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LABOR UNION JOURNAL

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VOL. I.

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RICH ORE FOR THE MINERS.

Some of the Pure Stuff That is Dug Up for the December Miners' Magazine.

Competition reduces the salary of the wage slave. Co-operation will shorten the hours of toil and give the worker all that he produces.

The laboring men march shoulder to shoulder with each other on Labor Day, but vote against each other on election day. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

The miners of Pennsylvania have voted a bank account for the coal barons and an empty dinner pail for themselves. How charitable and considerate of the slave for his master.

The American people are beginning to look at the "divine right" of capitalism with the same suspicion as our ancestors looked upon the "divine right" of King George III.

The American people are gradually coming to the conclusion that the oratory of the old political parties against the trusts is harmless. The guns of democracy and republicanism are merely loaded with blank cartridges.

If one man in the person of Abraham Lincoln could issue a proclamation that wiped out chattel slavery, then certainly seventy-five millions of people should be able to issue an official notice that wage slavery must be abolished.

The harvester trust that has been formed recently has thrown out of employment 10,000 traveling men whose monthly wages and expenses averaged \$150 per month. These 10,000 jobless salesmen will now devote their time to seeking other employment and the study of Socialism.

Col. Geo. R. Dyer of the Twelfth regiment, New York National Guard has recommended that the officers of his regiment have nothing to do with the men outside the armory on the grounds that the privates are not social equals. Any man who is a salaried or wage slave, who would carry a rifle and drill under the discipline of this haughty, uniformed snob, deserves to be treated as an unfit associate for the company of that animal whose smell is the most powerful defense.

In the various states of the Union the candidates of the old political parties have been elected. The masses during the campaign were told not to throw away their votes by embracing Socialism, but that democracy or republicanism would be good for the future. They have made these same promises for nearly half a century. Labor, after election, will get injunctions, militia, police, unconstitutional laws, special laws for the capitalists, higher prices for the means of life and lower wages.

The minister of the gospel who attempts to console poverty with scriptural quotations is becoming a back number. It will not do to prate about the cares of the rich man, and how hard it will be for him to enter the kingdom of God. The Lazarus is beginning to have a hankering for those cares which the preacher portrays as distressing to the fellow who rolls in wealth. The pauper is willing to take risks on his mansion beyond the stars and he is beginning to have a faint conception that the average preacher is merely a dunce steered in the hands of the capitalist to quiet the murmurings of the slave against the master. The preacher will soon be forced to talk practical Christianity or go out of business.

If the democratic party is in favor of the government ownership of coal mines, it is somewhat strange that the party failed to incorporate in their platform in the state of Pennsylvania a plank demanding that the government should take charge of the coal mines by the right of eminent domain. There are no coal mines in the state of New York, where the party advocated government ownership, and the machine manipulators knew that the corporations would not seriously consider the recent innovation of New York democracy. The people are beginning to realize that democracy and republicanism are twins in political policy, so far as the laboring man is concerned. The classes will soon line up and the battle royal will be fought as to whether the classes or the masses shall rule.

Events of Past Week in the World of Labor

Pueblo newsboys have organized a union.

Labor unions at Pasadena, Calif., will build a \$15,000 labor temple.

Six hundred tanners are on strike in California for a nine-hour work day.

Job printers in Spokane have secured a 10 per cent increase in wages.

The Wabash railroad is importing scabs to take places of striking shopmen.

Ohio coal miners will demand an increase of 20 cents a ton for picked coal.

The Ohio eight-hour law, as applied to public works, has been declared unconstitutional.

An increase of wages is announced by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western railroad.

There are 37 central labor bodies in Canada, extending from Charlotte-town to Dawson City.

Sixty upholsterers are on strike in Los Angeles, and they may organize a co-operative factory.

Locomotive engineers of the Central Railroad of New Jersey will demand a new wage scale shortly.

One hundred women school teachers in West Virginia have organized to secure better wages.

The National Railroad of Mexico has conceded the employees an increase of 15 per cent in wages.

Seventeen union painters at Des

Molnes, Iowa, have organized a stock company and gone into business for themselves.

The Union Steel company will enter the world of trusts January 1st with a capital of \$75,000,000. Next!

Stoves have been advanced in price 5 per cent by the Ohio Valley Stove Manufacturers Association. The people will pay tribute.

The Palace Dry Goods store of Spokane has been declared unfair by the Trades Council for refusing to do away with the use of unfair gas.

It is expected that the United Mine workers will consume all of this week presenting their side of the controversy to the Anthracite Coal Commission.

A bill providing that all products of the Georgia penitentiary shall be labeled "prison made" has passed the lower house of the legislature and gone to the senate.

The Union Labor Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, McGahan, was defeated in the election last Tuesday. The vote stood as follows: Powers, republican, 6,426; Snyder, democrat, 9,297; McGahan, labor-socialist, 3,120.

The Los Angeles Socialist is authority for the statement that the Southern Pacific Railway company has adopted a system of photographing all checkmen and freight clerks employed by that company. Photographs must accompany each application for employment hereafter. This is certainly something new and effective in the shape of a black list.

The business of non-union brew-

eries has decreased tremendously on account of the strict boycott against Cincinnati beer. The Brewers' Exchange, composed of brewery proprietors of that city, is making overtures for a settlement.

The following officers were elected by Anaconda Barbers' Union No. 23 A. L. U., at the last meeting: President, F. R. Carton; vice-president, Nick Imo; treasurer, F. E. Spidel; financial secretary, Harry Walburn; recording secretary, Fred Kenyon.

In London the price of bread has been raised 2 cents per loaf, intensifying the distress of the unemployed.

The strike crisis at Marseilles appears to be at an end. Most of the strikers have returned to work.

About 3,500 strikers in the building trades at New Rochelle, N. Y., have agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration, and have returned to work.

Assessor-elect Lavengood, Socialist of Deer Lodge county, Montana, received formal notice Monday of a contest instituted by the democratic nominee. The case will be heard in court December 16th.

The telephone company at Vancouver, B. C., is employing non-union men to take the places of striking electricians. Union electricians are requested to stay away from Vancouver.

The Miners' Union at Victor, Colo., has just made the last payment of \$500 on its hall, and now owns the building absolutely. Next to Butte, the Victor Miners Union is the largest organization in the Western Federation of Miners, both as to membership and financial resources.

The Central Labor Union of Erie, Pa., has declared for municipal ownership of franchises.

The Georgia child labor bill has been laid on the table by the lower house of the state legislature. It is expected that the bill will be defeated if it comes to a vote.

Wages of helpers in the Rock Island shops at Pawnee, Okla., and South McAlester, I. T., have been increased between 15 and 30 cents per day. The daily wages now are \$1.65.

Judge Ford of the common pleas court has granted a perpetual injunction against the Walters' Union and the United Trades Council of Cleveland, Ohio, restraining their members from picketing or distributing hand bills to customers of unfair restaurants.

Last Friday 2,500 silversmiths and finishers who had been on strike at the factories of Graff, Washburn & Dunn, Thomas G. Bronson, the German Manufacturing company and Tiffany's for a nine-hour day, surrendered and returned to work on the ten-hour basis.

Trouble is threatened at Tuolumne, Cal., between Sequoia Union No. 274, A. L. U., and the West Side Lumber company. The company, which has been paying the employees \$2 a day of eleven hours, and charging \$20 a month for board, announces a reduction of 18 cents a day to conform to the ten-hour day, which has just been inaugurated. The men insist on the old rate of wages and will strike if necessary to maintain their rights.

The price of oil has advanced 2 cents a gallon. We expect that Rockefeller has in view the endowment of another university.

W. J. Walker has severed his connection with the Freemans Labor Journal of Spokane. E. L. Boardman and D. A. Cartano will hereafter conduct the paper. Considerable space is given to Socialism, and, on the whole, the paper presents a clean and creditable appearance under the new management.

A pension system has been organized by the Oregon Short Line railroad company, which will be effective after January 1st. Under this system all employees who have been continuously in the service of the company for twenty years and who reach an age necessitating retirement will be pensioned. Particulars have not yet been made public.

F. H. Richardson, of the Pueblo Courier, had the misfortune to lose his residence by fire last week. The house had just been partly paid for and there was no insurance. Nothing was saved. Brother Richardson has the sympathy of numerous friends in this severe loss. He is at present traveling in the East in the interest of his paper, and was away from home at the time of the fire.

The Hanna-Gompers-Cleveland civic federation was in session at New York Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Among other things the federation considered the coal strike situation. President Elliot, of Harvard, who recently lauded the scab as a patriot and a saint, is a member of the federation, as are also Railway Magnate Chas. Francis Adams, Pres. Ripley of the Santa Fe railway, H. H. Vreeland, the street railway labor crusher, and M. M. Marks, president of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers. It is needless to say that this meeting is not being held at the request of the miners.

Notes from the Field of the American Labor Union

The business of the Colorado Bedding company has greatly increased since it adopted the A. L. U. label.

John Riordan, for a long time business agent for the Central Labor Council of Anaconda, has resigned.

President Coleman, of the Farmers' Union of Montana, A. L. U., has

been organizing the Bitter Root valley thoroughly the past week. He has met with success.

President McDonald visited Victor Federal Labor Union, No. 64, at Victor, Colo., last Monday evening. A large attendance was arranged for in honor of his coming.

The secretary of Sawtooth Union

No. 109 writes that at the last meeting it was decided that the union act in conjunction with Hamilton local Socialist party in arranging dates for Socialist speakers. The union will do all in its power, financially and otherwise, to assist in the cause of Socialism.

Firemen and Engineers' Helpers'

Union, No. 158, A. L. U., of Denver, is doing well, initiating new members and reinstating old ones at every meeting. In fact, nearly all of the A. L. U. unions in Denver appear to be prospering.

A very successful social and dance was given at Turner hall, Helena, Montana, last Friday by Teamsters

and Drivers Union, No. 177. The Teamsters have given a number of these socials, and they are always well attended and thoroughly enjoyed. Last Friday the floor committee consisted of Sam Stewart, Claude Roberts, H. E. Nute, Jas. Hay and Sam Bennett. Refreshments consisting of sandwiches, coffee and cake were served.

Infamous Work of the A. F. of L. Disruptionists in Denver

No doubt it will be interesting to our members to know the kind of organizing work that is being done by Mr. J. D. Pierce, representative and organizer of the American Federation of Labor, who has been a resident of Denver for the past fifteen months, during which time he has been paying close attention and taking special care of all the scabs in Denver. They all know him. He has formed a partnership and gone into collusion with all the employers of labor who are opposed to unionism in this city. In every instance where a strike or a lockout has occurred he cheerfully went to the support of the employers by organizing their scabs into a scab, or would-be union, thus encouraging the employers in their opposition to union men. And to quicken the influence of discouragement by pillage up unsuspected obstacles to overcome, this has a tendency to dishearten inclination and temporarily bewitches young union men who are new in the

labor movement. This vicious work is now meeting with a positive revolt and bold denunciation of all good union men in the city of Denver.

