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LABOR UNION JOURNAL

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VOL. I.

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No. 8

A. L. U. BOOMS IN DENVER.

Ours the Most Progressive and Prosperous Unions.

Denver, Colo., Nov. 20.
Editor American Labor Union Journal, Butte, Montana:
Dear Sir and Brother: The A. L. U. still lives and prospers in Colorado regardless of the contemptible work of disruption carried on by the A. F. of L. representatives in this vicinity for the past few months. Union men of Denver and vicinity are now waking up to the true situation and without regard to affiliation have concluded the cause of the A. L. U. was a just one and are now rallying about our standard by sending in applications for charters galore.

Regular Assembly Prosperous.

The cigar makers are being congratulated on their action in taking steps toward withdrawing delegates from the (incorporated) Trades Assembly (A. E. of L.). In reference to this central body it is only living to save funeral expenses. However, it is dying a slow but sure death. The old original Simon pure Denver Trades Council is and has always been a flourishing central body and is gaining in popularity every day. District Union No. 3, which by the way is the local central body of the A. L. U., has done a noble work in the cause of unionism and is a very necessary feature with the A. L. U. movement in Denver and should be continued.

Decision Favorable to the Union.

A case of a great deal of importance of lovers of justice and fair play was decided in Judge Hynes' court on the 18th inst. in favor of the defendant. The case was known as Carriage and Wagon workers' association vs. Temple Bros. This association is one of the most contemptible institutions in the United States, organized and chartered by the state for the express purpose of disrupting the Carriage and Wagon Workers Union. Temple Bros. had been induced to join, but when they discovered the high handed methods that were being used they withdrew. Then followed the law suit to collect a certain forfeit of \$100. The association had used all its moral suasion to aid in the organization of dual unions among their workmen and succeeded in two cases, but have failed in the third case so far. The woodworkers and blacksmiths are organized and the painters have made three attempts and in each case have failed. All this is done under the auspices of the A. F. of L., directed by that very able disorganizer, Mr. J. D. Pierce.

Butchers 1,500 Strong.

All the A. L. U. unions in Denver are in a very prosperous condition. The butchers at this writing hold first place on the membership role and are now looking forward to the time in the near future when they will be 1,500 strong. In reference to this organization it is not only a larger one, but it is also a strictly up-to-date union from a business point of view. It has been said that the first impressions are the most lasting. This is no doubt true in the case of the candidate to the Butchers' union, as he will receive lasting impressions while astride of the goat. They will give a ball in the Elks' hall, Mining Exchange building, on Thanksgiving eve, which promises to be an extra choice cut in that line. The grocery clerks are also booming in the way of new members, and with the butchers, make a very strong pair to draw to.

Laundry Workers Growing Rapidly.

The laundry workers will soon be able to render a good account of themselves, as they are now adding new members to the role at a rapid rate.

Firemen and Engineers Prosperous.

The Firemen's and Engineers' Unions are both in very prosperous circumstances and continuously bringing in new members. The former had a strike of only a few hours' duration as its program the fore part of this month for the purpose of enforcing the scale. The scale was accepted and they went to work. The fire-

men believe in the old adage to "make hay while the sun shines," and are adhering to that motto.

Other Unions.

The Brewers', Drivers' and Pottery's Unions are all progressive organizations and enjoying favorable conditions. The expressmen never lose sight of the paid-up wagon card and find it a very profitable investment. Incidentally, it might be well to remark that the Hackdrivers' Union is still doing business at the old stand. They are a set of princely good fellows and make a very live union. Strangers visiting Denver will have no trouble in securing a union carriage, the best in the city.

Kindel's Mattresses still Unfair.

The Mattress Makers' Union is still in the ring and in good condition, notwithstanding the long-hand fight they have had with the George J. Kindel factory. The union factories are running to their full capacity, while the Kindel factory has lost a large portion (about two-thirds) of its business. The union is about to give a ball at Manitou hall, which, from indications, will be a howling success.

Organization Wave Struck Denver.

The Ash Haulers' and Lumbermen's Unions are both up-to-date organizations and are doing valiant work in the way of perfecting their unions. In fact an organization wave has struck Denver and all the A. L. U. unions have got in the swim. The office in Butte may look for new applications for charters in the near future.

Teamsters' National is Progressive.

Charles Robb, representing the National Teamsters' Union of America, is now in the city in the interest of his organization and is meeting with success in the way of organizing the teaming industries of Denver. He is a gentleman with a great deal of weight (about 250 pounds) as an organizer and teamsters will do well to grasp the opportunity which he holds out to them. This is a very progressive organization, only a year old, with 55,000 members. They refer us to Chicago for past history, which is good reference.

There are many more good things that might be said for the A. L. U. unions in Denver if time and space would permit, but the good nature of ye editor has already been imposed upon to such an extent that he may never care to hear from Denver again. Trusting that the other readers of the Journal will from time to time write a resume of affairs in their locality, as we are all anxious to hear about the A. L. U. in all quarters. We remain,

Yours in Union,
R. and G.

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON.

Spokane, Wash., Nov. 24, 1902.
Editor American Labor Union Journal:
The Gas Workers' strike is progressing satisfactorily. It was reported in the Trades Council last night that 7,000 of the 14,000 lights of this company had been cut out. At this rate we do not expect to see the company last much longer.

The Hack, Bus and Transfer Drivers' Union is one of the best in the city. At the last meeting they secured a raise of \$5.00 a month for transfer drivers. They ordered the Journal for every member of the union, and sent money to cover the same.

The Bakers' Union is tangled up in a bad muss with the Master Bakers. Last year they entered into an agreement not to work for an independent bakery, and as a result they were compelled to pull their men out of a shop that they had signed a contract with because the proprietor refused to join the Masters' Association. They are going to have a hard time of it, but after they have reorganized all this sort of thing will be dispensed with.

The International Typographical Union, by referendum vote, has decided to assess each of its members 5 cents per month for the maintenance of the "Typographical Journal," which will be supplied to all members.

Pennsylvania gave 23,310 Socialist votes, a gain of more than 400 per cent. over 1900.

Notes from the Field

The Socialist party has twenty-four branches at Milwaukee.

A large federal labor union was organized at Calgary, Alta. Canada, last week.

The union men of Hamilton, Montana, have opened a free Socialist reading room.

Ben R. Cushman, Socialist, was elected alderman at Saginaw, Mich., by five majority.

During July 278,000 working people in England sustained decreases in wages, averaging 15 cents each per week.

Street car men of Bloomington, Ill., have won their strike, the company granting all of the demands of the strikers.

The Miners' Union hospital at Telluride, Colo., is the largest and most substantial building in that section of the country.

The Northern Pacific Railroad company has made a large reduction in the force employed in the shops at Livingston.

The United Brewery Workmen are urgently appealing to the union men everywhere to refuse to patronize Cincinnati non-union made beer.

Official returns everywhere show an increase over the Socialist vote reported immediately after the election. The total vote in the nation will exceed 300,000.

Official returns give the Socialist party vote in Illinois as 19,945. The Socialist Labor party received 8,325, making a total Socialist vote in that State of 28,270.

Member of the Executive Board Harry N. Banks, who has been organizing for the American Labor Union at Pueblo for a number of weeks, has returned to Denver.

Denver headquarters of the American Labor Union are at room 36, 1731 Arapahoe street. Member of the Executive Board Banks announces visitors welcome at all times.

At the last election in Mannheim, Germany, the Socialist party not only elected 20 councilmen, but swept the city by rolling up as many votes as all of the old parties combined.

As a result of a conflict between the police and striking cigar makers at Havana, Monday, two strikers were killed and many others, including several police officers, were severely injured.

The Boston Globe, with a large scare-head, last week announced that the Socialists of Massachusetts were happy by reason of having increased their vote 210 per cent. at the late election.

Rev. W. A. Allen, pastor of the Methodist Church at Billings, has come out flat-footedly for Socialism. He is now delivering a series of lectures before the labor unions of Billings every Wednesday evening.

The official journal of the International Association of Machinists advises local unions to discuss economics at lodge meetings. The old "keep politics out of the union" idea is fast becoming obsolete among progressive unionists everywhere.

The third annual report of the General Federation of Trades Unions of Australia states that 77 general organizations are affiliated with it, and the total membership has advanced to 419,606. It has a reserve fund of more than \$300,000.

In San Francisco public interest is now centered in the proposition for the city to take over the street railway. In December an election will be held at which the voters will determine whether the city shall issue bonds to the amount of \$700,000 for the purpose of buying the road. If this carries, as now seems likely, San Francisco will be the first city in the United States to operate a street railroad.

The sawmill located at Stevensville, Montana, has been removed to Florence. The Lumbermen's Union will be located at Florence hereafter, and will be known as Bitter Root Lumbermen's Union, No. 198.

There are 58 counties in Ohio, and every one of them cast votes for the Socialist ticket. Hamilton county leads with 4,373 votes. The total vote in the State for secretary of state was 14,270. The vote in 1900 was 4,650, a net gain of more than 200 per cent.

Laborers in the wool stores of Buenos-Ayres won their strike after a few days' suspension of work. The companies have conceded the ten-hour workday, with double pay for Sundays, holidays and overtime. They formerly worked eleven hours and more.

Another Thomas J. Hgerty, the famous Socialist, will tour Montana for the Socialist party, commencing early in January. The exact dates will be announced later. Unions or locals wishing dates for Father Hgerty should correspond with Clarence Smith, Box 1067, Butte, Montana.

The arbitration court at Perth, New South Wales, recently gave a decision in the case of the hootype operators. The award fixes the rate for piecework at 3 3/4 pence per 1,000 for day work, and 4 pence for night work. This amounts to 7 1/2 cents and 8 cents, respectively, in American money.

We have received samples of our American Labor Union lapel buttons. They are very pretty. There will be two grades of these buttons, one to be worn by the men and the other for the women. Orders received will be filled promptly, as we expect to receive the buttons shortly after this number of the paper is issued.

The total receipts for the International Socialist Review for October amounted to \$1,087. \$803.33 of this was for literature sold. Messrs. Kerr & Co., the publishers of the Review, are asking for buyers for stock in the company, by which they hope to raise \$2,000 for the purpose of having the second and third volumes of Marx's "Capital" translated into English.

Last Monday the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners began its regular semi-annual session at their headquarters in the Mining Exchange Building, Denver, Colorado. The first half of the year of the present fiscal term has shown a splendid increase in membership for the Federation. The financial condition of the organization is better than ever before.

L. Hughes, member of the executive board of the American Labor Union, held an enthusiastic meeting of the lumber men at Milan, Wash., Sunday afternoon, November 23, and organized a local union. Bro. Hughes found some union "lumber jacks" there from Montana, who made the work of organizing easy, and who will give the new union their best efforts. The Montana "lumber jacks" know the benefits of organization and are always ready and anxious to assist in extending the good work.

Apple Creek Trades and Labor Assembly of the American Labor Union, has determined to force all non-union made cigars out of the market of that district. A resolution to that effect was adopted at the last meeting of the assembly. Thus the members of the American Labor Union continue to fight for the labels of the American Federation of Labor while the paid organizers of that organization work for the disruption and destruction of the unions belonging to the American Labor Union.

A resolution intended to commit the American Federation of Labor to Socialism was introduced at the annual convention last week by Delegate Victor Berger, of Milwaukee. The debate lasted all day. President Gompers, as usual, opposed political action of any kind, making a bitter fight in favor of pure and simple trades union tactics. The resolution failed to pass by a vote of 5,44 to 4,774. The United Mine Workers supported it throughout and voted solidly in favor of it.

SPLENDID UNION AT TUOLUMNE.

Tuolumne, Cal., Nov. 18, 1902.
Editor A. L. U. Journal:

It is a pleasure to read the different Socialist and independent papers and note the rapid strides made by the only laboring man's party, the "Socialist Party." If we make the same per cent. gain two years from now we will have control of several states; then look out for an avalanche that will bury both of the old parties and leave in their stead a party of the people, by the people, and for the people. Those who refuse to see the new light will only bring their own house down on their heads.

In the meantime while we are preparing for the change to Socialism, let us stick together shoulder to shoulder, and show the world what we are. Let us better our present condition as best we can and wait patiently. Capital is combining to such an extent that it will not be long till its climax is reached. From that point it will pass from the hands of the few to the hands of the many and be used for the benefit of all instead of a few. Then, and not until then, will the laboring man have his rights. With all the forces of money and its power to coerce and bribe men, it has not checked our growth. Instead we have made a phenomenal growth, which presages victory in the near future.

The hardest thing Socialists have to do is to convince people that they should vote as they think. So many people say "Socialism is all right, but it is not for us. We are not far enough advanced for it. It would only be throwing away our votes to vote for it now. It is like a dream, too good to be true." Sure enough, it does seem like a dream to a poor wage-slave, working 11 or 12 hours a day and getting barely enough to keep body and soul together. Such a being can hardly realize that such a thing as Socialism can be true. But it is so, and if we only have the courage to vote for it, we will have a paradise on earth.

No wiet me draw a little contrast. Under a capitalist system we have a monstrous standing army, paid hirelings of the rich, who stand ready to shoot down their poor down-trodden brothers. We have nearly a million and a half of women and children in our factories working long hours under the most degrading conditions. Our country is filled with criminals, who would be honest, upright men if they had a show. We are working from 10 to 12 hours all over the world today. A few have succeeded in getting 8 hours. Our schools and colleges receive almost no help from the government, and only the rich can get a complete education. It is necessary for nearly every boy and a good many girls to go to work as soon as they get in their teens in order to help support the family. If a man lives to a ripe old age he generally has to live on charity in his old age. If a man makes a success under the present system he does it by trampling on his neighbors. One man's fortune means the ruin of hundreds or thousands of other men equally as deserving.

On the other hand, with Socialism, we would have no use for an army, as there would be no wars and no strikes. The men who compose the army would be actual producers. Men who are now living in fine mansions and spending the summer at some resort or in Europe, gambling with what should belong to other people, would find that they would have to do their share of the work or else not eat. We would have no women and children in the different factories of the country. The women would all have nice comfortable homes to live in and every child would be in school till he was of age or longer, if necessary. After the Socialist system had become firmly rooted we would have no further use for jails, penitentiaries and the horde of officers that go with them. Instead of working 10 or 12 hours a day nobody would then work longer than 6 hours, and yet all would live in luxury.

Every child would receive the utmost education possible, and the schools would receive more support than any other one thing. They would be the pride of the people. We would have no more almshouses or charity institutions. All people would live in one grand fraternal brotherhood and everyone contributing his share to the commonwealth.

How much better that would be than the present way, where a man has to be a slave all his life, each one tries to beat his neighbor at every

"SEARCH ME."

The people by thousands were crowded about
And the president spoke, with intent
to give out
His position on trusts—and the things
that he said
Caused every old codger to doddle his
head—

And remark:
"Well, whar does he stand? D'ye see?"
And I said:
"Search me!"

