rest assured that there will be nothing left undone to make the evening a memorable one for the bakery workers of St. Louis. Don't forget the date—January 14th.

Fraternally yours, BAKERS' UNION NO. 4.

STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING.

The first annual meeting of the shareholders of the Labor Publishing Company is hereby called, in accordance with its by-laws and the Missouri corporation laws, to be held on the third Thursday in January, 1911 (January 19th, 1911), at 9 o'clock a. m., at 966 Chouteau avenue, St. Louis, Missouri, for the purpose of nominating nine (9) members of the Board of Directors; elect an Auditing Committee of three (3); elect a committee of three (3) to conduct the election for members of the Board of Directors, hereby fixed for the following Saturday, January 21, 1911, from 9 o'clock a. m. till 10 o'clock p. m.; elect an editor-in-chief and transact such other business as may properly come before it.

WM. M. BRANDT, President. ADOLPH F. GERMER, Secretary. St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 20, 1910

International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers.

Following are the new officers of the Journeymen Steam Fitters and Helpers, No. 29, for the next six months: President, J. J. O'Brien; vice-president, John Johnson; secretary-treasurer, John Riegert; business agent, Frank Sworts; inspector, E. Barry; inside guard, C. Laforce; outside guard, Wm. Sneed; trustees—D. Peters, T. McLean and J. Egan; executive board—J. J. O'Brien, chairman; John Riegert, secretary; F. Sworts, John Johnson, E. Barry, C. Laforce, Wm. Sneed, T. McLean, Hy. Rleckus, Ed Casey, R. Larkin, P. Coyne, Ed Purcell, Joseph Barrett, Ed Dunn.

AS A READER OF

ST. LOUIS LABOR

You are interested in its EDITORIAL POLICY. You read it for the things that are NOT found in other newspapers.

You read it because it is a SOCIALIST publication. You are interested in the SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW.

But you ought to know and you want to know more.

You want to know all the NEWS of the Socialist and Labor circles.

You want to know and you ought to know the significance of current events from a Socialist and Labor standpoint.

To get this news you must read a DAILY paper with the SAME EDITORIAL POLICY AS ST. LOUIS LABOR.

There is such a paper. That paper is the CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST.

It is different from other daily papers. It is different BECAUSE It tells the truth.

It is a workingman's paper. Its business is human progress.

It is PUBLISHED FOR THOSE WHO DARE TO THINK.

If you are a progressive Socialist, and want to keep in touch DAILY with what goes on in the world of labor—want to feel the pulse of the entire Socialist and Labor movement of America, send in your subscription.

Subscription Rates: One year\$3.00 Six months 1.50 Four months 1.00 One month25 At least send in a quarter and try it for a month.

CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST, 180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Marx & Haas Fight Pushed by Garment Workers

St. Louis District Council of United Garment Workers of America sent the following statement to all the labor unions of the cities where the Marx & Haas Clothing Company is doing business:

"St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 2, 1911. "To Organized Labor and to the Retail Clothiers:

"As our attention has been repeatedly called to the fact that the agents of the Marx & Haas Clothing Company have been circulating rumors to retail clothing merchants and union men in various localities that their fight against the United Garment Workers' Unions had been settled, we wish to warn all retail dealers and union men to be on their guard and pay no attention to the misinformation that the firm's agents are circulating.

"The trouble is still on. We are in a better position to-day than ever before and more determined to fight this battle to a successful conclusion than we were at any other time. Organized Labor can rest assured that we will keep up this fight until we regain our rights, namely, the right of organization and recognition of our union. Our slogan will always be "Keep up the fight until we win.

"In conclusion, we again thank the clothing dealers and union men for their liberal support, and ask them not to accept any statement of a settlement as correct until officially notified by our District Council.

Fraternally,

"OTTO KAEMMERER,

President District Council, No. 4, United Garment Workers of America, St. Louis, Mo."

Life too Short.

First Martian—Why are the earth's inhabitants making all this fuss about the cost of living?

Second Martian—Well, it's a labor question. You know men have always had to work in order to live, don't you?

First Martian—Well, what of it? Second Martian—Why, now they have to work so much in order to live that life isn't long enough to do it all!

21ST WARD SOCIALIST CLUB.

Twenty-first Ward Socialist Club meets every second and fourth Thursday at 4444 Penrose street. Every Socialist working man and woman is invited.

CHAS. BUTLER, Sec'y,

NINTH WARD SOCIALIST CLUB

Meets every second and fourth Thursday, at 8 o'clock p. m., at northwest corner of Ninth and Lami streets. All working men and women in sympathy with the Socialist Party are welcome.

25th Anniversary 25th

Celebrated by the

B. and C. W. Int. Union and Bakers' Local No. 4 of St. Louis

Saturday, January 14, 1911, New Club Hall, 13th and Chouteau Avenue.

Entertainment, Concert and Dance.

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500 single suit patterns will be disposed of BELOW COST

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St. Louis Workingmen's Protective Union.

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

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PHONES: Kinloch, Central 5076; Bell, Olive 2123

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

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

Who Killed Lincoln?

There is documentary evidence that has never been exploited, but which is conclusive. You will find it on pages 39, 40 and 41 of "DIAZ THE DICTATOR," the life of Diaz of Mexico in story form. It comes in in telling how Diaz came to power just as Lincoln died. Every American ought to read it and the whole story of Diaz is a romance of horror. A companion book, in which Taft also appears as a character, is "THE FRIAR'S DAUGHTER," a story of the American occupation of the Philippines.

These books are by CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER, associate editor of the Appeal to Reason, and have attracted wide attention because of their unique treatment of historical facts. The wo will be sent to any one address for 50 cents. Address ST. LOUIS LABOR, 966 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

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