It would seem from general appearances that this work was anything but a lasting success. Pierce organized George J. Kindel's scab mattress makers into a scab union while Kindel was under boycott, and the men working for him were scabbing on the Mattress Makers' Union, of which union two of them were former members. He organized the scab firemen at the Rocky Mountain Paper Mill company while the union men were out on strike and the company under boycott by the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, and tried to organize the scab paper mill men at the same time. He organized the wood workers while the Wagon and Carriage Workers' Union was out, contending for an eight-hour workday, which union men have succeeded in establishing in sixteen different shops.

the balance of the shops are unfair to organized labor and under boycott, which is being vigorously pushed by the Wagon and Carriage Workers' Union No. 242, A. L. U.

Pierce organized, with the assistance of the bosses' associations, a few of the scab blacksmiths working in the unfair shops, and he is now attempting to organize the scab painters, aided by the bosses' association. This organization is formed for the express purpose of opposing organized labor, with the desire of totally destroying the Wagon and Carriage Workers' Union No. 242, and says so in its constitution, as the following will show:

"Article X, Section 1—All wages paid in each shop shall be based on a nine (9) hour day. (Union shops call for eight (8) hours.)"

"Section 2—All members shall resist any encroachment on the part of any carriage workers' union or organization. (Meaning Union No. 242.)"

"Section 3—All members may make their own regulations respecting the workmen they employ, irrespective of any demands on the part of above mentioned union or organization, providing such regulations shall not conflict with this article."

"Section 4—All shops shall work nine (9) hours each day during the next six (6) months, commencing March 1, 1902."

"Section 5—No member of this association shall allow his or their name to appear upon any union card or be advertised as a union shop."

"Article XI, Section 1—Any member or members convicted of violating any of the laws in Article X shall be fined the sum of one hundred dollars (\$100.00), and the board of directors or a majority thereof shall immediately proceed to collect such fine from the convicted member or members."

The above is part of the constitution and bylaws of the Denver Carriage Builders' Association.

This is the organization that is being supported by the said organizer, and the purpose of this association to wreck and put out of business any labor organization or union with which it comes in contact. Yes, Mr. Pierce very generously and cheerfully lends his knowledge, experience, influence and counsel to this infamous work of treachery and disruption, and swallows the constitution of the bosses' association with greedy delight, as if it was the preamble of unionism newly heralded to the world. Just think of a union man giving his sanction and support to the proposition of organizing scabs and assisting the bosses' association in the work of destruction to the progress of unionism, to be operated as a vast machine to interrupt the growth of organized labor.

DANIEL McDONALD,
Denver, Colorado.

What the Socialists are Doing in America and Europe

The old war horse, Debs, is lecturing in Michigan in the interest of the Socialist party. At Benton Harbor last week he delivered the first of a series of lectures arranged for by the churches, and the papers are commenting on the wonderful change in public opinion, especially among the church people, regarding Socialism during the last eight years.

Comrade John Morrissey, of Anaconda, suggests that the Socialists give a fair for the purpose of raising funds for propaganda work. He says he believes considerable money could be raised in this way and it would afford a splendid opportunity to distribute literature.

Benj. F. Wilson writes from Berkeley, Calif., that he is thoroughly rested and is eager for another campaign. He will speak for Socialism in Southern and Central California, after which Idaho and Oregon will claim him for a couple of months. He will probably enter Montana early in the spring, in time to assist in the municipal campaigns.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson has resumed his work as pastor of the Peoples church at Elgin, Ill. The church will, in the words of Comrade Thompson, "preach the gospel of Jesus as a message to the personal life, and preach Socialism in every part of its philosophy and program as the immediate duty of every follower of Jesus and

lover of humanity." Sunday evening, December 21st, he will preach on "New Trades Unionism," when he will outline and defend the principles and program of the American Labor Union.

Big Socialist gains are reported from England.

Big Socialist gains are reported from England.

Debs' Reply to Morrison and Kidd Before A. L. U. Convention Shows Clearly the Necessity for the American Labor Union

Frank Morrison, secretary-treasurer, and Thomas I. Kidd, member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, appeared before the convention of the American Labor Union at Denver, last June, and for two hours argued for the A. L. U. to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The emissaries from the East were listened to with respectful attention by the delegates, but the old-line, antiquated, ineffective, "keep politics out of the union" policies failed to elicit applause from a single delegate. After Messrs. Morrison and Kidd had spoken a number of delegates wished to show the A. F. of L. emissaries the errors of their way. It being almost time for the session to close, and realizing that all could not be heard, it was agreed to allow Eugene V. Debs, who was a visitor at the convention, to close the debate. Debs spoke for about an hour. He was listened to attentively, and at times the applause that greeted his most telling points was thunderous.

Following is a condensed report of Debs' speech, produced from stenographic notes:

Mr. President and Men and Women in the Cause of Labor:

I yield to no man in the desire for unity of the working class. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to make any sacrifice to secure that unity save one; and that is principle and honor. (Applause.)

With the withdrawal of the Western Labor Union from the American Federation of Labor I had absolutely nothing to do. If, however, the withdrawal was justifiable at that time, the years that have since intervened have simply served to vindicate the wisdom of such action. (Applause.)

I wish to say in the beginning that I have been on terms of personal kindness with the two gentlemen who are your guests on this occasion, the two representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and if I am opposed to them today, it is because of certain fundamental differences in reference to the labor movement, and not from any personal consideration.

Mr. Morrison asks: If there is anything wrong with the American Federation of Labor, why not remain within the Federation and right the wrongs from within, instead of opposing it from without? Why, gentlemen, did not the founders of the American Federation of Labor remain within the organization of the Knights of Labor and right the wrongs within? (Applause.)

Let us discuss another point—the president of the American Federation of Labor—and my only regret is that he is not present here today. When I have anything to say to a man, I like to meet him face to face and give him an opportunity to speak in his own behalf. The president of the American Federation of Labor is also the vice-president of the civic federation. Mark that, will you! You may say "He is only acting in an unofficial capacity as an officer of the Civic Federation." Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, becomes "Sammy" Gompers, vice-president of the Civic Federation. Mark Hanna is reported to have said on leaving the council room, "We have forgotten Sammy!" and he was made vice-president, or does any one think he was, because he was a cigar-maker? Don't you know, and don't I know, he was made vice-president of the Civic Federation solely because he was and is the president of the American Federation of Labor?

You may tell me that ministers of the gospel are members of the Civic Federation, and I answer, so much the worse for the gospel. (Applause.) Now, observe these ministers; these humble, followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, the friend of the workman, who, if living and here in Denver today, would stand for what I am advocating. (Applause.)

They appointed Bishop Potter to the Civic Federation; they did not appoint Father Hagerty. They know their business; they are taking no chances.

Now, the Civic Federation has a brief record but a very malodorous one; the stench rises to the nostrils. All their work is in the interest of the capitalist class.

Twenty thousand workmen went on strike in the city of Boston recently and the capitalists were very much alarmed. A class struggle was on exhibition. Secretary Dasey of the Civic Federation promptly consulted with the capitalists and they sent their emissaries to consult with the leaders of the strike and asked them to order the men back to work and solemnly promised that justice would be done. The men returned to work, but their leaders were told there was no work for them. The strike was broken, the men were demoralized and the many men who had the courage to lead them are out of jobs.

Were I a delegate to this conven-

tion, I would point to the fact that "your leading officers are members of the Civic Federation and your executive council have not repudiated their action in joining and accepting offices. In this case silence gives consent."

There is another matter to be considered. You may have been told what great things have been done for you. I am going to tell you what they have never done—what they never will do for you. It is conceded that the coal miners are thoroughly organized; they are also affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are told they are the most powerful organization in the world. What is the condition of these wage-workers? They live in miserable hotels, and their wives and children are half-clad and poorly fed. According to the official report of the Bureau of Statistics of the state of Pennsylvania there are 145,000 coal miners in that state. For the year 1901—the year in which they were supposed to enjoy the fruits of their great victory—their average wage, according to the official report, was 78 cents a day! What do you think of that? How do you like it?

What is the condition of the workers in the South today? It is true they have not been organized very long—some of them—but in some parts they are very well organized; but they will never materially better their condition under the present industrial system. Today, gentlemen, there is not one state in the South that has a child-labor law. Capitalists from the North went to the South and said, "If you will agree to remove certain obnoxious restrictions, we will locate our cotton factories in the South." And today throughout the South, thousands of children, in these cotton mills, are being dwarfed in mind and deformed in body, debarred from the happy play-time and schooling of childhood and youth, grinding out for their capitalist masters the profits to satisfy their greed. These are the conditions prevailing in the South today.

Now, to return to the coal miners—and my heart goes out to them—I would willingly give five years of my life, and I mean every word of it, if I could only bring any substantial relief.

Recently they met at Scranton and agreed to strike if their demands were not conceded. The strike was not called. On the 1st of April they were ready, but they were prevailed upon to submit their demands for arbitration and settlement to the Civic Federation. They asked for thirty days to consider, but they knew in advance the demands of the miners would never be granted. They knew this on the 1st day of April. Why was not the Civic Federation honest enough to say plainly and at once, "We can't do anything for you; you will have to fight your battle alone." When the thirty days expired they asked for a few more days time and, finally, the statement was made that the Civic Federation was powerless and could do nothing for them.

Do you suppose that Mark Hanna is an idiot? He is anything but that! He knew on the 1st day of April, as well as later, that the Civic Federation could not do anything for those struggling miners. What is the result of these delays? Every miner knows that; on the 1st day of April they would have struck as one man. When finally the strike was declared, it was carried by a bare majority. They saw that they were betrayed, and many said, "The best thing to do is to go back to work."

These mines are mainly owned by a few plutocrats and they say that they are going to run their mines as they choose. I tell you they haven't the right to own these mines and reduce workmen to wage slavery. This slavery succeeds the black slavery of the South, and the boss succeeds the overseer with his whip and lash.

By the strike these plutocrats suffer some inconvenience and loss of profit but in the final results they will not lose anything. These coal barons live on the Nob Hills; have carriages and yachts and vaults filled with gold; they can live sumptuously, but the miners go hungry, and it would require the genius of a Dante to depict their haggard condition. These miners have not even the right to walk on the public highways! Their wives and children live in penury and want and misery. No sooner had the strike been declared when two thousand special police were sworn in, doubtless to guard the public highways, where even a dog has a right of way. Read the records of Homestead, Virdean, Halleton and Coeur d'Alene—the story is over the same!