The newspaper fellows were writing
like smoke,
Shorthand every darn'd word that
he spoke,
But when all the pothooks and curves
were unspun
I heard each a-asking the next other
one

This remark:
"Where did he land? Could you see?"
And he said:
"Search me!"

The folks read the papers, all anxious
to see
How dead right on trusts our Ted
must be,
But when they had scanned all the
ough and clean

Each turned to his neighbor with
questioning mein
And remarked:
"Well, whar in this d—d trust busi-
ness is he?"

But t'other un said:
"Search me!"
—Atlanta Constitution.

turn. No wonder our prisons are full.
No wonder our country is full of
tramps, who have become discouraged
with trying to be men.

Our union is prospering. We expect
to have ten or twelve candidates this
week. The Mine Workers' Union is
growing. We have organized
to give them a banquet and will have
a good literary program. We have
three unions here now and expect to
form a central body before long.

There is going to be another big
saw mill built not far from here. When
it starts up we will see that it has a
union crew.

If the A. F. of L. continues to fight
us as it is doing now in Colorado and
other places, it will soon kill itself,
because laboring men will soon see
that all the A. F. of L. wants is the
per capita tax for the Gompers gang
to live on. The A. L. U. is growing
at a very rapid rate and is already
one of the foremost bodies, as well as
the most progressive organization of
laboring men in the United States.
Hoping we may continue so, I remain,
Yours fraternally,
HERBERT S. LEVIE,
Financial Secretary-Treasurer,
Sequoia Union No. 274 A L U.
Tuolumne, California.

ANACONDA, MONTANA.

Anaconda, Mont., Nov. 21, 1902.
Editor American Labor Union Journal:
Brickmakers' Union No. 28 will have
a social session at its next regular
meeting, the third Tuesday in Decem-
ber.

Ed Oker, of the Mill and Smelters'
men's Union, is sick at St. Ann's hos-
pital.

Notices prohibiting smoking have
been posted in all of the offices and
places where workmen are employed
by the Anaconda Company.

All of the boys who were elected to
county offices at the late election have
put up their bonds and are prepared
to take their offices.

L. E. Beaudry, John Morrissey and
Henry Schuend say that the Socialist
buttons are on their breasts to stay.
They will be the first members of the
State legislature west of Massachu-
setts to wear the Socialist button.
They are class-conscious workmen
and will fight for the workers.

The Anaconda local of the Socialist
party elected the following officers
last Wednesday evening: President,
James Reardon; Vice-President, Ber-
nard Oates; Second Vice-President,
Henry Benson; Recording Secretary,
N. E. Leavengood; Treasurer, Harry
Denny; Sergeant-at-Arms, Ed Hen-
roid; Trustees, Reardon, Oates, Leav-
engood and Denny.

The Socialist Publishing Co., of Spo-
kane, has installed a fine new job
press in their printing office, and is
now in a position to do all sorts of
printing for the Socialist party.

President Chas. Meyer, of the West-
ern Federation of Miners, is visiting
miners in the Cripple Creek district
near Colorado.

LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICS

Written Especially for The American Labor Union Journal
BY MARCUS W. ROBBINS, AUTHOR OF "TRYING TO CHEAT GOD."

One of the best examples that can be found of the power of custom and the manipulation that a few men can exert over the mass of their fellows is shown in the custom of "Taboo" practiced by the natives of Samoa, Hawaii and the other islands of the South Seas.

Taboo might be described as an injunction issued by the leaders of the natives, prohibiting them from doing things detrimental to the interests of the chiefs. For example, it is Taboo to eat in the presence of a chief, touch any of his property or to eat of certain kinds of food—as turtles, without having first given some to the gods—that is, to the priests. By this system of Taboo the chiefs regulate the food of the people, where they shall fish and hunt, and social intercourse of man and man, and it is one of the most powerful means that could be devised for keeping men in subjection. Making many, slaves to the few.

Now to the average laboring man, this system of Taboo and its power over the natives seems ridiculous. His opinion is that they are "suckers," to express it by a slang word, to let a few chiefs manipulate them in this way. Yet I am afraid a great majority of men in organized labor are obeying a Taboo that is as ridiculous and detrimental to their best interests as that was ever invented by a chief of Polynesia. What is the Taboo in many labor unions prohibiting the discussion of politics but Taboo of the most insidious kind?

Maybe you do not believe it, so let us look at this question. There are many lines on which mankind may be divided, but the division that concerns us is the one of capitalists and workers. Now, do capitalists go into politics? It is hardly necessary to answer it, for you know that they do.

There is not a session of your state legislature but you hear of the railroad interest, and other interests too numerous to mention. When it comes to a session of congress, it is one long string of sugar, steel, coal, Wall street interests, etc., etc. The capitalist goes into politics and goes with all his strength. And, as Jay Gould did, he contributes to the democratic fund in democratic communities and to the republican in republican ones. The two old parties are regarded with equal favor by the capitalist, J. P. Morgan being a democrat, Marcus A. Hanna a republican.

Now I would ask you fairly, if the trust magnate finds it to his interest to go into politics, must it not follow that the worker should go into politics also? And since both the democratic and republican parties support the capitalistic system based on the competitive wage; the workers' only hope is to support a political principle that antagonizes capitalism with its competitive wage system.

The majority of the workers of the United States have become sufficiently class-conscious to join labor unions. You are probably one of these. Now, how would you look at the proposition of permitting the capitalists of your city to join your union? Would you not fight it till your last breath? You know that their interests are not your interests; their class, not your class. Now you have one more step to make and that is to become sufficiently class-conscious to recognize that the political interests of all workers are the same and that it is just as foolish for the workers to divide themselves and to vote for political parties that are run by and in the interests of capitalists as it would be to elect capitalists to office in labor unions. Labor unions

are formed to benefit your material condition, raise your wages, lower your hours. Now politics, or the science of government, laws, methods of society, is the only means by which you can do this. So the members of labor unions must quit dividing their votes between republicans and democrats. When they reach that stage they will declare for class-conscious politics, which is but International Socialism.

You may be told that you cannot benefit yourself by going into politics. Yet fertile countries have been made deserts by unjust laws, sandy plains to bear fruit by just. Shackles have been forged on whole classes of men and likewise they have been loosed by laws or politics. Haven't you a few chains that you would like to knock off? If you cannot benefit yourself by going into politics, what does it mean when the hired men of the trusts get up and tell you that you must not pass laws injurious to the capitalist? Politics is the only road by which you can reach the goal of your desires.

Let me make some statements. The interests of the capitalist, notice I do not say capital, and the workers are opposed. What benefits one, hurts the other. The capitalist wishes to pay the lowest wages possible, so he employs women and herds children in gangs. He eagerly takes up any machine that will enable him to produce his products with less expense. Even if he has a factory or mill in a town and the workers relying on permanent employment have built homes around it, yet he will join a trust, dismantle the mill and move to a situation where labor is cheaper.

On the other hand, the interests of the workers are identical. Whatever will benefit one, will benefit all. So

they must learn to stand together. We have seen that the capitalist regards with equal favor both the democratic and republican parties. It is for the worker to profit by this and to regard them with equal disfavor.

The question I would ask you now, is: How much longer are you going to be hypnotized by the Taboo, "No politics in organized labor?" A Taboo that is being enforced in the interest of capitalism.

There is a labor union that has removed this taboo—the American Labor Union. The men who compose it are workers, not professional office-seekers. Can you question that they have your interest at heart? The men in it are not stepping into fat jobs under plutocracy. They have no mansions on Euclid avenue or pens in office "supporting the administration."

You must either progress and live—or stagnate and die. It is for you to decide whether this country shall be ruled by an oligarchy of multi-millionaires or a government of the people, for the people and by the people. And the only satisfactory way in which you can make this a government by the people, is to join the American Labor Union and thus declare that labor shall be class-conscious in politics.

See that you belong to a union that is progressive and is striving to benefit the worker on this world and in this life. If there is not enough of you to form a union of this kind in your city or you are already in a union but are unable to affiliate with the American Labor Union, at least support the paper of this progressive organization. The American Labor Union Journal. Fifty cents a year, published at Butte, Montana. Fraternally yours.

MARCUS W. ROBBINS,
Author of "Trying to Cheat God."

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PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

The Socialist party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of international socialism and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into a collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class are rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enable them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of the whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial domain abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force of bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in upholding the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The democrats, republicans, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collecting powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-Operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure government control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

WAYLAND'S GRAPE AND CANISTER

Appeal to Reason Pours Hot Shot Into the Capitalist Camp

Socialists ask nothing for themselves or families that they are not willing and anxious that every man and his family shall enjoy.

It is not a question of monopoly or no monopoly. It is a question of whether the people shall get the benefit of the monopoly or the millionaire drones get the benefit. Monopolies are here to stay. Shall they be public or private?

The new Hoe machine being erected in the office has a "plow" on it that makes the first fold as the sheet runs through. The facetious office boy remarked, when told what it was called, "that it must be to prevent the Socialists from getting snowed under." Correct.

Two years ago the New York Journal stated in big letters that the democratic party was the only party that

would prevent Socialism. Wonder what it thinks now? The democratic party is a back number. Its name is People with a big D. It stands no show of ever doing anything except helping to keep the republican party in power. Good-bye, democracy. Get off the track for the coming giant of Socialism.

John Greenwood, a Kansas City laborer, unable to support his family of children, gave them away, according to the Kansas City World. If anyone tells you this country is not prosperous, shoot him on the spot. We are the wealthiest nation on the planet. Sounds big, doesn't it? Makes you swell up with pride to hear it! I suppose Greenwood voted to have the prosperity continue by voting one of the old party tickets, as usual. How intelligent!

Years ago, when the Socialists were

pointing out the inevitable logic of the trusts, they were denounced as Socialists and communists. But the trusts grew and flourished just the same. Who, now, is howling about them? The very men who then turned a deaf ear to those who were warning the people that danger lurked in these combinations. They could easily have been controlled then, but it will take iron to do it now. Fools fail to see danger until they fall in the ditch.

Men are born poor and die poor, and are unhappy; men are born poor and die rich, and are unhappy; men are born rich and die poor, and are unhappy; men are born rich and die rich, and are unhappy. Happiness and contentment are not possible under the existing social anarchy, except men are very ignorant, like the most ignorant slaves, who had no idea above their slavery, and therefore could have no dreams of a higher existence.

In no age did the rulers exhibit the extravagance and ostentation that the rich drones of today display. Not satisfied with one mansion costing millions, they build them by the score for each family. The rich family has palaces in the city, the country, in the mountains, on the mountains, at the seashore, in sequestered valleys, while the poor helots who do the work and act as their servants have not a hovel to cover their heads, but hire hovels from the rich! No kings ever had the graft at squeezing the people that the rich of today possess. And the working people? Oh, all they are for is to make riches and pleasures for their employers.

The official journal of the International Association of Machinists advises local unions to discuss economics at lodge meetings. The old "keep politics out of the union" idea is fast becoming obsolete among progressive unionists everywhere.

IN LIFE.

I would not that my friends should weep
When I am gone;
Nor o'er my grave their vigils keep,
Sad, and alone.

I would they'd smile on me in life,
While I am here;
Nor rend their hearts in futile grief,
O'er death's bier.

I would not that my friends should weave
Chaplets of bloom,
To lay upon my bier, or leave
Strown o'er my tomb;

But I would breathe in life the scent
From friendship's flowers:
Let bloom of love for me be meant
During life's hours.

I would not that my friends should give
Vain words of praise
To me, when gone; but while I live
With them my days.

I would they speak good words of cheer;
Or, closer still,
I would they'd breathe in my glad ear
Love's sweet, dear fill.

I would not that my friends should rear,
Over my dust,
Some flaunting shaft, some granite
Spear,
Far upward thrust:
I would that in my life they'd come
Close to my heart,
And show, through love, that life is
One,
Death cannot part.

Anna Laetitia Washburn.

Brother Peter Johnson, at Murray, Utah, sends fifteen subscriptions, the result of an hour's work at the smelter. Some of the subscriptions are not yet paid for, and Brother Johnson says they may be paid by the smelter.



Capitalism Will Be Lost in the Rising Tide of Socialism.

THE WHITE CHILD SLAVES

BY LUCINDA B. CHANDLER IN WILSHIRE'S MAGAZINE

"I know the sweat shops of Hester Street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity and degradation of the Whitechapel district; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know the lot of the coal miner in Pennsylvania, and I know somewhat of Siberian atrocities but for misery, woe and hopeless suffering, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton mill slavery of South Carolina!"

This summing up of the shameful outcome of the ruling spirit of commercial feudalism, that debauches conscience, overrides every impulse of human kindness, ignores all considerations of the present and future welfare, not only of the child sacrificed, but of our civilization, is presented by the editor of the "Phillistine" after a visit to the cotton mills of South Carolina.

The annals of negro slavery in that section before the war for its abolition are a bright and commendable record compared to this holocaust of child life. The black child was left to the enjoyment and development of physical being. Though no benefit of learning was its portion, the freedom of childhood from tasks that hindered healthful growth and physical enjoyment was theirs.

In the cotton mill slavery, the child slavery of today, the rapacity of capitalism sets aside every instinct and impulse that distinguishes humanity from the ravenous beast. The lives of innocent children are as ruthlessly sacrificed to the insatiable appetite of greed as they would be in the claws of the hungry tiger to his stomach!

Surely our people cannot be so paralyzed by this monster of wealth-worship that the wreckage of child life will fail to arouse human sympathy, and quicken to effective action the sense of justice that will seek the abolition of this fearful crime against helplessness, this horrible outrage of every instinct and impulse that distinguishes the human from the brute.

The following are extracts from the report of the investigations by Mr. Hubbard:

"The cotton mills of South Carolina are mostly owned and operated by New England capital. In many instances the machinery of the cotton mills has been moved entire from Massachusetts to South Carolina. The move was made for the ostensible purpose of being near the raw product, but the actual reason is that in South Carolina there is no regulation of child labor. Heartless cupidty has joined hands with brutal ignorance, and the result is child labor of so terrible a type that African slavery was a paradise compared with it.

"The infant factory slaves of South Carolina can never develop into men and women. There are no mortality statistics; the mill owners baffle all attempts of the outside public to get at the facts, but my opinion is that in many mills death sets the prisoner free inside of four years. And this opinion is derived from careful observation, and interviews with several skilled and experienced physicians who practice in the vicinity of the mills."

One may feel and say it's a blessing they die, but what shall we feel and say of national honor and civic righteousness? What can we claim as a people pretending to have a religion based on the teachings of the Christ who left to His followers the new commandment? Are we satisfied that capital shall increase its profits by piling misery upon helpless childhood and sweeping them into graves recklessly?