Now, when the operators have stamped out this strike and crushed these miners, I want to know what the

for them? It is our right to know if they have still some relief in store—some balm in Gilead? If they have such, let them tell us what it is. If not, we will tell them what we have and what we propose to do. (Applause.) We are going to begin right here! We are going to begin right now in this western country. I tell you the day of trades unionism in its antiquated form is past. Not that I am opposed to trades unions, but I want them up to date; I want them equipped with a rapid-fire gun in this modern warfare instead of the old blunderbuss. They will have to change their methods before they can emancipate the downtrodden workmen and women of the earth! That is their true, economic mission. I want the trades unions to organize thoroughly and to assert their rights upon the economic field and to do all they can to keep them there! I WANT THE TRADE UNIONISTS AS SUCH TO STAND TOGETHER UPON A POLITICAL PLATFORM!

I do not ask them to become a political organization; I wouldn't allow them to do so, if in my power to prevent. But I do want them to use their political power at the right time and the right place, and in the right way! (Applause.) The leaders of the American Federation do not want any political action; they advise trade unionists to keep out of politics while they use their official prestige to boost themselves into political jobs! The old political parties are satisfied to have you keep out of politics. They know that without such action you have no power.

Did you see the injunction recently issued by Baker—Judge Baker of Indiana? Well, he is an old man, almost worn out. Now, they have got to have some more of the same kind of judicial material, some more of the same kind of stuff, when old Baker shuffles off this mortal coil. This old corporation judge has a son precisely like himself. Now, Roosevelt has appointed to the federal bench of Indiana this son of Baker—Judge Baker—the infamous tool of the corporations. Every time he had a chance he attacked workmen in the interest of the capitalists. The other day they had a local strike in Indianapolis when the employers rushed to Judge Baker for an injunction and he said, "I want you not only to ask for an injunction, but to ask for damages and I will grant both the petition for the injunction and damages." Think of a judge, when an injunction is asked for advising the petitioners to also demand damages against half-fed working people! And the son of this man, another just like him, Roosevelt has appointed judge, and they are both on the bench of Indiana today; both ready to serve injunctions in the interest of the capitalist and corporations!

I AM A SOCIALIST! That is to say, I am a "ripe" trade unionist. There are two kinds of trade unionists—those who are green and those who are ripe. I ought, also, perhaps, to mention a third kind—those who have become rotten. (Applause.) Those are the fellows you want to keep your eye on.

To me, it is the most pitiful spectacle to see representatives of workmen lobbying in legislative halls and begging to have some law for the alleged benefit of labor put on the statute books for some two-by-four judge to declare "unconstitutional." You don't want lobbyists in the outer halls; you want your members in the legislative seats to make laws for you. "Just keep out of politics!" they insist, but I am here to tell you TO GO INTO POLITICS! BUT GO IN THE RIGHT WAY. In the matter of politics it is safe to follow the example of the capitalists. A successful capitalist knows his business. Lobbyists and attorneys are not employed by individual capitalists, but by corporations. Labor must organize in the interests of labor and follow the political example set by the capitalists. These same capitalists organize a corporation and then push it into politics and every one of them advises you to "keep out of politics." Mark Hanna has been in politics all his life and he is worth twenty million dollars, and the Pennsylvania miner, who is not in politics, gets seventy-eight cents a day!—and a grave in the potter's field.

What did the Federation do for you in the strike at Leadville? You appealed for help and spent \$100 in your efforts to obtain it, and after a dreary waiting you got a \$5 contribution from the East. It is well enough for them to ask help from the West, but it is in order also to ask if the helping hand of the East has been visible out in this western country? If it has I do not think there are any witnesses to the fact and it would take a magnifying glass to discover it.

I ask no man to be responsible for my words. I am not infallible, but I will simply say in conclusion, if I

due to writing my cause for so doing, and if this is done, as I know you are able to do it, it will challenge the approval of right-thinking men not only in the West, but all over the United States. I know that organized labor in the East is rife with discontent; I know that the most progressive trade union elements in the East are opposed to the reactionary policy of the American Federation of Labor, which you are now asked to endorse. If you take decided action it will strengthen their hands. They have every reason to believe you will, and the report will echo from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But if you want to turn the hand back on the dial of labor; if you want to strike another blow at the heart of labor, subscribe to the present policy of the American Federation. If, on the other hand, you are keeping step with the inspired music of progress; if you can SEE!—if you can HEAR!—if you can FEEL!—in other words, if you are not totally dead to all the appeals of your fellow men, adopt by a unanimous vote if possible, but adopt a vigorous and progressive policy and after adopting that policy fling your banner to the breeze and appeal to the workmen of the country to rally beneath its folds. Wipe out the limitation implied by your name and let the Western Labor Union become the American Labor Union. I admire the western spirit. I am with you in this and will face the East on this proposition. Now, if the American Federation of Labor really wants to unify, let it cut loose from labor's enemies; let it procure a divorce between Samuel Gompers and Mark Hanna! (Applause.) Let it decline for independent political action along class-conscious lines and then, all hail! We will then say the hour has struck for union. The East and the West will be wed and we will have an all-embracing organization. We will conquer, grasp the reins of government and establish the Socialist Republic! (Prolonged applause.)

Butte Cooks and Waiters.

Butte, Mont., Dec. 9, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

At your request, enclosed you will find a few items for the Journal.

The election of officers for the ensuing term will take place on Monday, Dec. 22.

Reports submitted show the organization to be in a flourishing condition financially and in every other respect. In point of membership the union is in excellent shape, and is steadily gaining ground.

Our annual ball and entertainment will be on Monday, Jan. 5. Fraternal-ly yours,

CHARLES L. HILDITCH,
Secretary Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union No. 2, A. L. U.

Helena Federal Union.

Helena, Mont., Dec. 7, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

At a regular meeting of the Helena Trades and Labor Assembly, held Nov. 23, it was resolved that on and after Jan. 1, 1903, all merchants handling or selling brooms that do not bear the union label will be considered unfair.

This fight has been on among the Helena union men for some time and we will, with the help of all locals affiliated, put a stop to the handling of prison or unfair brooms in this city.

If this can be done the factory will be operating in our own city, at which is a union concern, can give employment to a number of unemployed men.

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union of Helena is waging active war on Chinese and such unfair concerns of the city. Asking you to extend us your wish for success, remain, Yours fraternally, Federal Labor Union No. 199.

F. A. KLEESE,

A strike at the ballot box cannot be enjoined by a federal judge.

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, an enablement to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical or 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 race 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-worker. 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 employees, 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, loss 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.

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Gompers at the New Orleans Convention

Written Especially for the American Labor Union Journal by A. M. Simons of Chicago

The speech of President Gompers at the New Orleans convention is one which is destined to play considerable part in the discussions between the Socialists and trade unionists during the next few years. It is the first time that Gompers has actually placed himself publicly on record in this regard. For years he has always permitted some one else to do his fighting while he remained in the background. But at New Orleans he was pressed so hard by the rising Socialist sentiment that he felt himself called upon to rush into the arena to defend the out-grown union tactics of which he has long been the most prominent representative. He stood forth as the last refuge of the anti-Socialist position and the speech that he made will, as time passes, prove to be one of the strongest forces of those that will some day compel the American Federation of Labor to get into line with the economic movement of the day.

By this speech Gompers takes his place along with Baer and Morgan as one of the great unwilling, but none the less effective workers for Socialism. That his momentary victory was gained through the most open falsification makes it certain that his New Orleans speech is his own epitaph. So barefaced and malicious were his misrepresentations that I venture on the prophecy that he will not dare to publish the speech as it was actually given, but will see to it that the worst of his falsehoods are eliminated by careful editing in the official report of the convention.

Let us enumerate, first, the minor and more malicious falsehoods before discussing those positions in which he at least attempted the forms of logic. He began by saying that he was a graduate from Socialism. Needless to say he did not show his diploma, and the sentence is only of value as making it impossible for any of his defenders to plead ignorance as an excuse for the statements that followed.

MARX AS AN OPPONENT OF SOCIALISM.

It is noteworthy as showing the influence that Socialism has secured that Gompers found it necessary to attempt to array Karl Marx on his side. He declared that Marx had never stood for the co-operative commonwealth, notwithstanding the fact that there is scarcely a line in all of the writings of the great Socialists that does not lead up to this one conclusion. Finally he capped the climax of bold and deliberate falsification by stating that in Marx's reply to Proudhon the former had declared the Socialists to be the greatest enemies of the working class.

When cornered afterward on this statement he attempted to excuse himself by the most ridiculous twisting of a phrase, referring to the early confused Utopian Socialists of France.

From this petty lying he proceeded to more general conclusions. He tried to make the convention believe that the German Socialists were much less dangerous to the capitalist class than was Gompers' little lobby down at Washington. On this point I only wish it were possible to call Kaiser Billy as a witness and ask him with which he would rather deal. But this position is so continuously and thor-

oughly answered by even the garbled reports of the event in Germany which are continually published in the daily press, that it is hard to realize the nerve of the man who would make such a statement.

What Socialists Have Done for the Laborers.

But he followed this with the further allegation that none of the Socialists of Europe had ever done anything for the workers. The obvious alternative conclusion which Gompers would have us draw and which, in fact, he did draw in his speech, was that he, with his lobby, was accomplishing great deeds. The comparison must be drawn between the lobby and action through independent political parties, for that is the only point on which there is any disagreement. Socialists all agree with Gompers on the need of waging the fight on the economic ground with all possible weapons. They would employ the strike and boycott with even greater energy than he, and indeed we will wager that Gompers has yet to hear of the time when Socialist members of the union were the first to surrender. On the contrary, almost every Socialist would find it easy to point to instances where boycotts were observed by Socialists long after they had fallen into "innocuous desuetude" so far as the "pure and simple" are concerned. Hence if Socialism is to be contrasted with Gompersism a comparison must be made between the results obtained through independent political action by parties standing on a Socialist platform and the method of lobbying, begging and whining for favors of capitalist governments.

At the very beginning Socialists will concede without discussion that if it is a question of obtaining good things for the leaders, all the arguments are on the side of the lobby. There are no such soft snaps anywhere for Socialist representatives in legislative bodies as are enjoyed by the Washington lobby of the A. F. of L., and have been given to the misleaders of labor like Powderly, Arthur, Madden, etc., in return for their services as traitors to the cause they claimed to represent. But when it comes to benefits obtained for the rank and file of the workers and their families there is a different story to tell.

On this point a little story of what I saw three years ago in the city of Lille, in Northern France, may be worth telling. In this city the workers added to their efforts on the economic field the work of their united ballots and elected Socialist officials in control of the city government. While there I visited one of the largest public schools located in the working class neighborhood. I came at the noon hour and was taken into a great hall adjoining the school room, where I saw several hundred children seated at long rows of tables loaded with warm and wholesome food. There were no "full dinner palls" with cold, ill-cooked, indigestible food, which constitute the highest ideal of the Gompers type of trade unionists, either at school or in the shop, to lay the foundation of shortened, painful, dyspeptic lives. Neither were there any of those more horrible things that are all too frequent in this land of Gompers and the lobby—the empty dinner pail.

Every child received a well-prepared, adequate, warm meal, without cost to the parent.

Nor was this all that had been accomplished in this city by Socialist rule. There were better homes, better wages, and better conditions for the workers in a hundred different ways than had ever prevailed in that city before, and far better even than prevails in many of the working quarters of American cities in spite of the advantages which a new country, un-bounded natural resources and Gompers' lobby has given us. But if this one thing—ample, healthy food furnished the children of the workers by the municipality, out of the profits of the capitalist class be taken by itself, it is a greater gain for the laborer than has been attained by all the years of begging and whining of the Gompers plan.

As to what the Socialists have accomplished in legislative bodies, I never heard of a minority enacting a great amount of legislation anywhere. And it must be remembered that up until the present time the Socialists have not yet gained control of any national legislature. That the time is not far distant when they will gain such control is now certain and when that time comes we may be sure that workers will no longer be compelled to stand meekly outside legislative chambers and beg for the rights to which they are entitled. But, even as things stand, the comparison is made between the legislation forced by the Socialist majority in European legislative bodies and that secured and enforced through the begging system, the comparison should redound to the advantage of the latter.

If proof of this is wanted it is furnished by the very report which Gompers read at his same convention but a few days before. It would seem as if any man with even a scrap of manhood in him would revolt against further begging for favors after the story of that report. All the energies of the lobby were to be concentrated on the eight-hour law, and they could not report that they had accomplished exactly what they have accomplished in this direction at every session of congress for the last ten years—absolutely nothing. Gompers claimed that the capitalists were frightened at the prospect of success of this law.

Furthermore, it is safe to say that the increase of Socialist votes at the election just gone by has done more to hasten the passage of legislation favorable to labor than all the cringing, sniveling of all the legislative committees that have ever been appointed by trades unions since the first union was organized. If the gains of labor are secured as free gifts from the generosity of capitalists then whyfore trades unions, strikes and boycotts? If they are given only because of the power to take by those who ask, what is the power which compels a capitalist legislature and government to grant favorable legislation to laborers while those laborers still continue to vote for capitalist officials. What fear has the capitalist class of a lobby whose only threat in case of a rejection of their demands is that another division of the same

class will be elected to power? But when the laborers declare their intention of turning out the whole breed of capitalism and of electing their own class to power, then concessions will follow thick and fast. The three hundred thousand votes that were cast for Socialism this fall will really be the only thing that gives Gompers any reason to hope for success for the measures which his committee champions. The spectre of the growth of Socialism may well, by a strange irony of events, lead the politicians of capitalism to grant favors to Gompers in the hope of thereby continuing the slavery and exploitation of the workers for a few more years.

Labor Leaders on Capitalist Tactics.

But there were other equally interesting allegations made by the president of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans. He made a great deal of the fact that after the Socialists had urged the trade unionists to go into politics they did not then support union men who ran on democratic and republican tickets. This same charge has been repeated in various places and much has been made of the fact that labor leaders running on democratic and republican tickets were denounced by Socialists as enemies of the working class. But there is no inconsistency here. The Socialists never told the trade unionists to go into CAPITALIST politics. The trade union aims at securing higher wages and shorter hours and is continually preaching the benefits of these things and the necessity of labor striving for them. Now it is seldom that in a hotly-fought strike the scabs are not paid (for a brief period, at least) as much as the union is asking for. But will any union man claim that a member of the union is justified in scabing because he, as an individual, receives for a short time more than union wages? The Socialists demand that the laborers go into laboring class politics and they declare that a union man who trades upon the growing sentiment for independent laboring class politics to get political honor for himself through the democratic or republican or any other capitalist party is as much a scab as the man who would take the place of a union man at time of strike because he was offered a few extra dollars as wages.

To the Socialist, "independent political action" for the laborers means independence of the capitalist class in all its divisions. It means that in platform, organization, principles and personalities a complete break shall be made with capitalism. Whenever union men do this they will find themselves fighting by the side of the Socialists.

This is what they are coming to soon, anyhow. Gompers and Arthur and Powderly and others like them are losing their grip. The union men will quit paying the salaries of a lot of worse than useless loafers at Washington who are supposed to be begging for legislation and will elect their own congress to do the legislating and if the capitalists want any favors they can try the lobby method for a while.

A new Socialist paper called "The Cry for Justice" has been started in New York.

BY THE LATE ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Will the Workers Ever Awake?

Invention has filled the world with competitors, not only of labor, but of mechanics—mechanics of the highest skill. Today the ordinary laborer is for the most part only a cog in a wheel. He works with the tireless—he feeds the insatiable. When the monster stops the man is out of employment—out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine that he fed was not feeding him—the invention was not for his benefit.

The other day I heard a man say that it was impossible for thousands of good mechanics to get employment, and that in his judgment the government ought to furnish work for the people. A few minutes after I heard another say that was selling a patent for cutting out clothes—that one of the machines could do the work of twenty tailors, that only the week before he had sold two to a great house in New York and that forty cutters had been discharged.

On every side men are being discharged and machines are being invented to take their places. When the great factory shuts down the workers who inhabit it and give it life, as thoughts do the brain, go away, and it stands there like an empty skull. A few workmen by force of habit, gather about the closed doors and broken windows and talk about distress, the price of food and the coming winter. They are convinced that they have not had their share of what their labor created. They feel certain that the machines inside were not their friends. They look at the mansion of the employer, and think of the place where they live. They have saved nothing—nothing but

themselves. The employer seems to have enough. Even when employers fail, when they become bankrupt, they are far better off than the laborers ever were. Their worst is better than the toilers' best.

The capitalist comes forward with his specific. He tells the workingman that he must be economical—and yet under the present system economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what he can to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The slaves who did not wish to run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving mechanic is a certificate that the wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his hope, that and—death?

"Consultation" and "Conspiracy." Capital has always claimed and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the workers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, club house or parlor, navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When poor men combine it is a "conspiracy." If they defend themselves it is "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of

the government in this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are? A cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, from the down-trodden, from the unfortunate, from the despised, from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists, when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and bravest battle for the right.

How Will the Contest Be Settled?

How are we to settle the unequal contest between man and machine? Will the machine go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of her suffering children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will workmen become intelligent enough and strong enough to become the owners of machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things? Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just; or does the same law or fact control him that controls the animal or vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the small trees, the strong animals devour the weak, everything at the mercy of beak, and claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand and club, of brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere. The poor horse stand-

ing in the street with his dray over-worked, overwhipped and underfed, when he sees other horses groomed like mirrors, glittering with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual Socialistic reflections, that this same horse does when worn out and old, deserted by its master, turned into the dusty road, he leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at donkeys in a field of clover and feels like a Nihilist.

When the World Was Young.

In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless still live on the weak, the unfortunate and the foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, their self-denial, their weakness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for his wife and children through all his anxieties, barren, wasted life—who goes to his grave without ever having one luxury—has been the food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow-men. The poor woman, living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and breathless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from a child, is slowly being eaten by her fellowmen. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failures, the anxieties, the crime, humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has lived upon his fellowman.

GEMS FROM GOLDSMITH.

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen, who survey
The rich mans' joys increase, the poor's decay,
Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land,
Proud swells the tide with loads of freighted ore,
And shouting Folly hails them from her shore;
Hoards, e'en beyond the misers wish, abound,
And rich men look from all the world around,
Yet count our gains; this wealth's but a name
That leaves our useful products all the same,
Not so the miser's notion of wealth and pride
Takes up the space that many poor supplied;
Space for his all, his pars's extended bounds,
Space for his horses, equipage and hounds;
The robe that wraps his limbs in silken cloth,
Has robb'd the neighboring fields of half their growth;
His seat, here solitary sports are seen,
Indignant spurns the cottage from the green;
Around the world each needful product flies,
For all the luxury the world supplies;—
While thus the land, adorned for pleasure all,
In barren splendor feebly awaits the fall,
Ill fares the land, hastening ill's prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

—OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

Dissatisfied With the World.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it now is. No man can truly enjoy even what he earns—knowing that millions of his fellowmen are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes on almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm. One feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.

In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, where one man can raise the food of hundreds, millions are on the edge of famine.

Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth? Are the laws of "supply and demand," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation, always to be the enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant enough to give their earnings to the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they always build temples and live in huts and dens themselves? Will they forever allow parasites and vampires to live upon their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful fraud? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees, and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robed impostor's hand?

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THE PATH OF INDEPENDENCE.

An easy task it is to tread The path the multitude will take; But independence dares the stake If but fair conviction led.

Then haste, truth-seer, on thy way, Nor heed the worldling's smile or frown; The brave alone shall wear the crown The noble only clasp the bow.

Go, worker of the public weal; When knaves combine, and plot and plan, Assert the dignity of a man, Teach the dishonest hearts to feel.

Still keep thy independence whole; Let nothing warp thee from thy course, And thou shalt wield a giant's force, And wrong before thy foot shall roll.

-Anon.

Colorado scabs all swear by the A. F. of L.

Incentive to crime would be abolished under Socialism.

A labor organization without the courage to stand for the right ought not to exist.

Workingmen must abolish the wage system, because it enslaves the workers.

Gompers claims to have graduated from Socialism. Show us your diploma, Samuel; we are from Missouri.

Editor Keith may come or go, but the movement for the co-operative commonwealth goes on forever.

Support the labor and Socialist press. They are the strength of the working class movement.

Labor, organize! Protect the working class, industrially and politically—at the workshop and at the ballot box.

The true unionist, he who understands the nature of the class struggle, is always found in the Socialist ranks.

The mayor and several aldermen of Denver have been sent to jail. Capitalist politicians do find their right place sometimes.

Labor protests against the militia and the standing army at times of strikes, but it is the army of the unemployed that is the greatest menace to the working class.

J. D. Pierce, special representative of the A. F. of L. in Denver, is the idol of every employers association and scab-herder in Colorado.

Do the Socialists want to destroy the trusts? No; that would be foolish. Socialism would simply make the trust benefit all the people instead of a few capitalists, as at present.

Capitalism says to labor: "Stand and deliver." And labor delivers. If labor only realized its power it would get the "drop" on capitalism at the next election and take possession of the guns and ammunition.

The vote in Tomboy precinct, San Miguel county, Colorado, was as follows: Socialists, 118; democrats, 10; republicans, 19. This is what workingmen can do when they stand together.

President McDonald's letter on another page of this paper shows clearly the disreputable and non-union tactics of the A. F. of L. organizers in Denver. It should be read by every union man.

If it is sensible for labor to combine for the purpose of meeting capitalism on the industrial field, it is doubly important that labor combine to meet capitalism on the political field.

Farmers and farm laborers are welcome to membership in the American Labor Union, and they are joining by the hundreds. We offer protection to every victim of capitalism.

Labor has as much right to freedom to the land, the mines, the mills

and the factories as it has to the air and the sunshine. Food and clothing are just as necessary to life as light and air.