"Boys and girls from the age of six years and upwards are employed. They usually work from six o'clock in the morning until seven at night. At noon I saw them squat on the floor and devour their food, which consisted mostly of corn bread and bacon. These emaciated pigmies munched in silence and then toppled over in sleep on the floor in all the abandon of babyhood. When it came time to go to work the man marched through the groups making the sleepers, shouting in their ears, lifting them to their feet, and

in a few instances, kicking the delinquents into wakefulness.

"From a quarter to one until seven o'clock they worked without respite or rest. These toddlers, I saw for the most part did but one thing—they watched the flying spindles on a frame twenty feet long and tied the broken threads. They could not sit at their tasks; back and forth they paced, watching with inanimate, dull look the flying spindles.

"The noise of the machinery and the constant looking at the flying wheels reduce nervous sensation in a few months to the minimum. Memory is as dead as hope. He does his work like an automaton; he is part of the roaring machinery; memory is seared, physical vitality is at such a low ebb that he ceases to suffer.

"At a certain night school where several good women were putting forth efforts to mitigate the condition of these baby slaves, one of the teachers told me that they did not try to teach the children to read—they simply tried to arouse the spirit through pictures and telling stories."

The negro slave of ante-bellum days might have been driven to twelve hours of daily toil, but, first, he had enjoyed the physical childhood of animal nature, and was consequently fitted physically for hard tasks. Nor average housewife of the north. There was no tread mill toll comparable to that of the cotton mill baby slaves

that of the domestic helper and the mad aspirations into the mire of a sordid ambition merely to accumulate wealth.

"South Carolina cannot abolish child labor because the mill owners who live in New England oppose it. They have invested millions in South Carolina with the tacit understanding with the legislature and governor, that there shall be no state inspection of mills, nor interference in any way with the management of employees. Each succeeding election the candidates for the legislature secretly make promises that they will not pass a law forbidding child labor. They cannot hope for election otherwise. The capitalists combine with the 'crackers' and any man who favors the restriction of child labor is marked."

What a picture the opening twentieth century displays on the canvas of the land of Washington and Lincoln! Citizens of the native state of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and many of the reviled abolitionists of the past century, and whose efforts to bring freedom to the chattel slave and to make our country really a "land of the free" finally brought the legal emancipation of the negro, these Massachusetts citizens less than half a century later, conspiring to fasten the chains of slavery on helpless childhood!

Could anything set forth in more striking contrast the principles of jus-

his cheek. My smile of friendship meant nothing to him—he shrank from my touch, as though he expected punishment."

Has any kind and degree of slavery in the record of human oppression and iniquity begun to compare with this wiping out of all that is the necessity, enjoyment, and blessedness of child life? And what is the benefit to capitalism of this invasion and devastation of human life?

"I learned from a reliable source that a cotton mill having a pay roll of six thousand dollars a week in New England, can run in the South for four thousand dollars a week. This means a saving of just one hundred thousand dollars a year; and the mills having a capital of one million dollars thus get a clear gain of ten per cent. per annum."

It is not enough that capital has by fleecing nature's resources made of man's labor a commodity off which a profit is taken by the investor, but the bodies of helpless children and their possible development into men and women are swept by this remorseless tyrant into untold miseries and untimely graves.

"If the child workers of South Carolina could be marshalled by bugle call, headed by file and drum, and marched through Commonwealth Avenue, out past the statue of William Lloyd Garrison, erected by sons of the men who dragged him through the streets at a rope's end, the sight would appal the heart and drive conviction home. Imagine an army of twenty thousand pigmy bondsmen, half naked, half starved, yellow, weazened, deformed in body, with drawn faces that show spirits too dead to weep, too hopeless to laugh, too pained to feel! Would not aristocratic Boston lock her doors, bar the shutters and turn in shame from such a sight?"

But the most glaring evidence of debauched conscience and moral strabismus is the fact that the exploiter of human life and devastator of manhood and womanhood puts a mask of piety over the system.

"Instead of abolishing child labor, capital gives a lot, near the mill property, to any preacher who will build a church, and another lot for a parsonage, and then agrees to double the amount any denomination will raise for a church edifice. Within a quarter of a mile from one cotton mill in Columbia, S. C., I counted seven churches completed and in process of completion."

And in these so-called churches of God it is pretended the teachings of Jesus, who said all were children of "Our Father," and emphasized loving the neighbor as oneself, are presented to these slaves of man's greed. And one of the preachers in excusing the horrible crime, said to Mr. Hubbard, "Oh, of course, it's pretty bad—but then, dear brother, you know the children are better off in the mill than running on the streets."

The child-destroying slavery in South Carolina stands out in bold relief the apex of the monumental crimes of all stages and forms of slavery of the past centuries from those of barbarism on through what is termed civilization, and even Christian (?) civilization!

The savagery of demons could not transcend the enormous cruelty and atrocious crime against humanity of the heartless seekers of wealth, and robbers of the inalienable right of every child born to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Bands of brave men and excellent women are waging war to stop the slaughter of the innocents in Georgia and Alabama, where "child labor exists to an extent nearly as grievous as in South Carolina."

May the hour soon arrive when the enlightened, love-quickened conscience of our nation shall seek the restoration of childhood's inalienable rights by the adoption of an economic and industrial system that shall establish justice, and make human life and development, progress and happiness of more importance and value, and more sacred than property and the accumulation of dollars.



In the heavy gloom of DEATH, DISEASE and IGNORANCE, a child worked at a cotton loom, and the Monster who made the child work, was considered a good Christian and a respected citizen by the inhabitants of this SOCIAL HELL.

today. And these Massachusetts capitalists, who seek to increase their profits by exploiting the lives of children and interfering with the legal protection of infants, were not born and bred as were the Southern slave owners in the atmosphere of an institution for which they were not responsible.

They are the product and representatives of an economic system that cheats humanity of its rightful inheritance in the bounties of nature, and robs the worker of the product of his toil, that dwarfs manhood and womanhood, destroys liberty, equality and was he usually exhausted by those required of him, and could join in the social festivities agreeable to him after the day's task was finished. During a two years' stay in Southern Alabama, just preceding the war of the rebellion, the writer never came in contact with a slave, either on a plantation or in a hotel, who was incapable of mirth and a jolly social time.

The amount of effort put forth by house servants usually was far below

justice, liberty and the equal rights of all human beings for which Garrison and his co-workers struggled and suffered, and the inhuman debasing spirit that today in capitalism buries all these ennobling principles in the grave of heartless, selfish, all-devouring greed?

Would that every man and woman in our broad land could look upon the 20,000 child slaves in Southern cotton mills and realize what a colossal crime is being enacted.

Mr. Hubbard says: "I thought to lift one of the little toddlers to ascertain his weight. Straightway through is thirty-five pounds of skin and bones ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled forward to a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn and full of pain was it. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. I tried to stroke his head and caress

misleading policies of corrupt political parties. The workingman must realize sooner or later that his only hope lies in the creation of a party from his own ranks.—Union Sentinel.

Production, in general, is socialized already. The workers, collectively, in the great manufacturing of the country, now produce all things necessary to life, comfort and happiness. But there is anarchy in the distribution of these products, to the extent that the idlers, the capitalists, the non-producers, appropriate for themselves the social products of the workers, leaving but a small pittance, in the form of wages for the actual producers. Socialism seeks to abolish anarchy in distribution by giving to the workers individually the things they produce collectively.

and cruelty increases so much more people will look towards incoming knowledge of Socialism as the only possible means of getting rid of growing competitive pressure of money power, bitterly felt on every side. But at the same time the growth of Socialism is dreaded by greedy capitalists and capitalistic government. All things taken together our prospect for Socialism is bright.—The Labor World, Tokio, Japan.

The private ownership of the opportunity to work is the cause of labor's long hours of toil, low wages and bad working conditions. To remedy an evil is to remove the cause of the evil. Can the private ownership of the job and the tools of production be changed

Under competition much labor is wasted; under the trust much labor is used, but the workers reap no benefit. They are thrown idle and become competitors in the labor market, reducing the wages of the rest. Under socialism the labor would be saved, instead of resulting as at present, in the saving of labor would mean short hours and brighter lives for all.—Which will you, as a worker, choose? Brewers' Journal.

Socialism is now a recognized force in Japan, especially among workers as well as among the intelligent portion of our people. As the industrial capitalist system advances, the growth of Socialism will be accelerated more and more. As the capitalistic tyranny

WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL

BY KARL MARX

PART THREE

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was an important increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence, corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborers still received the same money for their labor as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.; and their wages had fallen, not because of the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Let us finally suppose that the money price of labor remains the same, while in consequence of the employment of new machinery, or on account of a good season, or for some similar reason, there is a fall in the price of all agricultural and manufactured goods. For the same amount of money the laborers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages have therefore risen, just because their money price has not changed.

The money price of labor, the nominal amount of wages, does not therefore fall together with the real wages, that is, with the amount of commodities that may practically be obtained in exchange for the wages. Therefore, if we speak of the rise and fall of wages, the money price of labor or the nominal wage is not the only thing which we must keep in view.

But neither the nominal wages, that is, the amount of money for which the laborer sells himself to the employer, nor yet the real wages, that is, the amount of commodities which he can buy for this money, exhaust the relations which are comprehended in the term wages.

For the meaning of the word is chiefly determined by its relation to the gain or profit of the employer—it is a proportionate and relative expression. The real wage expresses the price of labor in relation to the price of other commodities; the relative wage, on the contrary, expresses the price of direct labor in relation to that of stored-up labor, the relative value of wage-labor and capital, the proportionate value of capitalist and laborer.

Real wages may remain the same, or they may rise, and yet the relative wages may none the less have fallen. Let us assume, for example, that the price of all the means of subsistence has fallen by two-thirds, while a day's wages have only fallen one-third, as for instance, from three shillings to two. Although the laborer has a larger amount of commodities at his disposal for two shillings than he had before for three, yet his wages are nevertheless diminished in proportion to the capitalist's gain. The capitalist's profit—the manufacturer's, for instance—has been augmented by a shilling, since for the smaller sum of exchange value which he pays to the laborer, the laborer has to produce a larger sum of exchange value than he did before. The value of capital is raised in proportion to the value of labor. The division of social wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate. The capitalist class over the laboring class is increased; the social position of the laborer has deteriorated, and is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist.

What then is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?

They stand in inverse proportion to one another. Capital's exchange value, profit, rises in the same proportion in which the exchange value of labor, wages, sinks; and conversely. The rise in profit is exactly measured by the fall in wages, and the fall in profit by the rise in wages.

The objection may perhaps be made that the capitalist may have gained a profit by advantageous exchange of his products with other capitalists, or by a rise in the demand for his goods whether in consequence of the opening of new markets, or a greater demand in the old markets that the profit of the capitalist may thus increase by means of overreaching another capitalist, independently of the rise and fall of wages and the exchange value of labor; or that the profit of the capitalist may also rise through an improvement in the implements of labor, a new application of natural forces, and so on.

But it must nevertheless be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in a different way. The capitalist has acquired a larger amount of exchange value with the same amount of labor, without having had to pay a higher price for the labor on that account; that is to say, a lower price has been paid for the labor in proportion to the net profit which it yields to the capitalist.

Besides we must remember that in spite of the fluctuations in the price of commodities, the average price of each commodity—the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities—is determined by its cost of production. The overreaching and tricks that go on within the capitalist class therefore necessarily cancel one another. Improvements in machinery and new applications of natural forces to the service of the production enable them to turn out in a given time with the same amount of labor and capital a larger quantity of products, but by no means a larger quantity of exchange value. If by the application of the spinning-jenny I can turn out twice as much thread in an hour as I could before its invention; for instance, a hundred pounds instead of fifty, that is because the cost of production has been halved, or because at the same cost I can turn out double the amount of products.

Finally in whatsoever proportion the capitalist classes—the bourgeoisie—whether of one country or of the market of the whole world—share among themselves the net profits of production, the total amount of these net profits always consists, merely of the amount by which taking all in all, direct labor has been increased by means of stored-up labor. The sum total increase, therefore, in the proportion in which labor augments capital: that is, in the proportion in which profit rises as compared with wages.

Thus we see that even if we confine ourselves to the relation between capital and wage-labor, the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor.

A rapid increase of capital is equal to a rapid increase of profits. Profits can only make a rapid increase, if the exchange value of labor—the relative wage—makes an equally rapid decline.

The relative wage may decline, although the actual wage rises along with the nominal wage, or money price of labor; if only it does not rise in the same proportion as profit. For instance, if the trade is good, wages rise five per cent, and profits on the other hand thirty per cent, then the proportional or relative wage has not increased but declined.

Thus if the receipts of the laborer increase with the rapid advance of capital, yet at the same time there is a widening of the social gulf which separates the laborer from the capitalist, and also an increase in the power of capital over labor and in the dependence of labor upon capital.

The meaning of the statement that the laborer has an interest in the rapid increase of capital is merely this; the faster the laborer increases his master's dominion, the richer will be the crumbs that he will get from his table; and the greater the number of laborers that can be employed and called into existence, the greater will be the number of slaves of which capital will be the owner.

We have thus seen that even the most fortunate event for the working class, the speediest possible increase of capital, however much it may improve the material condition of the laborer, cannot abolish the opposition between his interests and those of the bourgeois or capitalist class. Profit and wages remain just as much as ever in inverse proportion.

When capital is increasing fast, wages may rise, but the profit of capital will rise much faster. The actual position of the laborer has improved, but it is at the expense of his social position. The social gulf which separates him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally, the meaning of fortunate conditions for wage-labor, and of the quickest possible increase of productive capital, is merely this: The faster the working classes enlarge and extend the hostile power that dominates over them the better will be the conditions under which they will be allowed to labor for the further increase of bourgeois dominion and for the wider extension of the power of capital, and thus contentedly to forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeois drags them in its train.

But are the increase of productive capital and the rise in wages so indissolubly connected as the bourgeois economists assert? We can hardly believe that the faster capital becomes the more will its slave be pampered. The bourgeoisie is too much enlightened, and keeps its accounts too carefully, to care for that privilege of the feudal nobility, the ostentation of splendor in its retinue. The very conditions of bourgeois existence compel it to keep careful accounts.

We must therefore inquire more closely into the effects which the increase of productive capital has upon wages. With the general increase of the productive capital of a bourgeois society a manifold accumulation of labor force takes place. The capitalists increase in number and in power. The increase in the number of capitalists increases the competition between capitalists. Their increased power gives them the means of leading into the industrial battlefield mightier armies of laborers furnished with gigantic implements of war.

The one capitalist can only succeed in driving the other off the field and taking possession of his capital by selling his wares at a cheaper rate. In order to sell more cheaply without ruining himself he must produce more cheaply; that is, he must heighten as much as possible the productivity of labor. But the most effective way of making labor more productive, is by means of a more complete subdivision of labor, or by the more extended use and continual improvement of machinery. The more numerous the departments into which labor is divided, and the more gigantic the scale in which machinery is introduced in so much the greater proportion does the cost of production decline, and so much the more fruitful is the labor. Thus arises a manifold rivalry among capitalists with the object of increasing the subdivision of labor and machinery, and keeping up the utmost possible progressive rate of exploitation.