A battle royal is promised between capitalists and organized labor. The employers association has organized and is preparing for the fray. The contest will be short and decisive as soon as labor learns to vote right.

Capitalism is world-wide, and everywhere it is opposed to the interests of the working class. International Socialism is the only political movement big enough to protect the working class from the ravages of merciless capitalism.

The American Labor Union challenges Gompers to a public discussion of the industrial and political policy of the American Federation of Labor. We will undertake to prove that the A. F. of L. offers absolutely no protection for the workers against the present day methods of capitalism.

How much are you doing to increase the strength and efficiency of the organized labor movement? Are you a worker for the cause, or are you simply one of those who makes his life a continuous complaint against the work of others?

It is said that Sam Gompers once threatened to replace every miner in the West with Eastern scabs at \$2.00 a day unless the Western Federation of Miners would affiliate with the A. F. of L. The disrupting tactics employed by the Gompers brigade in Colorado confirms our belief that Gompers made the statement credited to him.

A problem: Capitalism owns everything by which labor must live. Capitalism increases wages ten per cent and advances cost of living 30 per cent. How much does the working class benefit? To the first workingman who votes the old party ticket answering this problem correctly we will send a copy of "Why a Workingman Should Be a Socialist."

The Butte Miner says the Socialist party is at the zenith of its glory, and will lose strength hereafter. In the face of 200 per cent increase of the Socialist vote every election during the last twelve years, this is certainly a remarkable statement. This time the party polled upwards of 200,000 votes. The Journal will wager Editor Keith the best hat in Butte that it will be a million in 1904. Come, now, put up or shut up.

Report comes from Brockton, Massachusetts, that the Socialists have elected mayor, seven aldermen and eight councilmen. Although the election was held more than a week ago, we are unable to either confirm or deny the report. If it is true, it proves absolutely the conspiracy of silence on the part of capitalist newspapers. Not a single daily paper contained a report of the result of the election.

Inasmuch as Socialism holds out a standing challenge to every old political party and every old party politician to meet the representatives of the Socialist party in public debate at any time and any place, Editor Keith has a fine opportunity to knock the persimmons out of the Socialist philosophy. In view of Senator Clark's recent political reverses (knowing he must feel poor in pocket) the Socialist party will agree to pay for the hall and will guarantee a packed house to hear the debate. Its up to Keith.

The capitalist class has organized a literary bureau to prejudice the people against Socialism. Did you notice lately the editorials in your daily paper showing the failure of co-operation in England and Scotland, and branding this co-operation Socialism? Practically the same thing appeared in every capitalist paper in the Nation at the same time. Lie, ye paid hirelings—ho! All the baseness of a debauched clique of capitalistic writers cannot stem the tide of International Socialism.

Prof. J. S. Clark, of Chicago University, said in a lecture recently that on a salary of \$200 a year an unskilled workman could keep a family in comfort and save money. It is such heartless declarations as these that enrage the helpless victims of capitalism and make anarchists of the ignorant. Prof. Clark should be compelled to work a few years at this salary, and should be obliged to live on \$200 a year. After a few years of his own medicine he might not present as sleek an appearance as at present, but he would certainly know more of humanity and would have a better conception of the rights of man. Under a sane system of society such gibbering idiots would likely have to be pensioned—they certainly could not be found useful for any purpose.

The corporations and capitalists that now say the government is not capable of controlling anything will be only too glad to give over their

bankrupt railroads to Uncle Sam at the time of the next panic. The government is good enough to take bankrupt railroads and operate them until they are out of debt, but it is not capable of building, owning and operating railroads of its own in the interest of all the people.

In a country capable of supporting in comfort and happiness ten times the population America has at present we find tramps, beggars, vagabonds and prostitutes. No one can make me believe that a man or woman follows either of these lives from choice. They are forced to it through the operation of an insane and unjust social system. Patchwork by means of tariff, revision, tax reforms and trust legislation will not correct the evil. As long as the competitive system remains these evils will remain as a result of it, in spite of all petty reform measures. The Socialist party is the only party that stands for a sensible readjustment of the whole social system on a sane, just and equitable, co-operative basis—a basis that will insure to all workers the wealth they create.

A paragraph on another page of this paper contains a world of meaning for the people of America. It states that the legislature of Georgia has refused to pass a bill prohibiting child labor in the factories of that state. The cursed greed for gold has so far possessed the law-makers of Georgia as to make them deaf to the walls of thousands of little, helpless children—some no more than babies—who are made to sacrifice the hours of blessed babyhood to enrich the holders of trust stocks in Wall street. God help the state whose destiny is shaped by such political degenerates and moral cowards as the plutocratic bootlickers in the Georgia legislature. The tortures of an eternal hell, made more terrible by the maddening pictures of an outraged childhood, would be much too easy a punishment for these alleged men.

Carl D. Thompson will tour Wisconsin for the Socialist party in January.

George Fred Williams, democratic nominee for governor in Massachusetts in 1898, has announced himself a Socialist.

A. U. McQuarrie, who is canvassing for The Labor World, writes that he is selling a great deal of literature. We sent him a new supply this week. Comrade McQuarrie organized a Socialist local at Red Lodge while in that city.

HUGHES' SHARPSHOOTERS Pithy Paragraphs by a Member of the Executive Board.

Wholesale bribery, boodle and corruption everywhere is the bountiful fruit of the competitive system—everything and anything that is brutal, low and corrupting is resorted to to make profits—for this is the one thing that all are chasing after—is the one thing that measures success. It is a low standard. We ought to be capable of something better—we will be capable of something better when Socialism is rightly organized under Socialism; but never so long as we are battling with the low greed of commercialism.

John Wannamaker is quite a capitalist himself, and they say he tries to be an honest one—at least, he has acquired the sobriquet of "Honest John," and in justice to him it must be said that he has never appeared to be a very bad sort of a fellow for the chance he has had under the system. He said in a recent interview: "Quay's government and Quay's creatures in other branches of the state (Pennsylvania) government, make it impossible to prosecute the violators of the constitution. The fundamental law is broken and the civil power is inert. The gang which rules the state, from the governor down, makes the courts seem almost useless. It buys or otherwise fixes the juries. No one who cares to get the facts will question this."

And, every other state in the American union is in a similar fix—Pennsylvania is no exception. New York has her Platts and Crokers; Ohio her Hannas; Montana her Clarks, Carters and Heluzies; Idaho her Shoupes and Steenberges; Washington her Wilsons and Ankenys—and so on without end—always political grafters and corruptionists willing to resort to any kind of political debauchery to force legislation that will strengthen the power of privately owned commercial enterprises to still further exploit the working class. All of this is for profits—the greed of commercialism continually leading men on to deeds of corruption, but never in the paths of right-doing or pure government.

In all political contests, state elections, senatorial fights, etc., you always find this class lined up with the

railroads and private corporations—yet howling themselves hoarse for the "dear people" and proclaiming their "purity" and the rottenness of the other fellows—and afterwards skinning them to the queen's taste. Why cannot the working people see through all these shams and unite with a party that is distinctly their own? They can and will do it, for the scales are being removed from their eyes—the big "scrap" is coming, so let her rip!

The capitalists are lining up. The big Socialist vote polled by the laboring people all over the country has given them a tremendous scare. Abram S. Hewitt, a life-long Democrat and ex-mayor of the city of New York, has joined the Republican party because he believes all the capitalists should get together. This should help the working class to see how necessary it is for them to get together under the banner of Socialism.

We are now having competition in getting profits and "doing" the other fellow; under Socialism we will have competition of another kind—that of seeing who can be of the most benefit to society. Which do you prefer?

God bless the agitator! What a rotten old world this would be without him! If it were not for him we would, in the language of Patrick Henry, "lie supinely upon our backs" while our hands and feet would be securely bound by the oppressing class. For all the liberties we now enjoy the credit is due the agitator—all we hope to gain in the coming years will be due to his "pernicious activity."

Ellensburg, Wash., is a division point on the Northern Pacific railway and a fairly prosperous little town. Senator Sharp, of that place, represents his county in the state legislature and is making a fight on the railroads. The big corporation now threatens to take the division point away from the town, ruin its industries and blot it off the map, unless Senator Sharp ceases his fight. Oh, the beauties of capitalism! We certainly enjoy a "hot" brand of political liberty under the domination of these mighty trusts that have so un-

ceremoniously taken over to themselves the control of all the former privileges of the general government.

Preparatory for the regular biennial lobbying campaign before the legislature at the capitol in the state of Washington, the railroad people have leased one of the most elegantly furnished sporting houses in the demimonde district at Olympia and are filling it with the most shapely and beautiful immoral women to be found in the state for the purpose of entertaining the members of the legislature, whom the people have sent there to represent them. The "purity" of modern capitalism is something fierce. Don't you think that the "time is ripe and rotten ripe for a change?"

And now they have commenced an international police campaign against the secret traffic in women for immoral purposes, and the first thing in the city of Philadelphia (the city of "purity" and "brotherly love") 51 men and 113 women were arrested. The women were brought from Europe as prisoners. These crimes, like all other crimes of capitalism, were committed because profits could be made in the traffic. Spasmodically the people foolishly try to reform this great evil, but despite their efforts the business of procuring flourishes. It can only be stamped out by removing the cause—profit-making. Under Socialism there will be no profits in this immoral business; women dependent upon their own labor for a living will always have the opportunity for honorable toil with the full products of their labor—this will be full protection to all honorable women, and then none but the naturally vicious will resort to lives of shame. Then also the maques will have to go to work the same as honest men, or take the alternative of starvation.

Capitalistic prosperity has hit England so hard that a half-million of working people are fighting one another for employment—such is the reign of capitalism everywhere—enforced idleness and misery for the workers. Stop a minute, reader, and think of all the terrors of this—think! Think!!! Think of the terrible miseries of hunger, starvation and rags; squalor and rags; ignorance and degradation—all of which must be the lot of the enforced idle—the people who by useful toil have created all the wealth of the world. They deserve better things. The co-operative commonwealth of Socialism will give it to them, but the present system of capitalism will never give them justice; will never give them security; and we would be fools to longer support it. Let the clash come—and the sooner the better. So, fellow worker, "save your money and buy a book," read, think, act—vote for your emancipation. H. L. HUGHES, Member Executive Board American Labor Union. Spokane, Wash., Dec. 7, 1902.

THE SMITH AND THE KING.

A Smith upon a summer's day Did call upon a King. The King exclaimed: "The Queen's away; Can I do anything?" "I pray you can," the Smith replied, "I want a bit of bread." "Why!" cried the King. The fellow sighed. "I'm hungry, sire," he said.

"Dear me! I'll call my Chancellor; He understands such things. Your claims I cannot cancel, or deem them fit themes for kings. Sir Chancellor, why, here's a wretch Starving like rats and mice!" The Chancellor replied: "I'll fetch The First Lord in a trice."

The First Lord came, and by his look You might have guessed he'd shrink. Said he: "Your Majesty's mistook; 'This is the Chief Clerk's work." The Chief Clerk said the case was bad, "But quite beyond his power; Seeing it was the Steward had The keys of cake and flour."

The Steward sobbed. "The keys I've lost. Alas! but in a span I'll call the Smith, why, Holy Ghost! Here is the very man!" "Hurrah, Hurrah!" they loudly cried; "How cleverly we've done it! We've solved this question deep and wide. Well nigh ere we'd begun it."

"Thanks," said Smith. "Oh, fools and vile; Go rot upon the shelf! The next time I am starving I'll Take care to help myself." —EDWARD CARPENTER.

WILL SHE FOOL LABOR?



Mistress Democracy dresses to look young and beautiful, like her rival. MISS SOCIALISM.

REVIEWS. The December number of "The Comrade" is distinctly one of the most vitally interesting issues of that notable magazine which has thus far appeared. It reflects the true character of the movement with admirable success. The place of honor is given to an interesting and exhaustive article by Jean Longuet, the grandson of Karl Marx, on "Zola, the Socialist," and we venture to say it is the clearest and best examination of the aspect of the great novelist's life yet published. Ernest Untermann writes on

"How I Became a Socialist," his contribution being one of the most interesting yet published in the series. There are short biographical notices with portraits of Elizabeth Cady Stanton by Leonard D. Abbott, and E. Balfour Fox, by the editor. A strong poem by Ernest Crosby and a brief sketch by Polly Dawson should also be mentioned. Editor Spargo contributes a bright and searching criticism of Hutchin Haggood's book, "The Spirit of the Ghetto." This article will doubtless be read with great interest and comrades throughout the coun-

try will be surprised at the manifest strength of Socialism in Jewish New York. The article is profusely illustrated by sketches of that rising young Socialist artist of the "Ghetto," J. Epstein. Other illustrations in the issue are admirable. They include three excellent cartoons by Ryan Walker and two pictures of a trade union banner by Walter Crane. No comrade can afford to miss this issue of our excellent contemporary, "The Comrade," Cooper Square, New York, 10 cents per copy.

"HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST"

By Eugene V. Debs. is an article that is interesting to every reader of this paper. It is published with permission by "The Comrade" and is a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of the working class. It is a story of a man who has become a Socialist through the experience of a life of struggle. It is a story that should be read by every worker. It is a story that should be read by every worker. It is a story that should be read by every worker.

The Organized Labor Movement at Butte

BUTTE WANTS YOUR PRINTING.

Business People Should Patronize Home Industry.

At a recent meeting Butte Typographical Union discussed the practice of business people of the city sending elsewhere for printing, and as a result it was decided to adopt stringent measures for the suppression of this unworthy practice by men who are continually preaching "home industry."

Following is a letter being sent by the union to Butte business men:

Butte, Mont., Dec. 1, 1902.

To the Business Men of Butte:

Gentlemen—At a recent meeting of Butte Typographical Union No. 126 the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That, in view of the fact that there is a great deal of job work being sent out of Butte, this union has a standing committee of five to examine complaints in this respect and interview merchants and others complained of; and, be it further

"Resolved, That if said committee can get no satisfaction in the way of a promise to have their work done in Butte, that they report same to this union, and we, through our delegates to the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, ask that body to patronize only those who have their work being done in Butte."

The above resolution was introduced in the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly and was adopted by a unanimous vote of that body. The intent and purpose of this resolution is to keep all work in the printing line at home.

Now you know, as we do, even at the flat rates on freight, we can lay down in Butte all the necessities of life at about 25 per cent cheaper than

they can be bought here—i. e., where a large number order together. Of course, we have no intention of doing this, believing that a town which is good enough to make money in is good enough to make purchases in. We simply ask you to reciprocate with us and have your printing done in Butte, bearing the Butte Allied Printing Trades label. The pay roll of the Allied Printing Trades averages about \$10,000 per month, all this money being spent in Butte. We admit you can get your work done cheaper in the east, as you must admit we can get our goods cheaper there. Of course, though, what money is spent by either of us in the east stays there, and we may never hope to receive any further benefit from such money spent there. Money paid out in salaries in Butte stays here and circulates in such a way that we may hope to receive some further benefit from it. When you send work out of Butte you are doing an injury to yourself financially, although at the time you may think you are saving a dollar or two.

There are a great many broad-minded and patriotic business men in Butte who would never think of sending work out of the city, but there are others who, if they could save 10 cents on a \$1,000 order by sending east, would save that 10 cents and justify themselves by saying it was business. Of course, we all enjoy the same prerogative, but, as far as we are concerned, we will never take advantage of it.

Do you look to eastern papers and people to advance your interests and those of the City of Butte? We dare say not. Do they spend any money with you? Not a cent.

Hoping you will give this your careful consideration and keep this in

mind when you want any printing done, and it can be done in Butte as artistically as any place in the east or elsewhere, we remain,

Yours for reciprocity,
HOME INDUSTRY COMMITTEE.
(Seal)

Letter Carriers Elect Officers.

Butte Letter Carriers' Union elected the following officers December 14th: President, Frank Miller; vice-president, Roy Coulter; treasurer, Elmer Elpper; recording Secretary, C. H. Christie; corresponding secretary, D. L. Twomey; sergeant-at-arms, L. S. Bromé.

The Teamsters Treat.

Butte Teamsters Union No. 15 treated its members and a few friends to a smoker Saturday night that was thoroughly enjoyed by all present. In view of the fact that Contractor Hennessy, who had just settled his trouble with the union, had paid a fine of \$106, levied against him for violation of union rules, the occasion was in the nature of a celebration of this victory also. Among the visitors who spoke were Lindsey and Elliott of the Engineers Union; Frankel, Dempster and Dale of the Workmen's Union. W. N. Holden, of the teamsters' Union made a few remarks that were well received.

Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly.

The meeting of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly last Sunday evening was prolonged until almost 12 o'clock. Contractor Hennessy appeared before the Assembly with an appeal from the action of the Teamsters' Union, in levying a fine against him. The appeal was grant-

ed and for more than two hours the case was listened to by the Assembly.

Hennessy presented his case, supporting himself with four witnesses. The Teamsters' Union then submitted its side of the matter, after which the Assembly, by a unanimous vote, decided to support the Teamsters.

The disagreement between the Plumbers and Engineers was aired again, and the Plumbers were given one more week in which to present their case or stand suspended from the Assembly.

Several communications regarding unfair goods were received and acted upon.

A communication from the Municipal League asking support for certain municipal legislation was received and referred to the locals for a referendum vote.

The committee on revision of the constitution for the Assembly was enlarged to five by the addition of two more members.

TYPOS ELECT OFFICERS.

Members of Butte Typographical Union No. 126 met Sunday afternoon and, with one or two exceptions, re-elected the old officers of the union for another term of six months. These officers and delegates were chosen.

President—James W. Hogan.
Vice-president—John Nary.
Financial Secretary—W. H. Ebbage.
Reading Clerk—Floyd Bushnell.
Recording Secretary—George C. Collins.

Executive Board—John Nary, Phil Campeau, Charles Scherre, T. S. Stephens, Hugh Blake.

Delegates to the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly—Robert Shields and Phil Campeau; alternates, Harry Foote, C. E. Kendall.

News Notes from the Field of Labor

TOLD BY CORRESPONDENTS

Hughes Writes From Spokane.

Spokane, Wash., Dec. 7, 1902.

American Labor Union Journal:

The Spokane Freeman's Labor Journal, formerly published by W. J. Walker and W. J. Jolly, has changed hands. The new owners are E. L. Boardman, of Montana, and our old friend, Dan A. Cariano, of the Typographical Union, who will be pleasantly remembered by the boys in Butte. The first issue of the paper under the new management shows decided improvement. That the boys propose to be up to date is shown by the fact that they devote a page to Socialistic propaganda.

The threatened organization of an Employers' Association has materialized. At least, the daily papers say it has been organized, but it seems to have been conceived in absolute darkness, and no one seems to have the temerity to openly father it. Members, whose names are not given, give out alleged interviews to the press denying that its object is to wage war upon "any other organization," but this is too thin—we have known for some time that this thing was in the air. It appears, however, that the promoters are afraid of the daylight, so there is not much to fear. The reputable business houses of the city are mainly friendly to organized labor, and this new organization will not "cut much ice," "burn much gas," nor do many other things calculated to disrupt organized labor. Come out into the light, gentlemen.

The New Time is forging right to the front. The union men of the city are quite generally subscribing for it, and the job department is receiving a good patronage from all over the country. A new cylinder press will be installed the first of the year, and everything put in readiness to keep the campaign for union labor and Socialism going red-hot 365 days in the year.

I visited the Journeymen Butchers' and Drivers' Union last Monday night and found a large attendance and plenty of enthusiasm. This union was organized last March by Brother R. C. Scott and myself. It now has nearly 100 members and has succeeded in advancing the wages of every member from \$1 to \$5 per week. This is a pretty good record.

Federal Union No. 225, A. L. U., initiated 25 new members last Friday night. They have nearly 300 members and have succeeded in thoroughly unionizing themselves in their line between new and old. They are now down to a good working basis and good results may be looked for.

This evening I visited Mack, Ben and Transfer Drivers Union No. 255, A. L. U., and found it in a most prosperous condition. Five new members were initiated. They all read the Journal and praise it highly.

H. I. H.

HAMILTON NEWS.

Hamilton, Ont., Dec. 2, 1902.

Editor A. L. U. Journal:

I have concluded to write you concerning the matter of shipping fruit and vegetables for the Butte market, which means the labor unions shall make a joint effort from Butte to the Bitter Root valley and all territory adjacent to Butte in a given radius. The railroads favor the people south of Butte as far down as the Salt Lake country, asking no more freight, as I am told, for 500 miles south than 180 miles from the Bitter Root. We here talk about it considerably and make a little effort in the shipping season, but it avails nothing. Now that the farmers are organizing, it occurs to me to interest the Butte miners and all of its union influences in one direction, namely: to help their neighbors first, and my opinion is if we can get them to think of the subject properly it will cause the railroads to revise their rates in a matter that will not prejudice their profits nor injure Butte a particle, and help us by giving freight according to distance or somewhat nearer to it than now. As I look at it, it is no more than simple justice. The discrimination of rates, perhaps, will be a matter which we can ask the legislature to do something for us. Shall talk to our members about it. Now, please, how is it best to proceed? Will it be a better way to work quietly through our unions, providing they feel friendly towards the proposition or stir it up through the papers?

I have written an article along that line in a general way and send it with this. You will see that it is pleading for a broader unionism; consequently, a closer, more like a family interest where brotherly love shall prevail.

Some five or six weeks ago the union, Sawtooth No. 109, elected me for correspondent. Has the secretary so notified you? I have been unwell, so that it was impossible to make an effort until now. In the meantime, however, I have been thinking of a broader and closer union and have seen benefits arising, providing we can awake an interest. It is to be hoped that our good friend, Baer, or bear (how easily transposed) has seen light before this time.