Now, if by means of a greater subdivision of labor, by the employment and improvement of new machines, or by the more skillful and profitable use of the forces of nature, a capitalist has discovered the means of producing a larger amount of commodities than his competitors with the same amount of labor, whether it be stored-up labor or direct—if he can, for instance, spin a complete yard of cotton in the time that his com-



LET US BE THANKFUL.

We should be thankful that the sun and moon

Are both hung up so high That no rich robber hand can stretch And pull them from the sky.

If they hung low I have no doubt Some corporation ass Would legislate to take them down And light the world with gas.

We should be thankful that the shining stars Are far beyond our reach, And that the rolling planets, too, Are deaf to human speech.

If they were near I'm very sure Rich men would own the skies, And manage the whole universe For private enterprise.

I am thankful that the God of all, Whose laws we must obey, Has changed his plan for making man By shaping him from clay.

If we had not it's very clear 'Twould be a doleful case. Some men would form a big clay trust And stop the human race.

—Selected.

The world is our country.

Save your money and buy a book.

Labor is entitled to all that it creates.

Capitalism is the curse of the human race.

Labor fights all the battles worth the fighting.

No work is small that is done for a great principle.

The wealth of the world belongs to the masses thereof.

Watch the plutes get together within the next four years.

Try to make this world better for your children to live in.

Who better is entitled to the full products of labor than labor itself?

No man should have the right to profit from the labor of another man.

The world is no better than the most degraded situation in it.

The Co-Operative Commonwealth—Socialism—will cure the world of its ills.

Every great movement in the world's history has had its formation in the working class.

Keith actually receives a salary for writing what he does not know about Socialism.

Are you a union man for selfish, personal interests, or to uplift the whole human race?

Split your booze money in two next month and use half of it for books. It'll do you more good.

Max Hayes stood nobly by his convictions in spite of reactionary resolutions of pettifogging fossils.

Thinking is a good thing, especially for working people. It will help them mentally, politically and industrially.

It is not because the Socialists want to "divide up," but because they want to put an end to "dividing up" that has capitalism scared.

Perhaps we did not read Mr. Gompers' report carefully, but, anyhow, we failed to see any reference to the scab unless he has organized in Colorado.

Senator Clark was jarred pretty hard this time, but he hasn't learned yet that it takes brains as well as dollars to do business with the American people.

For three hundred and fifty dollars a month capitalism is entitled to a better fight against Socialism than the editor of the Butte Miner is making.

We challenge Mr. Gompers to defend his scab-herding policy before any labor union in the land. Come, now, Sammy, choose your audience and carry on your fight in the open.

There is a reason for crime; there is a reason for prostitution; there is a reason for degradation of every kind. It will do no good to fight the effects so long as the cause remains.

The laboring class must work out its own salvation. The capitalist class is satisfied with conditions as they are.

Honestly, now, do you want future generations to struggle as hard for an existence as you have to now? If not, help us make a better life on this old earth.

We are thankful that workingmen understand the value of labor organization. We are also thankful that the working class is commencing to display political solidarity as well.

The United Mine Workers voted solidly for Socialism at the late A. F. of L. convention. They have been "up against" the Gompers kind of protection for labor and have found it wanting.

Brother Gompers reported a large increase in the membership of the A. F. of L. during the past year. He neglected to state just how many of these new members were scabs which he recently organized in Colorado.

The Literary Digest, the leading American weekly review, commenting on the wonderful gain in the Socialist vote, says indications point to the inauguration of a Socialist president before many years have passed.

Labor unions should be educators for their members. The union that does not possess a library on economics, and does not devote a part of each meeting to the discussion of economic questions falls of its true mission.

Isn't it a fact that the men who build the finest houses, weave the choicest clothing and cultivate the best things to eat, live in hovels, dress in rags and eat the scraps and crumbs? Under Socialism the best would be none too good for the workers.

In Massachusetts, where Socialists have served in the state legislature, they were returned this year by increased majorities. In two instances all old parties combined against them, the Socialists receiving more votes than all other parties combined. Socialism is believed to be all right by the people who understand it.

Sixty years ago John Quincy Adams, bent with age, hair white as snow, fought in the United States Senate with tremendous energy against chattel slavery, and earned for himself the name "Old Man Eloquent." During the late campaign John Quincy Adams, Jr., a direct descendant of the old anti-slavery agitator, was the candidate of the Socialist party for lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts. The Adams of today is fighting wage-slavery just as consistently as his honored ancestor fought chattel slavery sixty years ago.

Production, in general, is socialized already. The workers, collectively, in the great manufacturing of the country now produce all things necessary to life, comfort and happiness. But there is anarchy in the distribution of these products, to the extent that the idlers, the capitalists, the non-producers, appropriate for themselves the social products of the workers, leaving but a small pittance, in the form of wages for the actual producers. Socialism seeks to abolish anarchy in distribution by giving to the workers individually the things they produce collectively.

Labor unions are not responsible for the frequent clashes between the employers and the employes. Neither is the Socialist party responsible for the class struggle. A system of society in which the products of labor are absorbed by the non-producer is responsible for both. Both capitalists and laborers are engaged in a fierce struggle to secure the products of labor. This is class struggle. The struggle is here by reason of the capitalist system. The system alone is responsible for it. Abolish the system and the effects of the system will disappear.

In charging Telluride Miners' Union with complicity in the assassination of Superintendent Collins, the capitalist newspapers have adopted most despicable and contemptible tactics. These papers might just as sensibly charge the Masons, the Odd Fellows or any other secret order with the crime. The Miners' Union has adopted resolutions strongly condemning the outrage, which was no doubt committed by some unscrupulous individual for personal reasons. The miners of Telluride understand too well the use of an intelligent ballot to resort to force against either men or measures.

THANKSGIVIN' JIM

BY HOLMAN I. DAY IN THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

He always dodged 'round in an old, ragged coat, With a tattered blue comforter tied on his throat. His dusty old cart used to rattle and bang As he yelled through the village, "Gid dap!" and "Go 'lang!" You'd think from his looks that he wa'n't wuth a cent— Was poorer than Poodie, to judge how he went. But back in the country don't reckon on style To give ye a notion of any one's pile. When he died and they figgered his pus'nal estate, He was mighty well fixed—was old "Squealin' Jim Waite." But say, I'd advise ye to sort of look out. How we say "Squealin' Jim" when the widders about. They're likely to light on ye, hot tar and pitch, And give you some points as to what, where and which; For if ever a critter is reckoned a saint By the widders 'round here, I'll be dinged if he hain't. For please understand, that the widders call him— Sheddin' tears while they're sayin' it—"Thanksgivin' Jim."

He was little. Why, Wa'n't skerce knee-high To a garden toad. But was mighty spry! He was all of a whew, If he'd things to do. 'Twas a zip and a streak when Jim went through. But his voice was twice as big as him, And the boys all called him "Squealin' Jim."

He was always a-hurryin' all through his life, And said there wa'n't time for to hunt up a wife. So he kept bache's hall and worked like a dog— Jest whooped right along at a trottin' horse jog. There's a yarn that the fellers that knew him will tell If they want to set Jim out—and set him out well. He was bound for the city on bus'ness one day And, whoosh! scooted down to the depot hooray! The depot-man says: "Hain't no rush, Mister Waite, For the train to the city is ten minutes late." Off flew Squealin' Jim with his grip, on the run, And way down the track went he, hooftin' like fun. When he tore out of sight, couldn't see him for dust. And he squealed: "Train be figgered, I'll git there, now, fust!"— So nervous and active he jest couldn't wait

When they told him the train was a little mite late!

Now that was Jim! He was stubbed and slim, But it took a spry critter to stay up with him. His height when he'd rise Made you laugh. But his eyes Let ye know that his soul wa'n't much undersize. And some old widders, we had in town Insisted, reg'lar, he wore a crown.

As he whoopity-larruped along on his way There were people who'd turn up their noses and say That Squealin' Jim Waite wa'n't right in his head; He was "cranky as blazes," the old growlers said. I can well understand that the things he would do Seemed looney at times to that stingy old crew. For a fact, there was no one jest like him in town; He was 'most always actin' the part of a clown

He would say funny things in his queer, squealin' style And he talked so you'd hear him more than a mile. But ev'ry Thanksgiving-time Waite he would start And chatter through town in his rattlin' old cart. And what do ye s'pose? He would whang down the street, Yank up at each widders'; from under the seat Would haul out a turkey or yaller-legged chick And holler: "Here, mother, h'ist out with ye, quick!" Then he'd toss down a bouncer right into her lap And bolt off like fury with "G'lang, there! Gid dap!" Didn't wait for no thanks—couldn't work 'em on him! Couldn't catch him to thank him—old Thanksgiving' Jim.

'Twas a queer idee 'Round town that he Was off'n his balance, and crazy's could be. They'd set and chaw And stew and jaw And projick on what he did it for. But prob'ly in Heaven old Squealin' Jim Found lots of crazy folks jest like him.

—Holman I. Day in Saturday Evening Post—190.

Socialist Movement East and West Activity of Labor Organizations Guarantees Working Class Character of the Party

BY WALTER THOMAS MILLS

Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 8, 1902. Headquarters International School of Social Economy:

Since the first of January I have visited the centers of activity in the Socialist movement in all the states west of Pennsylvania. I had the curious experience of feeling at the start that every new place I visited was a long way in advance of all others. But I am convinced now that the Socialist movement in all these states is so strong that it can no longer be ignored by the defenders of capitalism.

A year ago I felt the greatest anxiety lest the Socialist movement be switched into a half-way-political conglomeration. But I do not feel now there is the slightest danger of anything of the sort. Those who are coming from other parties, particularly from populist organizations, are coming with a personal experience which has demonstrated to them the impossibility of doing any patch-work which will not result in tearing more than mended that the party shall not be by compromise, or anything less than the whole Socialist program.

In all these states the trades-union movement has become definitely and

finally a fight for Socialism. Where labor parties are still in existence they are parties which were organized by the unions before the Socialist movement had shown its strength. They are everywhere on the best terms with the Socialists, and it is only a question of time and patience when there will be one Socialist party and one workingman's party; and they will not be two parties, but one and the same party throughout this territory. And this will not be brought about by fusion. They will come together as one party with one organization, one single, solid front—not because they have fused, but because they have grown together into one single, vital political existence.

This activity of labor organizations in the Socialist movement guarantees more definitely than can anything else the working-class character of the Socialist party. I am convinced that the American frontier—and by this I mean all the territory west of the Missouri river—is sure to lead in the Socialist movement in this country. If the center of agitation does not go farther west than Denver, it will certainly not go farther east than Omaha. The population in this district has had less of

the helpless dependence of their eastern brothers on capitalistic employers. Where unions have been organized they have been made up very largely of men who in the east had been through the whole program of the old school labor agitation and had one by one worked their way into the position of the Socialists. The leading spirits in the labor agitation of the west are largely men who have been blacklisted and boycotted and had become industrial exiles from the east. Where they are not Socialists in name they are in fact. They do not need to learn Socialism—they simply need to learn to correctly name their own position and to correctly classify themselves along with the Socialists.

There are two classes of Socialists, those who become Socialists by studying Socialist literature and those who become Socialists under the pressure of those economic forces which the literature discusses. I am sure the east has more better-read Socialists—men who are Socialists because they have studied. I am sure the west has more Socialists developed—not by the study of literature, but according to the very processes which are outlined and discussed in the literature—that is, the east has more Socialists who are Socialists be-

cause they have studied Socialism—the west has more Socialists who are Socialists because they have suffered under capitalism.

The spirit of the western workingman is more free, more defiant; and whether found on the farm, in the mine, the forest or the work-shop, they realize that they are the victims of exploitation and that there is no way out for those who are exploited except the overthrow of the political power of those who are their exploiters.

I ought to say to our eastern comrades that this opinion is based upon my knowledge of the west and my ignorance of the east.

But when this term of the Training School is over I hope to visit all the eastern states and not only become acquainted with the comrades who are fighting on harder territory and under more difficult conditions, which the old long-established order of things in the east involves, but also have some share with them in the work they are doing.

Our Training School term will close on February 1st, after which I shall be in the field again until time for the international meeting at Amsterdam, which I shall attend.

The Miner and Socialism.

The reliability of the Butte Miner as an authority on Socialism is now unquestioned. Last Monday it clinched a series of alleged arguments against the Socialist philosophy with a two-column interview by a man said to represent the supreme authority in the Socialist movement; a man, by the way, who never professed membership in the Socialist party of the United States, and who was more than a year ago expelled from the Socialist Labor party.

First, the Miner dismissed Socialism with a curt statement that "Socialism is anarchy, and we all ought to be opposed to anarchy." This in the face of the fact established in both Europe and America that Socialism is the only opponent of anarchy deemed worthy the bitter opposition of the anarchists. In the face of the Socialist literature of the world, showing the fundamental antagonisms of Socialism and anarchy, and in the face of the clear refutation of the charge by both republican and democratic newspapers of authority at the time of McKinley's assassination. Only a few people in Butte, who were as little versed in Socialism as the editor of the Miner himself, were misled by this ignorant charge.

Next the Miner displayed its stupidity with the "divide-up" fallacy, the influence of which lasted until some Socialist in diapers put Keith right on this phase of the question.

Now comes the climax of denseness with the Hickey interview and comment.

Come, now, Mr. Keith, get at least a smattering of the fundamental principles of this movement before you attempt to argue against it. Until you

do you are not worth monkeying with. To intelligently oppose a movement you must know something about it. In the great struggle that is coming between Socialism and capitalism, you will not be worth a salary of 15 cents a week to your masters unless you learn more about the question. We are really ashamed of you. Your readers are all laughing at you. Wake up! This isn't a fight between Clark and Daly. Daly is dead. Rub your eyes and locate yourself. You are up you must get hold of one or two ideas yourself if you are to be a factor in the battle. Take a whirl at the "Communist Manifesto" for a starter. Then try "Merrie England"; that's easy for a beginner. You'll find "Capital," by Karl Marx, necessary. "Socialism and Social Reform," by Prof. Ely, is good medicine, and by the time you have taken a fall out of "Collectivism," and "Socialism and Modern Science," if you still persist in supporting capitalism for a salary, you will be a good victim for one of the least informed Socialists in Butte local. There are some supposed arguments against Socialism, but you haven't found them yet.

Come down to the office of the American Labor Union and buy some literature.

Let them (the laborers) beware of surrendering political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the doors of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all of liberty shall be lost.—Abraham Lincoln, Dec. 3, 1861.

REVIEWS.