Messenger Boys' Union.

Great Falls, Mont., Dec. 8, 1902.

Editor A. L. U. Journal:

Here are a few news items for the Journal. Later we may be able to furnish more:

The Great Falls Messenger Boys' Union No. 255, who have lately organized in Great Falls, has so far succeeded in initiating nine new members.

A scale of wages of \$25 per month was signed by the Cascade District Labor Assembly, No. 2. An effort will be made to get the raise for the boys working for the companies.

Yours fraternally,
ABE G. WITTWER, Secretary.

Engineers, No. 278.

Hamilton, O., Dec. 5, 1902.

Editor A. L. U. Journal.

On Monday, December 1, 1902 Local

276, Cincinnati, moved into her new quarters, southwest corner Twelfth and Vine streets. The new quarters are amply large and commodious and are in the circle of organized labor. We are progressing finely—better than we really expected. It was stated at our last meeting that there was not a member who belongs to 276 but what has found 276 instead of 276 finding him. It simply shows how thoroughly disgusted some labor men are with older organizations. We had two initiations December 1 and two applications. November 22 was the only meeting night that 276 failed to have an initiation, but we must expect such things. Local 276 discussed very freely the plan of having a committee on organization, which, I believe, will take form about the first of the year. We are doing very well as it is. We are handicapped at present on account of finances, but that is only to be expected in a new organization. There is several important matters to be straightened out which will take time, as the world was not made in a day. Our meeting night was changed from Saturday to Monday. We have inculcated into the obligation the following: "That I will not inform any person or persons as to who are members of this local, barring myself." The candidate has the privilege of telling on himself, however. After the regular meeting we had a social session, which was thoroughly enjoyed by all present. Fraternally yours,
EDWIN R. WEAVER.

ANACONDA, MONTANA.

Anaconda, Mont., Dec. 9th, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

The Central Trades Council has appointed a committee to secure signatures to a petition to the legislature, urging the passage of a bill to establish direct legislation in Montana.

Luke Kelly, president of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, and Western Representative for the Cigar-makers' International Union, addressed the Central Trades Council at its last meeting, urging the union men of Anaconda to patronize home-made union cigars.

The Council has voted to donate \$25 for lecture and propaganda work, and will assist the labor and Socialist locals in Montana to thoroughly campaign the state during the coming year.

Anaconda Mill and Smeltermen's Union also donated \$50 to assist the work proposed by the Lecture and Propaganda Bureau at Butte.

Tom Murphy, one of the best known and most popular union men in Anaconda, was elected justice of the peace at the late election.

Louis Hunter sustained a severe injury of his foot while working at the Washoe smelter. He is confined at St. Ann's hospital. Carl Heins, also an employe of the smelter, was severely injured about the head.

John Gorman, employe of the Anaconda Electric Street Railway, is being treated at the hospital for a lacerated foot.

Wm. Bowen, a well-known member of the Blacksmiths and Helpers' Union, has gone to Salt Lake to reside.

Martin Regan, printer at the Standard office, has been laid up with a severely sprained ankle, but is able to be around again.

George Baker, former recording secretary of Anaconda Mill and Smeltermen's Union, has returned to Anaconda and is visiting friends in the city.

Chas. Murphy, one of the best-liked railroad boys of Anaconda, has been appointed trainmaster for the Great Northern at Great Falls. On leaving Anaconda his associates made him a present which will serve to keep Anaconda fresh in his memory for a long time.

A committee composed of McNearney, Leary and Brennan has been appointed by the Socialist local to solicit funds for the lecture and propaganda work in the state of Montana.

A proposition that the local hold a fair for the purpose of raising funds was laid over until next meeting.

A novel scheme for creating a demand for Socialist literature was suggested. It was that the local offer prizes to the young people of Anaconda for the best definitions of Socialism.

Joseph McCafferty, on behalf of a committee appointed for that purpose, stated that four speakers had been selected to lead the debate at the next meeting of the local. The question will be: "Resolved, That Socialism is impracticable." J. H. Schwend and Harry Denny will speak for the affirmative and Jas. Riordan and Newt Laengood will support the negative. The debate will take place Thursday evening, December 10th.

An interesting meeting of the Political Equality Club was held at A. O. H. hall this week. Miss Esther O'Keefe spoke for some time. Among other things she said that Carrol D. Wright's statistics are not always absolutely truthful, inasmuch as his late report shows 125 women woodchoppers in the United States and she had counted 75 in Anaconda alone. Brothers McHugh, McLean and Murphy, all union men, stated that organized labor throughout the country had already supported and practiced women suffrage; that the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union both stand for equal suffrage and that five union men elected to the legislature from Deer Lodge county will support equal suffrage at the coming session. Yours fraternally,
A. L. U.

Grand Junction, Colorado.

Grand Junction, Colo., Dec. 6, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

The following officers were elected at the last regular meeting of Grand Junction Musicians' Union, No. 258, A. L. U.:

President—Wm. Bowen, Jr.
Vice-president—John Nary.
Financial Secretary—W. H. Ebbage.
Reading Clerk—Floyd Bushnell.
Recording Secretary—George C. Collins.

Executive Board—John Nary, Phil Campeau, Charles Scherre, T. S. Stephens, Hugh Blake.

Delegates to the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly—Robert Shields and Phil Campeau; alternates, Harry Foote, C. E. Kendall.

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(Continued on Page Six.)

Men's Furnishings

Here's a big list of the biggest values in Men's Goods we have yet offered. These several items are on the Bargain Counters, and as long as any remain you can have them; but our advice is SHOP EARLY. Others will be wanting them.

MEN'S SHIRTS 75c Values for 35c

Men's White Dress Shirts, well and strongly made; sizes 14-12 to 16-12. 75c values for 35c.

Men's White Dress Shirts, made of strong materials with all improvements; sizes 14-12 to 16-12. \$1.00 values for 50c.

Men's Fancy Shirts, well made of best materials, some open back and front and have two pairs cuffs to match; others the coat style, opening all way down front; shown in the latest effects, stripes and figures; all sizes. \$1.75 to \$2.50 values for \$1.15 each.

Men's Working Shirts of black saten and black with white stripes, well made, all regular sizes. 50c to 75c values for 25c each.

Men's Heavy Blue Flannel Over-shirts, \$1.50 values for 85c.

Men's Heavy Blue Flannel Over-shirts, double-breasted, with large white pearl buttons, cut full size and strongly made. Values up to \$2.00, only \$1.00 each.

Better grades, made of California blue flannel, at very low figures.

Men's Fine Silk Striped Cashmere Flannel Over-shirts, extra well made. Values up to \$3.00, going at \$1.50 each.

MEN'S HALF HOSE.

Full Seamless Half Hose, strong, with extra heavy heels and toes, ribbed tops, brown and blue mixtures; regular 8c quality. Sale price, two pairs for 5c.

Men's Winter Weight Merino Hose, in dark Oxford shades. 20c values for 10c pair.

Men's Heavy Wool Hose, seamless, in dark blue, regular 25c quality. Sale price, 15c pair.

Men's Fine Camel's Hair Seamless Half Hose, extra well made; regular 25c quality. Three pairs for 50c.

Men's Fine Worsted Half Hose, in black, gray and brown, perfectly seamless; values 35c to 50c. Sale price, 25c pair.

MEN'S BUCK MITTS

Heavy Buck Mitts, reversible; regular \$1.25 and \$1.50 qualities. Sale price, only 75c pair.

Several other styles in Dress and Working Gloves at greatly reduced prices. See window display.

NIGHTSHIRTS 75c Values for 25c

Men's White Muslin Night Shirts, cut full size and length, with fancy trimming; all sizes. 50c to 75c values, for 25c.

Men's Heavy Outing Flannel Night Shirts, in fancy stripes. Values 75c to \$1.00 for 50c each.

Men's Outing Flannel Night Shirts, well made, new style, with military collar. \$1.25 values for 75c each.

Men's Night Shirts, made of extra fine outing flannel and domer night shirts, well made and trimmed, \$1.50 values for \$1.00 each.

MEN'S UNDERWEAR

Heavy Winter Weight Gray Merino Undershirts and Drawers. Regular 75c garments for 35c each.

Men's Winter Weight Camel's Hair Undershirts and Drawers. Regular \$1.50 garments for 75c each.

Men's Heavy Derby Ribbed Shirts and Drawers, satin trimmed, pearl buttons and French neck to shirts. Regular \$1.50 garments for \$1.00 each.

Men's Silver Gray Worsted Union Suits, all sizes, 34 to 44 inches. \$4.00 to \$5.00 values for \$2.00 suit.

Men's Fine, All-Wool California Flannel Undershirts and Drawers; shirts are double-breasted. Regular \$1.25 quality. Sale price, 60c garment.

A large lot of men's fine underwear, in a variety of colorings. Reduced to \$1.50 garment, or \$3.00 suit.

MEN'S GLOVES & MITTS

20c Wool Mitts for 10c.

Wool Gloves in gray and brown. 25c to 50c values for 25c pair.

Men's Working Gloves and Mitts, made of goat skin, knit tops and lined. 50c values for 25c pair.

Men's Roe Buck Working Gloves, fleece lined, strong and serviceable. Values 75c to \$1.00 for 50c pair.

Men's Dress Gloves in brown and tans, manufacturer's samples and small lots, some slightly soiled. Values to \$1.50 for 50c pair.

Men's Kid Gloves in dark brown and tans, silk linings. \$1.25 values for 75c pair.

Men's Fine Kid Gloves, all new shades. \$1.50 value for 85c pair.


Men's Real Jack Buck Mitts, regular \$1.00 value for 50c.

At Hennessy's

"WHEN LOOKING FOR THE BEST"

...ask for...

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Hamilton Unionist Writes.

I notice that the farmers in this part of Montana are beginning to organize in some form of labor unions. Why not?

Mr. Gompers has proved himself to be permeated with old order of things, so grounded in the one thought, that labor must ask on suppliant knee for concessions, which the operator may be pleased to grant.

It occurs to me that organized labor has passed the incentive movement and is now on the broad highway of equality, where thinking and conscientious people are willing to admit the true dignity of labor, and its vast importance in the world's economics from its most primitive form, that of handling of the pick and shovel, up to the higher forms of the loom and forge, which command the greatest inventive genius the world has ever known.

The laborer buys vegetables and grain of the farmer—meat from the butcher, clothing from the tailor—and all these are anxious for the trade of the laborer, who produces nothing for himself except his daily wage.

But says one: "Give us something practical, not theory, nor the vision of a dreamer." Man is his primeval condition was possessed of a little spark of the Infinite. He lived in caves, dug and ate the roots, and his meat without any of the culinary practices of today, has come up out of the dark ages through trials and tribulations, and by his walk and conversation proclaims himself, yet a little lower than the Angels.