TRYING TO CHEAT GOD—A new book of Socialist essays, entitled, "Trying to Cheat God," by Marcus W. Robbins, Grants Pass, Oregon. Price 15c postpaid; eight for \$1. Address the author, or the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.

This book is a collection of twelve essays on political and economic subjects, written from the standpoint of a Socialist. The preface is a satire on the commercialism of the day, the "faddist" and the kid-glove aristocracy. Then follows the essays, entitled "Trying to Cheat God," showing how greedy monopoly tries to cover up its crimes by building—colleges, etc. "The Builder of the Pyramid," an ironical comparison of Carnegie and his fellows to the old task-masters of Egypt; "The Robber-Barons," showing that the captains of industry of the present have many points in common with the old robber barons; "Letters de Cachet," discusses government by injunction; "The King Can Do No Wrong," a roast on the supreme court of the U. S.; "Racis," a plea for man's mental emancipation; "Emancipation From Fear," showing that Socialism is the only salvation of man; "Huckster Wars," this title explains itself; "Evolution of Selfishness," shows that selfishness will bring Socialism; "Criminal Individualism," defends Socialism against the charge that it will destroy individuality; "Civilization" proves that civilization is but the control of competition; "Discontent," makes clear that the man who stirs up discontent is a benefactor to his kind; "Conglomerate," is the farewell word.

Street car strike at El Paso, Texas, ended Nov. 21, the company complying with the demands of the strikers.

If you want to understand Scientific Socialism so you can talk it to others and not be puzzled by the questions they ask, there is one periodical you cannot do without. It is called

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Monthly, \$1.00 a year. A sample copy and a 32-page booklet entitled "What to Read on Socialism," mailed for six cents in stamps. Charles H. Kerr—Company, publishers, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE.

Proves that Socialism is the logical outcome of modern science. An elegant book of 212 pages, substantially bound in cloth, best paper, gold top. Price, \$1.00, by mail post paid.

A. L. U. JOURNAL, 173 Pennsylvania Building, P. O. Box 1067, Butte, Montana.

HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST

By Eugene V. Debs. is an article that will interest every reader of this paper. It is published with portraits in "OUR COURSE," an illustrated Socialist monthly, a magazine that is issued with the great ideals of Liberty, Justice and Peace carries the Socialist spirit into the homes of the American wage workers. Each year, for a copy. Send 5 months trial subscription (pay 25c) and receive a fine "Mother" Jones Portrait free by mail. The American Labor Union Journal, Comrade Publishing Co., 11 Cooper Square, New York, N. Y.

.. The Real Anarchists of the World ..

By H. L. HUGHES, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, AMERICAN LABOR UNION

That this old world is not right seems to be a patent fact to every one—except Mark Hanna and the balance of the capitalistic crowd who are satisfied with an industrial and political system that enables them to live in affluence off of the labor of the world, and who believe in "letting well enough alone." But while all others feel the inequalities of the system, none except the Socialists have any scientific or reasonable plans for removing these industrial and political ills, but on the other hand, by reason of their ignorance of the "economic interpretation of history," have many foolish and inadequate plans to suggest—everything in the world in fact—except the simple and self evident remedy of removing the "causes" which produce these evils. Many of these methods are the same as those of the militant anarchist—the fellow who believes that the oppressions and inequalities he feels can be removed by assassinating the individual he conceives to be the personal representative of the power that exercise these evils.

A man said to me a few days ago, "It will be a good thing for the country when such men as Morgan, Rockefeller and that class are dead." The gentleman who uttered those words passes in the community as an intelligent and influential man; he is an enthusiastic member of one of the capitalistic parties and gave utterance to this sentiment while arguing with me against the socialist doctrine. I have heard the sentiment expressed often before. There are anarchists in this country who are unconscious of the

fact. This sentiment is the same as that of the assassin of Humbert in Italy; the same as that of the assassin of McKinley in America. Yet this man would disclaim anarchy and would deem himself outrageously offended if charged with it. Still he expressed belief that the death of these men would be a good thing for the country implies a wish that they were dead, and that wish could consistently subscribe to any method for their removal. What more actuated the assassin of McKinley?

Such sentiments arise from an intellectual inability to understand and cope with the economic problem of the age. Anarchists, the kind that are popularly conceived to have a fire brand in each hand and a dagger in their teeth, are bred from a class of industrial slaves that the oppressions of the capitalistic class has ground down in ignorance, poverty and degradation until they are no longer able to understand the cause of their sufferings, and they naturally look upon the personal representative of the class over them as being the real producer of their wrongs, and it is an easy step from that to a wish for the removal of that personal representative apparently without realizing that under the system he is sure to be succeeded by another of his class and that the same system—and cause of the evils—will live on.

When Morgan and Rockefeller pass to the great beyond, the economic world will not know the change. Others will step into their places and the great industries which they and others have organized will go just as before

—not a wheel will stop for even one brief moment. During all the history of the world the great financiers of the ages have been passing on one by one, and each has been succeeded by some one else who was fully worthy his metal, until today we have a class of financiers that are more successful in cunning and craft than the world has ever before known. Do not fear, their class will find them worthy successors! Their system will live on with plenty of Morgans and Rockefellers until the people decide to take from them this system of industrial exploitation and supplant it with the co-operative commonwealth of socialism.

Before we can get from under the iron heel of oppression we must remove the economic conditions that create men of this class—not crush or kill them—for others will come to take their places. The competitive, wage slavery system of industry of these times creates this class. The capitalist having obtained possession of the tool of production is enabled to exploit the wage-earner out of the greater share of his toil until he, the capitalist, has been enabled to monopolize the means of life the world over. This monopoly of the means whereby we live; this possession of all the complicated machinery of production; this ownership of all the great natural resources of the earth, like the coal mines, the oil fields, the iron mines, etc., has brought the workers of the world to the feet of this capitalist class that they might be permitted a mere existence at the hands of these economic masters, thus giving

ing this latter class absolute dominion also over our political institutions by which they might usurp every political, as well as industrial right, of the people. This creates a reign of greed and avarice and the most successful frivoler and schemer, the man who can devise the most powerful and the most wicked methods of exploiting those who toil, rides on the top wave—has become the ruling class; and thus it comes that our ruling class are of the most vicious and unft.

The co-operative commonwealth of socialism will very effectually kill off this class without committing murder and by a far more intelligent method than that of the anarchist and his dagger, or even that of the gentleman above quoted who wishes for the early demise of Messrs. Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. Under it the people would own all the natural resources of the world and all the complicated machinery of industry—the means whereby we live—and would operate them in their collective capacity for the benefit of all mankind. Every worker would have a chance for employment, and would receive the full product of his toil, and then there could be no private class possessing private capital with which to monopolize the industries of the country; then such men as Morgan, Rockefeller and that class would have to go to work doing some of the world's useful labor just like any other honest working man or die of ennuil. This is an infinitely better way of "killing" them.

H. L. HUGHES.

word. But I heard some of the speakers and read on the subject, and though I am no enthusiast, yet I must confess there is no place else for my vote, and "there are others."

His train whistled. I was almost glad he was gone, for I was afraid some one would step up before we got through the conversation and reveal my identity.

As the train started up the newspaper man jumped off and quickly handed me a pamphlet, saying as he leaped back to the rear platform: "Say, neighbor, you read that. It will open your eyes, I'll venture."

"Thank you, I'll do it," said I, with a wave of the hand to the newspaper man.

To cap the climax of that morning's conversation at Junction I opened the pamphlet to see what the Socialist document was. And what do you suppose it was? My own pamphlet on "The Impending Social Revolution."

I have told my story as nearly word for word as it occurred. I have had two hours to write it up "hot off the bat." I hear my train thundering up the canon. It will carry me to my next point where I am to hurl the irresistible logic of the Socialist philosophy at the strongholds of this brutal capitalistic system; where I am to take the Republican dust out of the eyes and the Democratic "cheap Jack" politics out of the heads of the working classes; where I am to call the toilers to the struggle of their class, to join the only movement that can guarantee them work and full pay for their work, and hope for their wives and children for a happy human existence.

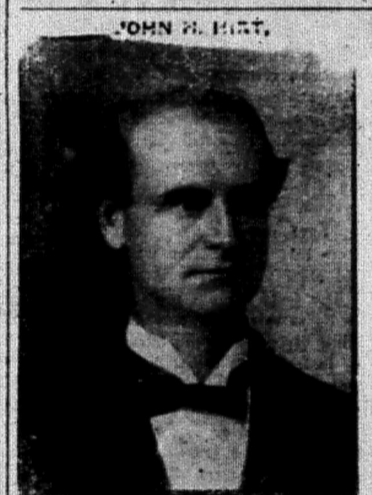
We are resolutionists against the competitive system and the cruel trust system that Republicans have built up with its wholesale robbery of the people. Against this system we plan a peaceful revolution. Nor do we want any of the childish reforms of Democratic office seekers, with their cowardly propositions.

Poor Democratic party! No wonder the newspaper man looked sick when I mentioned it. In the sad pressure now upon the working people, the Democratic party looks like the long-eared quadruped which symbolizes it.

Poor Democratic party! Out of office so long! How pitiable. How weak! And that, too, after having seized and carried away and devoured the Populist movement, body, bones and breeches.

Poor democratic party, trying to solve the supreme issue of all modern history with the Kansas City platform and declaration of allegiance to the Orator of the Platte!

No, working men: a thousand times no! Democratic reforms can do nothing but make this situation worse. Socialism is your only hope. The Socialist party of America is the only rational goal of the working classes. The battle gets hot and merry. The old train will be too slow in getting me to the scene of battle in Leadville, where we fight for freedom tonight. Look out for the brave men of Colorado.



Prominent Union Man and socialist of Great Falls, Montana.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Denver, Nov. 22, 1902.

Editor A. L. U. Journal: Made a short visit to Golden the early part of the week, remaining two days; while there visited Golden Labor Union, No. 174. Harry Reese, president, who is an able presiding officer and progressive up to date member. We had a very large attendance, and I had the pleasure of initiating twelve new members. I am informed that every meeting night they always have a number of new applications.

While there I visited the brick yard and was able to see a contract signed giving the boys \$2.00 per day as a minimum wage for nine hours; also visited the flour mill; was successful in having the employees agree to join the union next meeting.

The union boys of Golden have agreed to unionize the city of Golden so that unless you have a paid-up card you will have to keep traveling; in fact, the active members now are able to turn some noses east who will not make application.

Yours fraternally, HARRY N. BANKS.

Dull Times in Leadville, Leadville, Colo., Nov. 20, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal.

The conditions of the labor market in this camp are not very encouraging. The wage-slaves, twenty and five, are all too king for the identical job. They tramp the hills in vain for the promised job which the republican and demo-pop. spellbinder told them would be coming forth after the election if The Socialist party is defeated.

Butchers and Grocers' Clerks' Union No. 169, A. L. U., is again forging to the front and we predict that this local

will again be the leading union in camp.

Look out for the Barbers, No. 146 A. L. U. They have a cinch here. No scab barbers in Leadville is their motto, and they usually succeed. One of the leading members of No. 146 made the following significant remark: "A good many barbers voted the old party tickets for the last time," and look out for a Socialist landslide, as the barbers are workers from way back.

M. E. W.

WHAT IS SLAVERY?

'Tis to work and have such pay As just keeps life from day to day, In your limbs, as in a cell, For the tyrant's use to dwell;

'Tis to be a slave in soul, And to hold no strong control Over your own will, but be All that others make of ye

So that ye for them are made, Loom and plough and sword and spade, With or without your own will bent To their defense and nourishment.

'Tis to see your children weak With their mothers pine and peak, When the winter's winds are bleak— They are dying whilst I speak;

'Tis to hunger for such diet, As the rich man in his riot— Casts to the fat dogs that lie Surfiting beneath his eye;

And at length, when you complain, With a murmur weak and vain, 'Tis to see the tyrant crew Ride over your wives and you.

Men of labor, heirs of glory, Heroes of unwritten story, Nurslings of one mighty mother; Hopes of her and one another, Rise like lions after slumber, In unvanquishable number; Shakes the chains to earth like dew, Which, in sleep, has fallen on you. Ye are many, there are few.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY.

HOT OFF THE BAT

BY J. STITT WILSON

"Truth is stranger than fiction." If I had my wits to work to write up a story from my imagination, to illustrate how the labor movement is going on in the state of Colorado, I could never have succeeded in producing anything equal to the story I am about to tell from real life.

At a junction of the Colorado Midland I sat waiting for the eastbound train which was reported two hours and forty minutes late. The westbound train was late forty-five minutes. Misery loves company and when waiting for delayed trains at a little railroad junction we easily break all conventionalities and fall into conversation. So it happened with myself and the man who has just this minute taken his train west. I have two hours of junction leisure and I take it to narrate the conversation.

How the chat began I know not. Perhaps about the glory of the day—for it is really delightful in this beautiful little valley this morning. At any rate, once started how quickly the forty minutes passed.

I soon found out that my new acquaintance was the traveling agent or field manager for a weekly paper published in one of the large cities of the west. He had traveled for sixteen years over Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and New Mexico, securing advertisements, collecting subscriptions and in other ways furthering the interest of his paper. His business brought him in close touch with all classes of people, merchants, workmen and even the farmers. At some points he took a team and went out among the ranches.

"I am personally acquainted," said he, "with probably 8,000 of our 10,000 subscribers."

"This sun feels good," said I. The warm rays of the sun just shooting over the hills suddenly relieved the chill of the morning.

"Yes, I should say. It suits me. I have just come down the valley from Aspen, and the car was like an icebox."

"From Aspen?" I inquired. That interested me. For just last week I had started the tour of the state from that mining camp.

I knew the man did not know me, for Socialist speakers know if one of the folks happens to have heard you or you see he comes up, shakes hands and makes himself feel as if you had known each other for years. Such is the easy flow of comradeship in the Socialist movement.

"From Aspen, eh? Well, how are things there?" I continued. "Bad," very bad," said the newspaper man. "The Smuggler and Molly Gibson mines are shut down and some of the smaller mines, and only one or two are running now in the whole camp."

"Well," said I "It is a good thing that miners are so well-to-do up there. Understand that those noted mines have produced millions and millions of dollars for the people of Aspen."

"That is where you are grandly mistaken," said he. "The men who own the mines—God only knows who they are—take out money by the cartload out of the Aspen camp. The men who did the mining got wages, but thousands of men have had barely more than a living."

Then he swore an unrepresentable oath. I saw he was reflecting. "Where will the miners of Aspen go? Ask me something easy. They can't go anywhere in the state for idle men are everywhere. They can't leave Aspen, for what little property and savings they have made on

locked up in little homes, some paid for, some half paid for. I want to tell you mister, that the mines of Aspen are 'up against it,' and they are not the only ones. It is so in many parts of the state, and over all these states I travel through. In all these camps you will find idle men. I tell you things are getting rough, not only for the miners, but the business men of these sections who have made good profits in the trade of the camps; and even the owners of the mines themselves, especially the poor devil I tell you the smelter trust has even the mine owner by the neck. The trust just bleeds him at the juglar. Yes, and even the farmers and ranchers of the state are 'up against it.'"

"Why," I interrupted, "you surprise me. I am a stranger in this state, but I just read a Republican platform yesterday in the Denver Post and it boasted of the good times and the 'prosperity.'"

"Well, that is all rot. The people know better than that," said the man.

"I guess your paper must be at least opposed to the administration at Washington," I suggested.

"No, sir, I am not talking paper now. Anyhow, our paper is a family paper and independent in politics. That cuts no figure. I am speaking just as a man, and I tell you the honest facts. I am not suffering myself. I get a good salary. And the people who read our paper manage at least to keep up their subscription. But I want to say things are d-d bad, for the laboring man."

I concealed my pretense and proceeded. "But," I said, "you are wrong about the trusts. These combinations of capital are necessary for our expanding trade in the Orient, and they are really a great advantage to the people. They are designed to reduce needless expenses and reduce prices to the consumer and make wages better for the producers. I agree with Senator Hanna that there are no 'trusts' and with President Roosevelt that it is an incorrect use of language to call these large combinations of capital 'trusts,' and—"

The newspaper man looked at me sideways. I thought he had perceived that I was joking, in spite of my apparent sincerity.

"You can call these combinations of capital anything you please. The fact of the matter is, they are thieves and robbers."

"That is pretty strong language, mister," said I, bristling up.

"Not a bit too strong," he replied, punctuating his utterances with other emphatic syllables.

"Now," he said, "look here, neighbor. Let me tell you a thing or two." Then he talked. He told me how the miners lived. How hard the struggle was, how the women battled with the fathers to keep up the struggle of existence, how pinched and bare the lives of the little children were in camps everywhere, and, in fact, among great masses of people.

"Why," he said, "some of the men have left their families at one camp and gone to another. Over here at—they pay the men \$3 a day, and the company charges them \$1 a day for board and a bunk. The bunks are like steamer bunks,—in the steerage. They are one above the other, thirty or forty in a room. The miner provides his own blanket. No comforts at all while he sleeps, and mighty hard toil when he works. And the same bunks are used by the night shift when the day shift is at work. What can a man do on \$3 a day, and that not steady."

"I can't understand," said I "Either

you are lying, or the Republican politicians are lying."

"That 'rot' about prosperity is just 'dust' thrown in the people's eyes and I am sorry to say that there are a lot of workmen who open their eyes and wide, get them full of this 'prosperity dust' and are blind ever afterwards. Poor dupes!"

"This is quite astonishing to hear a well-dressed, well-fed, good salaried man say such things. FORTY-FOUR LABOR WORLD, talk like this."

"I speak the truth, sir. You can do as you please about it. For the last four years conditions have been growing steadily worse, and the end is not yet. You watch and remember what I tell you."

"I should think these people would get up and go somewhere else," I ventured to remark.

"Where the h—! would they go? How would they get there, if they did find a place to go to. No, sir! These people have come from all over the East and Middle West and are making their last stand for a decent existence. And they will never leave here. Let me tell you that."

"But," I suggested, "Colorado is a very rich state. There is no reason why twice the present population could not easily be provided for."

"That would be possible, mister, if the rich did not either own it or so control it that the poor man is almost absolutely helpless. The rich have the resources of the state; the poor man isn't 'in it,' and these rich corporations, as I told you, are bleeding the people to death."

"What do you suppose, then, the people are going to do?" I inquired, with an affected interest, necessary for a Republican sympathizer.

"Do? I'll tell you. This state is full of discontent. There is a lot of agitation going on. And the working men are doing some tall thinking in spite of the 'dust' in their eyes."

I interrupted: "Discontent and agitation does no good. It only does harm, so far as I can see."

"That is true," said the newspaper man, "if it ends there. If the working people do not know what they want and how to get it."

"Do you mean to say that these laboring classes are going to get up and 'take' what they need?" I asked, with an assumed air of consternation.

"No, I don't mean that. I have heard of only two ways to settle this question, and one way is by force."

I appeared agitated and took the word "force" out of his lips and said: "Force! Man, what are you talking about?"

"Just hold on, sir; hold on. Wait till I finish. Don't get excited. I was about to say that there were only two ways to get at this thing. Up in these camps I used to hear the men talk about 'force,' but it is dying out. They know now that such an attempt would be d-d nonsense. The capitalists and corporations have the courts and the militia, and the United States regulars and the Pinkerton gangs and the police under their thumbs. These working people know that the least show of resistance would meet with the most merciless and brutal crushing out of the lives of workmen, their wives and their children. No, sir; they don't talk 'force' here any more. I hear them on the streets and in hotels and saloons and in their homes, and they are talking not bullets, but 'ballots.' That is the second way, and the only way. Now I have had my say. I think my train is coming."

"Not yet," said I. "This is interesting

I understand you, then, that the working classes are going to go Democratic?"

"Well, I guess not—I guess not," and he looked a little disgusted.

"Populist?" I added.

"No. The labor vote is going to be badly broken in this state, and the vote for Socialism is going to astonish the natives."

"What! Do you mean to say that the laboring classes are really going to vote the Socialist ticket?"

"That's what I say. Thousands of them. They see that is their only hope. I remember hearing men in Cripple Creek, Leadville, Aspen and other places sneer and laugh at Socialism. But that is all changed now. Only a fool does that among the working classes nowadays. About a year ago the Socialist agitation took a fresh start in the state, and no man would believe the strides it is making. Some of these towns are fairly hot with it."

"For instance?" I remarked.

"Well, Aspen, for instance."

"That's news. Tell me about it."

"Just the other day they had Stitt Wilson up there." At this point I sort of cuddled up in the seat and dropped my hat well down over my eyes as if to shield my face from the sun. I wanted his train to come along for I did not want to acknowledge my identity. The newspaper man proceeded to tell what he had heard about the speaker and his message.

"I couldn't get out to hear him," he continued, "I was too busy. But the court house was packed the first night, even though it rained pitchforks. And the big opera house was packed the second night, and you couldn't turn but the men were talking Socialism. And they are going to vote it. They know that the republican party is owned by the trusts. They know that the democratic party wants nothing but office and has absolutely nothing to offer for the laboring man. And populism is dead. And by thousands they are going to vote for Socialism."

"How much different is that from force?" I asked.

"Different! You are thinking of anarchism. Socialism is the very opposite of anarchism. They used to talk 'force' in those camps until they heard of Socialism. Now they say that if a working man does not know enough and isn't brave enough to go into the booth and vote for Socialism, he is not man enough for any other kind of a struggle. If a laborer can't fight for himself and his family and his class at the polls he is too big a coward to fight anywhere."

"What do the Socialists propose to do?" I pressed him for an answer.

"Well, I'll tell you. The Socialists say that it is no longer possible to tolerate private ownership of the resources by which the people make a living. They say that the only way out is for the people to own, collectively, all the natural resources and all the machinery. Then we can reduce the hours of labor, give every man a job, with big wages, and then, besides, he could buy all he needs at cost of production. Socialism would make every family comparatively rich."

"There could never be any more millionaires and there could never be any more tramps, or men out of work, or men working like slaves and robbed by the corporations and trusts."

"Socialism would do away with this kind of 'prosperity' that bleeds the people and can give us a true prosperity for all the people all of the time."

"The lies these newspapers and preachers tell about Socialism would make a volume. I had no sympathy with sympathy with socialism. I hated the very

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Wage-Labor and Capitol

(Continued from Page 3)

petitors take to spin half a yard—how will this capitalist proceed to act?

He might go on selling half a yard at its former market price; but that would not have the effect of driving his opponents out of the field and increasing his own sale. But the need of increasing his sale has increased in the same proportion as his production. The more effective and more expensive means of production which he has called into existence enable him, of course, to sell his wares cheaper, but they also compel him to sell more wares and to secure a much larger market for them. Our capitalist will therefore proceed to sell half a yard of cotton cheaper than his competitors.

The capitalist will not, however, sell his complete yard so cheaply as his competitors sell the half, although his entire production does not cost him more than the production of half costs the others. For in this case he would gain nothing, but would only get back the cost of its production. The contingent increase in his receipts would result from his having set in motion a larger capital, but not from having made his capital more profitable than that of others. Besides, he gains the end he is aiming at if he prices his goods a slight percentage lower than his competitors. He drives them off the field, and wrests from them, at any rate, a portion of their sale, if only he undersells them. And, finally, we must remember that the price current always stands either above or below the cost of production, according as the sale of a commodity is transacted as a favorable or unfavorable period of business. According as the market price of a yard of cloth is above or below its former cost of production, the percentage will alter in which the capitalist, who has employed the new and profitable means of production, exceeds in its sale the actual cost of its production to him.

But our capitalist does not find his privilege very lasting. Other rival capitalists introduce, with more or less rapidity, the same machines and the same subdivision of labor; and this introduction becomes general, until the price of the yard of cloth is reduced, not only below its old, but below its new, cost of production.

Thus the capitalists find themselves relatively in the same position in which they stood before the introduction of the new means of production; and it they are by this means enabled to offer twice the product for the same price, they now find themselves compelled to offer the doubled amount for less than the old price. From the standpoint of these new means of production the old game begins anew. There is a greater subdivision of labor, more machinery, and more rapid progress in the exploitation of both. Whereupon competition brings about the same reaction against this result.

Thus we see how the manner and means of production are continually renewed and revolutionized, and how the division of labor necessarily brings in its train a greater division of labor; the introduction of machinery a still larger introduction; and the rapidity of progress in the efficiency of labor a greater rapidity of progress.

That is the law which continually drives our production out of the old track, and compels capital to intensify the productive powers of labor for the very reason that it has already intensified them—the law that allows it no rest, but forever whispers in its ear the words "Quick march!"

This is no other law than that which, canceling the periodical fluctuations of business, necessarily identifies the price of a commodity with its cost of production.

However powerful are the means of production which a particular capitalist may bring into the field, competition will make their adoption general; and the moment it becomes general the sole result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now, for the same price, offer ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But as he must dispose of, perhaps, a thousand times as much in order to outweigh the decrease in the selling price by the larger proportion of the products sold, since a larger sale has now become necessary, not only to gain a larger profit, but also to replace the cost of production, and the implements of production, as we have seen, always get more expensive; and since his larger sale has become a vital question, not only for him, but also for his rivals, the old strife continues, with all its greater violence, in proportion as the previously discovered means of production are more fruitful. Thus the subdivision of labor and the employment of new machinery take a fresh start, and proceed with still greater rapidity.

And thus, whatever the power of the means of production employed, competition does its best to rob capital of the golden fruit which it produces by reducing the price of commodities to their cost of production; and, as fast as their production is cheapened, compelling, by a despotic law, the larger supply of cheaper products to be offered at the former price. Thus the capitalist will have nothing of his exertions beyond the obligation to produce faster than before, and an enhancement of the difficulty of employing his capital to advantage. While competition continually persecutes him with its law of the cost of production, and turns against himself every weapon which he wields against his rivals, the capitalist continues to try and cheat competition incessantly introducing further subdivision of labor and replacing the old machines by new ones, which, though more expensive, produce more cheaply

instead of waiting until competition has rendered them obsolete.

Let us now look at this feverish agitation as it affects the markets of the whole world, and we shall understand how the increase, accumulation, and concentration of capital brings in its train an uninterrupted and extreme subdivision of labor, always advancing with gigantic strides of progress, and a continual employment of new machinery, together with improvement of the old.

But how do these circumstances, inseparable as they are from the area of productive capital, affect the determination of the amount of wages?

The greater division of labor enables one laborer to do the work of ten, twenty, thirty, or more times. The laborers do not only compete when one sells himself cheaper than another, they also compete when one does the work of five, ten, twenty, and the division of labor which capital introduces and continually increases, compels the laborer to enter into this kind of competition with another.

Further, in the same proportion in which the division of labor is increased, the labor itself is simplified. The special skill of the laborer becomes worthless. It is changed into a monotonous and uniform power production, which can give play neither to bodily or to intellectual elasticity. Its labor becomes accessible to everybody. Competitors, therefore, throng into it from all sides; and besides, we must remember that the more simple and easily learnt the labor is, and the less it costs a man to make himself master of it, so much the lower must its wages sink, since they are determined, like the price of every other commodity, by its cost of production.

Therefore, exactly as the labor becomes more unsatisfactory and unpleasant, in that very proportion competition increases and wages decline. The laborer does his best to maintain the rate of wages by performing more labor, whether by working for a greater number of hours, or by working harder in the same time. Thus, driven by necessity, he himself increases the evil of subdivision of labor. So the result is this: the more he labors the less reward he receives for it; and that for this simple reason—that he competes against his fellow laborer, and thus compels them to compete against him, and to offer their labor on as wretched conditions as he does; and that he thus, in the last result, competes against himself as a member of the working class.

Machinery has the same effect, but in a much greater degree. It supplants skilled laborers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children; where it is newly introduced it throws the hand laborers upon the streets in crowds; and where it is perfected or replaced by later improvements and more inventions, discards them by slightly slower degrees. We have sketched above, in hasty outlines, the industrial war of capitalists with one another; and the war has this peculiarity, that its battle are won less by means of enlisting than of discharging its industrial recruits. The general, or capitalist, vie with one another as to who can dispense with the greatest number of his soldiers.

The economist repeatedly assures us that the laborers who are rendered superfluous by the machines find new branches of employment.

They have not the hardihood directly to assert that the laborers who are discharged enter upon the new branches of labor. The facts are too loud against such a lie as this. They declare that for other divisions of the laboring class, as, for instance, for the young generation of laborers who were ready to enter upon the defunct branches of the industry, new means of employment will open out. Of course that is a great satisfaction for the dismissed laborers. The worshipful capitalists will not find their fresh supply of exploitable flesh and blood run short, and will let the dead bury their dead. This is indeed a consolation with which the bourgeois comfort themselves rather than the laborers. If the whole class of wage-workers were annihilated by the machines, how shocking that would be for capital, which, without wage-labor ceases to act as capital at all.

But let us suppose that those who are directly driven out of their employment by machinery, and also those of the rising generation who were expecting employment in the same line, find some new employment. Does any one imagine that this will be as highly paid as that which they have lost? Such a idea would be in direct contradiction to all the laws of economy. We have already seen that the modern form of industry always tends to the employment of more complex machinery, and kinds of employment by those who are displaced and absorbed by it.

How, then, could it be that those who are thrown out of one branch of industry by machinery, find employment elsewhere without having to content themselves with a lower position in the world?

The laborers who are employed in the manufacture of machinery itself have been instances as an exception. As soon as a desire arises and a demand begins in an industry for more machinery it is said that there must necessarily be an increase in the number of machines, and therefore in the employment of laborers in this manufacture; and the laborers who are employed in this branch of the industry will be skilled, and, indeed, even educated laborers.

Ever since the year 1840 it is a contention, which even before that time was only half true, has lost all its specious color. For the machines which are employed in the manufacture of machinery have been quite as numerous as those used in the manufacture of cotton; and the laborers who are employed in producing machines, instead of being highly educated, have only been able to play the part of utterly unskilled machines themselves.

But in place of the man who has been dismissed by the machine perhaps three children and one woman are employed to work it. And was it not necessary before that the man's wages should be less than the woman's? Was not the minimum of wages necessarily determined by the woman and her children?

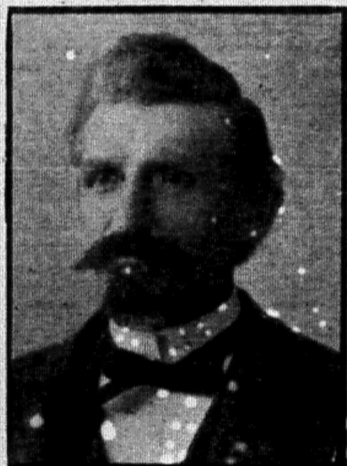
And so it goes. The class is reduced to a mere shadow of its former self, or else there falls headlong into it a crowd of new manufacturers and small proprietors, who henceforth have nothing better to do than stretch out their arms to the side of those of the laborers. And thus a forest of arms outstretched by those who are entreating for work becomes denser and the arms themselves grow ever leaner.

That the small manufacturer cannot survive in the contest whose first condition is production on a continually increasing scale—that is, that he cannot be at once both a large and a small manufacturer—is self-evident.

That the interest on capital declines in the same proportion as the amount of the capital increases and extends, and that therefore the small capitalist can no longer live on his interest, but must join the ranks of the workers and increase the number of the proletariat—all this requires no further exemplification.

Finally, in the proposition in which the capitalists are compelled by the causes here sketched out to exploit on an ever increasing scale yet more gigantic means of production, and with that object to set in motion the mainsprings of credit, in the same proportion is there an increase of those earthquakes wherein the business world can only secure its own existence by the sacrifice of a portion of its wealth, its products, and even its power of production to the gods of the world below—in a word, crises increase. They become at once more frequent and more violent; because in the same proportion which the amount of production, and therefore the demand for the extension of the market, increases, the market of the world continually contracts, and ever fewer markets remain to be exploited; since every previous crisis has added to the commerce of the world a market which was not known before or had before been only superficially exploited by commerce. But capital not only lives upon labor. Like the lord, at once distinguished and barbarous, it drags with it to the grave the corpses of its slaves and whole hordes of laborers who perish in the crisis. Thus we see that if capital increases fast, competition among the laborers increases still faster, that is, the means of employment and subsistence decline in proportion to a still more rapid rate; and yet, none the less the most fortunate conditions for wage-labor lie in the speedy increase of capital.

F. W. OTT.



Member Executive Board American Labor Union, La Rama, Wyoming.

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Apostle Smoot is raising the question of the right of the citizen to hold office regardless of religious or other belief.

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Utah has a hard time trying to please the other forty-four states.

An educational course of instruction is being considered by the National Association of Stationary Engineers. The plan is to conduct a course covering fifteen or twenty weeks, which will be open to all members. Lectures will be given and a series of practical questions propounded and answered.

A new Brotherhood of Railway Employees is forming in the West. They claim a membership of nearly 1,000 in San Francisco. It is proposed to demand an increase of 20 per cent in the wages paid west of the Missouri river, and January 1 is the date set when it is thought the organization will admit of a united front.

An organization was effected in Kansas City, Mo., last summer of the chairmen of the five great railroad employers' organizations. This does not mean that the railroad men will make a demand for an increase of pay, or that the new organization of the brotherhoods has the power to enforce a demand, if it should be made.

The question of the reduction in the miners' wages in Scotland is still undecided. Unbusiness exists among the miners of Ayrshire, owing to the carry-over of what has become known as the "block system," whereby men leave a gallery where a dispute is in progress are refused employment in all galleries. The miners are to be re-organized by the British Federation to conduct a strike of a whole about the plan against this system.

John Neil, president of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, claims that the striking boilermakers' union in the road will not split. Lee J. ...

Cripple Creek Trades and Labor Assembly, of the American Labor Union, determined to force a ...

Streetcar men of Bloomington, Ill., have won their strike, the company granting all the demands of the strikers.

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You know something about the trusts. You can see that they are getting bigger every year, and that unless something happens to stop them they will soon own the earth and the people in it...

Very well, that is a suggestion of what you should read. It will get a clearer idea as you read more.

But you are sure you are opposed to Socialism? Hold on, perhaps it is because you imagine Socialism is a thing that will be done to you...

It does not mean taking from the industrial and giving to the idle; that is just what the profit system does and what Socialism will stop.

It does not necessarily mean equal work for all kinds of work; that is a detail that the workers will settle to suit themselves when they get to it.

It does not mean giving state officials money to be paid to what people shall do, but quite the reverse.

It means a good deal more than "public ownership." It means that the working class, brain workers included, will own the tools of production.

But, to understand it thoroughly you must do some reading. Socialism is a subject because the social system we live in is a complex one.

Where should you begin? That depends on your age, your work, your education, and the time you have.

If you are a farmer, start with "The Modern Farmer." If you are a church member, the first things you should read are "The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand" or "Father McGrady's pamphlet, 'Socialism Not Antagonistic to the Catholic Church.'"

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PREAMBLE And Declaration of Principles of the American Labor Union.

The relation which the atom bears to the organism in physical nature is the relation which the individual bears to society. The social organism is an aggregation of the atom man.

Through a failure on the part of society to recognize the importance and the justice of these primary principles, we see upon earth certain classes who toil not for bread they eat. These classes, who are in possession of the means of production and distribution, and all the machinery of the government, impose upon the toilers the burden of their support.

Believing, therefore, that the time has now arrived when an epoch will be marked in the history of the labor movement, denoting either its progress or decay, and believing that the necessities of the times, as evidenced in recent developments, emphasize the fact that the older form of organization is unable to cope with the recent aggressions of plutocracy obtained by class legislation, and especially maintained through the medium of friendly courts; unless our defenses by more perfect organization are strengthened; and feeling the incapacity of labor as heretofore organized to resist these encroachments, this organization is, therefore, formed for the purpose of concentrating our energies and consolidating the labor forces.

Believing that the time has come for undivided, independent work class political action, we hereby declare in favor of International Socialism, and adopt the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety as the political platform of the American Labor Union, and we earnestly appeal to all members of the American Labor Union, and the working class in general, to be governed by these provisions:

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-Operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure government control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

Believing that complete organization is necessary for the overthrow of the present inhuman method of production and distribution, and that the above plan offers the most practical, economical and reasonable way to success, we invite the people of America to join us in the cause of humanity.

Revised and amended at annual convention held at Salt Lake City, Utah, May 10-12, 1928.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the American Labor Union. Section 2. The jurisdiction of the American Labor Union shall extend over all states, territories and provinces where one or more unions of the organization exist.

Section 3. Each local union shall be entitled to one delegate in the American Labor Union biennial convention for the first one hundred members or less in good standing the quarter previous to said convention and one delegate for each additional hundred members or majority fraction thereof. Each county, city or central body affiliated with the American Labor Union shall be entitled to one delegate.

Section 4. National organizations that are chartered by the American Labor Union shall be entitled to one delegate to the American Labor Union biennial convention for the organization and one additional delegate for every one thousand (1,000) members above the first four thousand, providing that no national organization shall be chartered with a membership of less than five thousand (5,000) members.

Section 5. Every member of the American Labor Union who has been in continuous good standing for not less than one year and who shall have been a member in good standing of organized labor for not less than four years immediately preceding election, shall be eligible to any office in this organization.

Section 6. No organization affiliated with the American Labor Union shall be allowed representation in convention by proxy.

Section 7. The officers of the American Labor Union shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and an Executive Board of nine, including the President and Vice-President, of which the President shall be chairman. No more than one candidate for each office shall be nominated for the Executive Board may be residents of the same state.

Section 8. Immediately after the election of officers, the Executive Board shall place in the hands of the Executive Board his resignation, so that in case of negligence or incompetency, carelessness, or any reasonable or sufficient cause, the Executive Board may at any time accept the resignation.

Section 9. The first election of general officers and members of the Executive Board under the referendum system shall take place on the last Monday in June, 1931, and thereafter biennially the last Monday in June.

Section 10. Every member of the American Labor Union who has been in continuous good standing for not less than one year and who shall have been a member in good standing of organized labor for not less than four years immediately preceding election, shall be eligible to any office in this organization.

Section 11. Any member of the Executive Board who shall aid or abet in falsely declaring the result of an election for general officers of the American Labor Union shall be expelled from membership for a term of five years from the date of such expulsion, and upon re-election shall be ineligible for a term of five years.

as in the opinion of said Board is just and equitable. Section 16. Any subordinate union refusing or neglecting to hold an election as required by this charter shall be expelled from the Executive Board may determine.

Section 17. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the American Labor Union, preserve order, enforce the constitution, and watch vigilantly over the interests and affairs of the American Labor Union.

Section 18. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a correct record of all proceedings of the Executive Board, fill all vacancies occurring in the Executive Board, and to see that the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasurer shall be General Organizer and have the right, when occasion requires, to appoint Deputy Organizers.

Section 19. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep a correct record of all receipts and disbursements of the Executive Board, and to see that the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasurer shall be General Organizer and have the right, when occasion requires, to appoint Deputy Organizers.

Section 20. It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to preside over the Executive Board in the absence of the President, through death, resignation or other cause. The Vice-President shall perform the duties of the office until a successor is regularly elected and installed.

Section 21. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to preserve the seal and books, documents and effects of the general office of the American Labor Union, and to keep a correct record of all proceedings of the Executive Board and keep copies of all letters sent out by him, and to see that the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasurer shall be General Organizer and have the right, when occasion requires, to appoint Deputy Organizers.

Section 22. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to keep a correct record of all receipts and disbursements of the Executive Board, and to see that the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasurer shall be General Organizer and have the right, when occasion requires, to appoint Deputy Organizers.

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Union for the benefit of striking locals shall be disbursed only by the Executive Board or some reliable person designated by the Board, said party or parties to give account of all money received and disbursed. The Executive Board shall receive all money donated by unions for strike benefit, and shall pay no benefit until the local applying for the same has been organized for at least one week.

Section 1. For the sake of uniformity, supplies shall be procured from the same source, and shall be of the same quality, seal, blank applications for membership, financial ledger, blank books for officers, official warrant books, official receipt books, official traveling cards, official transfer cards, withdrawal cards and gold label buttons. American Union labels shall be furnished at actual cost.

Section 2. To reject a candidate for membership in a local union, it shall require three black balls (to be defined by local unions). Members casting black balls shall give their reasons in writing to the President of the union not later than the next regular meeting, and the reasons must be announced by the President to the union. The names of persons casting black balls and giving reasons shall be kept on file in the office of the President, and shall be subject to a bar the candidate from membership, his may be elected by a majority of those present.

Section 3. Each local union of the American Labor Union shall elect, semi-annually, the following local officers: President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, Statistician, Charity Officer and Corresponding Secretary. The Recording Secretary of each local shall, within five days after the election, send the names and addresses of the officers elected to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor Union; who shall compile a directory of unions and their officers, and forward to each union. Installation of local officers shall take place at the first meeting succeeding the election.

Section 4. No member shall be admitted to a seat in a local union, or any convention, which has not been transferred, and any member refusing to obey the order of the President in either case shall be fined one dollar for each offense.

Section 5. Each local union shall provide for the installation of its officers by establishing and maintaining a Library.

Section 6. Any member leaving a local union and remaining within the jurisdiction of the American Labor Union for a period of twelve months or more, and neglecting to take a withdrawal card will be held for twelve months' dues and two assessments of one dollar each, which he belongs; provided, such assessment have been levied.

Section 7. Local unions by two-thirds vote can remit the dues of any of their members.

Section 8. When two or more unions organize in the same district or state for the purpose of being banded, joint district or state. Such union shall subordinate to the American Labor Union.

Section 9. Transfer cards in local unions of the American Labor Union shall be accepted by other locals of the American Labor Union without further charge for initiation fee.

Section 10. Local unions shall have the right to adopt such laws as they shall deem best; provided, they do not conflict with the constitution of the American Labor Union.

Section 11. Any local union failing or refusing to comply with this constitution shall for the first offense be suspended from membership for three months, and for a second offense six months, or be expelled, as the executive board may determine.

Section 12. Any union failing or refusing to honor a demand made upon it for funds actually in its treasury shall be subject to a fine of \$50 and shall be suspended from membership in the American Labor Union until such fine is paid.

Section 13. Returns by each local union must be made and certified to by the President of the local union, and mailed to the general office not later than forty-eight hours after the vote has been taken and the rolls closed.

Section 14. Should the Executive Board find that parts of this constitution conflict with that of other or are objectionable to the progress of organization, they shall have power to draw up new sections and submit the same to a vote of all local unions for their approval, a majority of all votes cast being necessary to amend or to change any part of the constitution.

Section 15. The referendum shall be extended to all national and international unions affiliated with the American Labor Union, and shall be held for the purpose of amending or changing the constitution, and total votes to be reported to American Labor Union, signed and certified to the President and Secretary of the American Labor Union, and shall be subject to several candidates and laws in proportion to the per capita tax paid by said national organizations.

Section 16. Any member proven guilty of misrepresenting returns, altering, mutilating or destroying the same, or being guilty of any other offense, shall be expelled from the local union shall determine, but in no case shall the penalty be less than a fine of \$5.00. Further, if the member is guilty of any offense, the greatest number of votes for those who may have been elected and subordinate unions shall hold an election within forty days after the date of the election, and certification of results to be in all possible respects similar to those which were obtained in conducting the initial election.

Section 17. Any member of the Executive Board who shall aid or abet in falsely declaring the result of an election for general officers of the American Labor Union shall be expelled from membership for a term of five years from the date of such expulsion, and upon re-election shall be ineligible for a term of five years.

Section 18. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to keep a correct record of all receipts and disbursements of the Executive Board, and to see that the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasurer shall be General Organizer and have the right, when occasion requires, to appoint Deputy Organizers.

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WOULD FIX RESPONSIBILITY.

Kollege's Womay Suggests Reforms for Labor Unions.

Hampel, Mont., Nov. 5, 1902. Editor of American Labor Union Journal:

The labor unions are struggling, as I understand it, not to make the present system so tolerable that it will be endured, but to gain better conditions for the workers as a goal upon which to advance absolute socialism.

The strike is the foremost means. Usually a strike is for higher wages.

In this connection I wish to call the attention of unionists to two points which it seems to me have received very little attention. At least little effort has been made along the lines I wish to mention.

First, the finding of means by which the public could be interested in a moral, and not only sentimental way, as well as the strikers themselves, and, secondly, promoting a sense of responsibility of the workers for the work they do.

The public, which we need to take into consideration is the mass of workers, other than the particular trade or strike, whom the least advance in the price of necessities seriously affects.

Considerable numbers may cheerily bear the added burden from an ineffective feeling of solidarity and love of fair play, but the great masses when they feel the pinch of want in such cases are inspired with no sympathy for organized labor and remain dull and indifferent, if not prejudiced and hostile to us before. From this class spring our scabs.

The workers of a trade are organized and fight hard for the betterment of their economic position, and by successful strikes or by the power of a strong trade union may force the employers to make concessions to labor. But the consumers of the products are as a rule not organized at all, do nothing to get their interests properly served and at the smallest possible cost; and hence it is only through the capitalists endeavoring to succeed in getting almost the full price of their concessions to labor back from the buying public.

Labor, so far as I know, takes no practical interest in this, the final settlement of the struggle. So prices go for the quality of the product become inferior; and the public pays for the concessions wrung from labor, as the weakest link in the chain.

It means that the public could be made a support to strikers, not alone by subscriptions and sympathy, but by the boycott instituted in direct self-protection. I think the right road to these means may be found by holding the workers responsible for the work they do.

This may seem cruel and even largely impossible at present, and it cannot, of course, be realized absolutely until the most perfect condition of society prevails.

But I hold that such should and must be the ideal and effort if advancement is ever made. It is imperative that the people be brought to understand and embrace the principles of human dignity and freedom and of solidarity and try to live up to these principles.

Working men excrete spies, informers and scabs, and rightly so. Why not as much despise and oppose all who do unsocial work—that is injurious to their fellow men? Are not the men who knowingly do the manual work in producing inferior houses and clothing and the vile adulterate foods which degrade, drag down and ruin the mind and body. Are they not as deserving of execration as those who accept cut wages—the scab? Their apology is the same.

Is it not a most base excuse to offer that "I am a tool; the responsibility rests with the employer, who orders me to do these injurious things." Direct murder, by soldiers who shoot strikers, and this indirect murder by producing by their own toll the horrible surroundings, food, etc., which wreck their fellow workers. Both actions are equally detrimental in their consequences, and must be recognized as such before strikes can accomplish any material good. Let the workers refuse to do work detrimental to the public, strengthening their position by exposing to the public plainly how they are deceived and interested; then the public will be an interested party to such strikes and will support them by active sympathy and the boycott.

Such strikes may end by a gain to the strikers and to the public, this time really at the cost of the capitalist, reducing the rate of profit. They cannot destroy the roof of the system, as no strike can unless it be the determined refusal to work for others, the general strike, the social revolution; but they can link together the working classes to a greater extent than they are at present. Strikes lose their individualist character and become matters of collective interest, which they are today only by sentiment and the personal conviction of some, not by their economic basis. In practice these tactics may assume manifold forms. They ought to form a part and body of the conscience of trades unionists and Socialists before all.

After this, practical efforts will not be lacking. If for example the building trades resolve that no unionist may touch slums—helping neither to erect or repair them—exposing to the public the hopelessly unsanitary character of such patches, the question would come before the public as it never has before.

No wonder that the people remain indifferent and the movement gains so little practically when ones neighbor if in the building trade perpetrates the housing misery by his ridiculous repairs, while he, if chancing to be in the retail trade, returns the compliment by selling him poisoned stuff to eat and drink.

Let shop assistants refuse to handle the abominable food which they now sell. Let the textile trades, expose the shoddy chafes production and refuse to produce them any longer.

Again as to the chemical works, white lead hells and the like, where the work itself, not the product, is ruinous to health, no amount of pious legislation seems effective; to make these places deserted shame ought to be heaped on those who allow themselves to be murdered there.

As consumers we cannot feel sympathy with the tools of capital and the great masses in both cases are worked, they remain divided and how they among themselves and only practical action, mutual solidarity, can overcome this existing hostility; conviction and sentiment are good factors also, but the masses need object lessons, real tangible demonstrations. It is not solely a question of wages that affects the workers, but one of the things produced and how it is done also.

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It is not solely a question of wages that affects the workers, but one of the things produced and how it is done also.

Demand the full product of labor and that the product shall be worthy. While we censure the worker that makes shoddy goods and engages in unsocial occupations, we should not forget the cause that puts him in that position nor spare those who uphold the cause that they may fatten on his degradation.

I know this program will bear heavily on the pioneers in the cause—as all reforms must. But if we would win, the individuals of the masses must be inspired by the spirit that led our colonial forefathers and mothers to drink raspberry leaf and sassafras tea and dress in homespun when England's king laid a tax on imported goods.

Yours fraternally,
MAUD STARNES.

A Commission of Capitalists.

At a regular meeting of Lumbermen's Union 180, held at 1640 Larimer street, Denver, Colo., Nov. 14, 1902, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, the coal miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia have shown themselves to be men in the fullest sense of the word and

Whereas, the life of a coal miner is not a pleasant one, clad in an oilskin suit, and going down into the darkness and water-soaked chambers of the mine, which is propped on all sides to keep the walls from falling, and crushing them into a shapeless mass, as has been thousands. They toil for 10 hours and receive on an average of 80 cents per day, and

Whereas, these noble men did not strike because they wanted to, but because they had to or starve on such small pay, and

Whereas, the would-be coal kings have done all within their power to starve, freeze and shoot them into submission to their generous offers of less pay and more work.

Therefore be it resolved, We endorse the action of these good men in standing by the declaration of principles adopted by the miners' convention. The wisdom of their action has not been questioned by the great American people, and

Whereas, the coal king, feeling the pressure of the good American people requested President Roosevelt to appoint a commission to try and settle this great strike, and

Whereas, said commission is composed of the capitalist class.

Therefore, We deplore the action of our president in selecting these men and ask that he substitute working men on the commission.

(Signed) THE COMMITTEE
F. H. MURPHY,
Secretary.

Wants Suggestions From Other Unions.

GROCERS' ASSOCIATION SETTLES.

Early Closing Secured by One of Our Denver, Colo., Nov. 19, 1902.

Editor A. L. U. Journal.

A year ago our union requested and obtained the closing of grocery stores and meat markets at 6 o'clock p. m., five days in the week, 9 p. m. Saturdays and all day Sundays and legal holidays, and we were successful in enforcing these hours, except in the case of some of the smaller stores in the outskirts of the city. In some cases the closing hour had been as late as 9 p. m. week days and 11 p. m. on Saturday evenings.

Last spring a large number of dealers thought it would be necessary to keep open later during the summer months on account of perishable goods which would have to be disposed of before closing, and therefore through the Retail Grocers & Butchers' Association (employers) began agitating that all stores and markets be kept open until 7 p. m., bdt in the Association there was a sentiment for early closing, so a compromise was made on 6:30 closing, and these conditions were thus presented to the Clerks and Butchers' Unions, and after several joint conferences a contract was finally entered into between the Association and Grocery Employes and Butchers' Unions for one year, that the hours and conditions that then existed were to remain the same, but that overtime was to be allowed at the rate of 40 cents per hour for overtime by those who desired to keep their places open until 6:30 p. m. between April 1 and October 1, the half hour to be paid for as overtime.

The above conditions now exist and any dealer violating the same is declared unfair, and we now have the support of the Retail Grocers and Butchers' Association and also the Wholesale Jobbers in enforcing these conditions and establishing uniform closing hours that apply to all alike. Copy of resolutions of Grocers' Association as follows:

Hall of the Denver Retail Grocers and Butchers' Association:

"Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of the Denver Retail Grocers and Butchers' Association, that a number of persons throughout the city are not closing their places of business in accordance with the contract entered into by this Association with the Clerks and Butchers' unions and thereby taking undue advantage of the grocers who are standing by their agreement.

Therefore Be It Resolved, That we ask all grocers in the city of Denver, especially members of this Association, to close their respective places of business at 6 p. m. prompt every day in the week except Saturday, at 9 p. m. Saturday and all day Sunday, and we recommend our Association to use every honorable means within its power to assist the said Clerks and Butchers' unions to carry out this agreement.

Therefore Be It Further Resolved, That this resolution be spread on the minutes and records of our Association, and a copy be furnished to Grocery Employes' Union No. 167 and Butchers' Protective Union No. 162. (Signed)

T. B. ALDRIDGE,
J. S. CORREA,
J. F. WOLFENBARGER,
Committee.

It has been a long and tedious task to accomplish this, but success has crowned our efforts and our union is now gaining in membership, and within a short time we expect to have every grocery employe in the city in the union.

We are pleased with the American Labor Union Journal and hope that it will, as its appearance indicates, do a great deal of good.

A member of our union, Comrade Robt. Goge, a zealous worker for the cause, was a nominee for State Senator on the Socialist ticket and received the hearty support for same, which he was fully entitled to.

Wishing the organization and the Journal success, I remain, Fraternally,
GEO. M. GILBERT,
Business Agent,
The Grocery Employes' Union,
No. 167, A. L. U.

Richardson Replies.
Kansas City, Nov. 21, 1902.

To the A. L. U. Journal:

I am informed that your columns recently contained a set of resolutions adopted by Federal Labor Union No. 104, of Telluride, Colorado (which I have not seen), which are abusive of and condemnation of me because I dared to stand for my convictions of what was right under all circumstances, and support the democratic ticket in Colorado during the late campaign. This is but a sample of the intolerance and narrow-minded bigotry of men who would deny the right to others which they claim for themselves—the right of free speech. We supported the democratic ticket because we believed it to be in the best interests of organized labor to do so, as the election of the republican candidate meant in our judgment greater dangers to organized labor, as he is

William T. Hubbell,
Kenneth Clayton,
Con McCormick,
Committee Globe Local Socialist Party.

David Bales, formerly a member of Silverton Federal Labor Union, No. 112, Silverton, Colo., has been expelled for violation of his obligation and for conduct unbecoming a member.

4 man who will turn the troops over to the employers at the drop of the hat, and for other equally good reasons as well. We believe that with the troops in sight there will be hell in Colorado before very long.

We have lost heavily among the A. F. of L. unions for our support of the A. L. U. The A. L. U. contains one San Juan union of over 100 members, which I organized about four months ago and less than four months ago we risked our life and liberty in the San Juan in the interest of Ouray Miners' Union. We have in the last ninety days saved one miners' union from extinction (Poland, Arizona), and doubled the membership of Lake City Miners' union, but what thanks do we get for it. We have lost practically all Pueblo support and stood the combined abuse of nearly every one there because we dared to stand for our conviction of right and support the A. L. U. Yes, and right now I am in the East fighting your battle in the enemies' own camp at heavy subscription loss, and this is my reward for it all. The editor of the Journal knew all this and yet, without comment, published a dirty slander on me, a slander which he knew to be, in part, at least, untrue. Twice in the past year I have refused an offer from a great corporation to drop the labor movement and enter their service at \$3,000 per year, and such things as this make a man wonder if it is all worth while. The Journal excuses its action by saying that the Telluride union had a right to space, etc) and that we "can answer it." A pile of good that will do. The slander has gone forth; the injury is done, and I might write till I am black in the face and that is all the good it would do. The doubt is there and it will remain. Scattering feathers is easy—gathering them is another thing. Oh, the pity and the shame of such bigotry and intolerance as the spirit of those "resolutions" show, coming as they do from men who are in a movement for the regeneration of mankind, the genius of which is brotherhood.

F. H. RICHARDSON,
Editor, Pueblo Courier.

FERNIE, B. C.
Fernalo, B. C., Nov. 21, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

Organized a large federal union last night. This makes three unions for the American Labor Union in Fernalo and one miners' union affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners.

There is a big field here to work in. From Moyle to what is known as Loop, a distance of about 125 miles. There are lumber camps all along the way, and I think some of them could be organized.

We are working as well as we can, and hope to organize a number of unions for the A. L. U. in the near future.

Yours fraternally,
C. M. O'BRIEN, Organizer.

"Again Judas."
Globe, Arizona, Nov. 18, 1902.

At the regular meeting of the Globe Local Socialist party held Nov. 1, 1902, William Jenkin, a newly acquired member, was expelled from the local by unanimous vote. This action of the local was in part due to the part L. man (Jenkin) played in the recent lockout existing here between the Dominion Mining company and its employes. Subsequent to the settlement of the lockout William Jenkin placed in the hands of a newspaper man for publication an article commendatory to a member of the Miners' union for the able assistance he rendered the union in the adjustment of the trouble with the mine management. Within an hour Jenkin returned and from the editor of the paper demanded the return of that article and substituted one condemning the very same member and others like him—were made prominent figures in the lockout settlement. In the interval that elapsed between presenting the first article for publication and the substitution of the last, W. Jenkin was seen with a person who represents interests that are inimical to the Miners' union. To brazen his actions and to leave no room for doubt as to his intentions, he made himself conspicuous by acting as a member of a reception committee (in company with this person who is here represented as being inimical to the Miners' union), that received the republican nominee delegate to congress from the territory here at Globe. That Jenkin sought admission to the Socialist local for a base purpose is considered undeniable, for several of the members of the local have been refused reinstatement at the mine who were considered good men before the lockout, and there is no reason assigned, presumably that they are Socialists.

(Signed) WILLIAM T. HUBBELL,
KENNETH CLAYTON,
CON MCCORMICK,
Committee Globe Local Socialist Party.

David Bales, formerly a member of Silverton Federal Labor Union, No. 112, Silverton, Colo., has been expelled for violation of his obligation and for conduct unbecoming a member.

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MINISTER ADVOCATES SOCIALISM

Pastor of Billings Methodist Church Talks to the Unions.

Billings, Mont., Nov. 18, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

Federal Labor Union No. 133 has secured Rev. W. A. Allen, D. D., pastor of the M. E. Church of Billings, who has come out advocating Socialism, to give a series of lectures upon social lines.

These lectures were prefaced by a sermon given last Sunday evening to his church people, in which he showed the position the church should hold to Socialism.

Dr. Allen is a very forcible and able speaker, a man of wide range of thought, and having carefully studied the question for fifteen years, now intends to advocate its principles; and the public may expect some powerful work from his pen.

He advises every workman to get into the Union. He says it is the best educator the workman has to-day. He says in ten years time the principles of Socialism will have revolutionized the political question.

His first lecture will be given Wednesday evening, Nov. 19, at the Union hall. Future dates will be announced later.

Very truly your comrade
M. C. ROBERTS,
Pres. F. L. U., 133

BUTTE THEATER ATTRACTIONS This Week

At Sutton's Broadway

Thursday—"Over the Fence."
Friday—"Richard Carvel."
Saturday and Sunday—"Hello Bill."
Monday and Tuesday—"Foxy Quill-ler."

At the Family Theater

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, and Saturday Matinee—"Texas."

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