Yours respectfully, A. K. GROW, Sawtooth Union No. 109, Hamilton, Montana.

White Returns from California.

Leadville, Colorado, Dec. 1, 1902. Editor American Labor Union Journal: Having just made a trip to Reno, Nev., Oakland, San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and Ocean Par, Cal., I will endeavor to give you and our readers an insight into the slave market of the Pacific coast.

In my short stop at Reno and in a few hours time I gathered the information that in completing the new road bed the Southern Pacific company will dispense with 800 locomotives and the men, required to run them. The town of Wadsworth, of about 500 inhabitants, will be left about four miles from the railroad (and if you slaves don't want to gove your homes to Reno, which will be benefited by the new railroad, why you can stay on the desert and starve).

Well, the Wadsworth middle class wants Socialism. Oakland inquires about the A. L. U. on every hand, and look out for an A. L. U. movement at Oakland, San Francisco. I met brother C. D. Smith, of Denver, who is doing nicely and is still an A. L. U. man.

San Francisco is on the eve of a great industrial crisis. The wage slaves A. F. of L. victory was only a one-sided compromise, all in favor of the companies. The scarcity of work coupled with the large amount of men out of work, will result in a sand lot, to be used as a menace to those working. However, I found on every hand child labor and girls doing the work of the man for a wage of \$2 to \$3 per week. Beautiful system they have in that famous A. F. of L. town, with Chinese and child labor. They still cry, "We don't want Socialism." I mean the labor lieutenants, and there are plenty of them.

Now to return to our own home, Leadville. We find the work of agitation going on. The State Organizer of the Socialist party, Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett, late candidate for congress in this State on the Socialist ticket, has been holding meetings for two weeks. Of all the speakers during the last campaign Mrs. Hazlett is certainly the best posted and clearest Socialist we had. As an orator we believe she has no equal. Well, ask the comrades what they think of her. And we will earnestly recommend her to the members of the A. L. U. in the State to go and hear her.

For us there is only one regret, that we cannot help her as one of our sisters and induce her to make her home in this county. Comrades: "For President in 1904, Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett" will be the motto of the Leadville comrades.

We are well pleased with the Journal, especially the enlarged number. However, believing that continued praise will be a detriment to the paper (editor), so with this we will commence to criticize. Now, Mr. Editor, we believe it would be a great improvement if in looking for "ads." for the paper you would look around your own office and advertise the A. L. U. label in the paper. As the readers may form some idea in regards to having a label and what it looks like. I guess I had better stop or my next letter will go to the waste basket.

M. E. W. Editor American Labor Union Journal.

Denver Beer Drivers.

Denver, Colo., Dec. 8, 1902.

As the different local unions were requested to make some reports on the American Labor Union Journal from time to time, I beg leave to say that I have very little to report.

Since the first day of May, when our new agreement with the brewery proprietors was signed, we had no trouble of any kind with the brewery bosses, and everybody is working together in harmony.

At the meeting of Monday, December 1, we had an election of officers and nearly all of the old officers were re-elected, as a sign of good faith which the members found in them.

At this meeting we also allowed a donation of \$50 for the locked-out brewery workers of Cincinnati, O., this making a total of \$600.00 we gave to the locked-out in Cincinnati and the striking brewery workers in Boston, Mass., since the 15th of March, besides donations to other organizations.

In regard to the dull season, which is on now, very little beer is used, as a good many men changed their drinks from beer to whisky during the cold months. According to our agreement, our members are being laid off now in rotation at one week at a time. This will give some of our members a chance to go out hunting and kill mountain lions and other game, or if he chooses he can take a good rest. It is just what a fellow needs if he has worked hard all summer.

The writer of this is taking his week's lay-off just now, but he will not go out hunting because he would be too lazy to walk out in the snow and cold weather, and probably not even to get a chance to see a rabbit foot. It is my intention this week to watch the hot stove and spend my time in reading and writing, or (in case I should find any suckers) in poker playing, and I assure you that my week only expires too quick.

At the last meeting it was also reported that Ferker's livery stable was unfair, as he refuses to have his horses shod in union shops. The members were requested not to patronize him. At the roll call four members were absent and, according to the union, were fined. Yours in union, LOUIS MAYER, Secretary.

Labor Doing at Leadville.

Leadville, Colo., Dec. 8.—Editor A. L. U. Journal: We are glad to hear the good news in the Journal in regard to the general prosperity of the locals in the A. L. U. jurisdiction. Silver at 47 cents and Mr. William J. Bryan out on the political scrap pile publishing a 16-to-1 paper in order to support his family is a hard blow to this cause. However the locals—146, 164, 167, 182, 186 and 216—are holding their own and if conditions improve will show an increase in members.

We are somewhat surprised at receiving printed letters from Durango local as to the policy of the Journal and would advise our friends in Durango to spend the money on socialistic literature and other ways to educate the wage slaves of Durango, than to spend it on postage. Also the letter from No. 19 asking for information in regard to the vote of No. 164 on the Journal assessment. We will say to you, brother of 19, that 164 has paid its assessment and is only sorry at not being able to push the Journal harder, as we believe it is the best labor educator in the United States and deserves the support of every man and woman. Fraternally, M. E. W.

guardian. One year it pays, then for the next three years there is either no crop on account of drought, or there is low price owing to over-production, and the wheat grower has no chance of forming a trust. Too many farmers to combine: it is difficult enough to get ten men into a combination, but when you have 10,000 it is manifestly an impossibility.

Is there one single industry which he could find that is of a sufficiently large nature to warrant the investment of a large capital that is not manifestly overdone?

As for smaller industries there is a consensus of opinion in the business world that there are practically none promising good returns, and that the only ones that seem to be good are of a parasitic nature, which live like the mice in a granary, owing to their insignificance.

The channel which carries off the surplus wealth for the upbuilding of new industries we can imagine subdividing itself into a many-branched delta, each month furnishing the needed supply for each particular industry.

Before there was an over-supply of capital in any one industry the capitalists controlling that particular branch of the delta flowing to their industry were using all efforts to widen and deepen their particular channel, when finally they had received all the capital they wished, and they had formed their trust, the process was reversed. It was as if they had thrown a dam across the entrance of their delta and diverted their current, back into the main stream to be distributed through the other mouths and into other industries.

With this metaphor before you it is easy to see that with the closing of successive mouths by successive trusts so much the greater becomes the supply for the other mouths and so much the sooner does it become imperative that the capitalists in other industries throw across their protective dam. As in a real river, so it is with our imaginary river. When a number of mouths are dammed up the river no longer can find a sufficient exit through the remaining mouths and it has a strong tendency to overflow the first dams put up which will require strengthening if they are to remain secure.

This is seen in our industrial world when a trust is submerged either by outside capital in general or the concentrated wealth of some other trust making an onslaught upon it.

Rockefeller with his enormous surplus income, which he is bound to "save" and cannot from the very nature of things find room to invest in his own confessedly overdone oil business, is constantly forced to seek out new industrial fields to conquer. He is the modern Alexander the Great of our industrial field, sighing for more worlds to conquer.

He has already taken possession of the electric light and gas plants of New York City. He is fast coming in to control of the iron industry. He already owns the Lake Superior mines and the lake transportation service, and his only competitor in the manufacture of iron is Carnegie, who is only waiting to make good terms of surrender. He is about to control the copper mines of the United States. He is in control of the largest banks in New York. When Rockefeller gets control of an industry the temptations for outside capital to enlist against him are not all-powerful.

It seems to me that the proof that trusts are inevitable as a protection against the rising flood of capital is simply overwhelming both in theory and in fact.

It seems most palpable that every industry in this country must in time fall into the power of the trust. The trust with its enormous capital not only gives our domestic capitalists better opportunities for competition with foreigners in foreign neutral markets, but it is itself, by damming up the old and natural domestic channels for investment, actually forcing itself to cut out new channels for its overflow.

The present immense flood of surplus capital in the United States is shown by the treasury balance showing the greatest stock of gold on hand ever known.

The banks are overlaid with money. Interest was never known to be at such a low rate. All this, too, with industries in a most healthy condition. What money will be worth when the "boom" is over is indeed a problem. For the first time in history American money is entering into the world's markets as a buyer of the bonds of foreign nations. When England had to borrow \$50,000,000 to defray expenditures on account of the Boer war, America took half of the loan and would have taken it all if she had been allowed. The American gold now building railways in China would never be there if there were opportunities for home investment.

Imperialism. American capitalists are today more in need of foreign fields of investment for their capital than are European capitalists. Within the past two years the international financial market has reversed itself, and America is now the creditor instead of the debtor nation. This explains the sudden craze for "imperialism" and its advocacy

by the republican party, which is the political expression of the organized wealth of the country.

The trusts are a dam built to prevent the swamping of domestic industries by the rising flood of surplus capital.

The "trusts" however, do not prevent the rising of this flood.

"Imperialism" is a means of diverting to foreign shores this threatening deluge of domestic "savings."

"Trusts" and "imperialism" are both inevitable results of competition and clear indications of its culmination.

It is impossible to dam up all the mouths of the Mississippi, no matter how high the dams. A flowing river must find the ocean somehow, and if not by one channel then by another. The trusts are affording but a temporary breastwork for our captains of industry.

It will, however, be a flank movement rather than a frontal attack that will finally dislodge the captains from their fortress. The trust is not only a protection against undue competition but it is a labor-saving device of the highest possible efficiency. Every argument in favor of combined production on a small scale is redoubled for production on the largest possible scale. The trust pursues its ends in a perfectly sane and scientific manner. No longer do the old planless methods of competition prevail. The trust being the only producer in the field produces exactly what the market needs. There is no more danger of either an over-production or a shortage of Standard oil in any city than there is of water, gas, or postage stamps. The trust no more needs canvassers and advertisements to sell its goods than does the government to advertise the postoffice. This increased industrial efficiency of the trust, together with its prevention of waste of capital in unnecessary duplication of machinery, hasten by so much the completion of the world's industrial outfit.

Capital will in vain seek profitable investment. Interest which is determined by the amount of gain received by the last amount borrowed will fall to zero and still money will remain unlent in the banker's hands. The last incentive for the poor man to be "thrifty" will perish. When the work is completed the workers engaged in producing new machinery of production will join the unemployed army in regiments. The trust will be as defenseless against this new phase in the industrial strife as was the armored knight of old against hunger and thirst. Political autocracy is possible, but industrial autocracy, even if benevolent, is impossible. At present the trust is an invaluable and absolutely necessary weapon of defense for the capitalist in the industrial warfare, but when the enemy to be fought is not competing capital, but a complete cessation of demands for products owing to unemployed labor, it no longer protects the owner. On board ship in mid-ocean if I have control of the water supply I can demand everything in exchange for the indispensable fluid, but when at last I have gathered everything into my possession then my monopoly is of no more value, as there is nothing left to be given. If I am wise I will then peaceably give up control of the water and let it be taken over by the crew collectively. I will be in great luck if they do not get the fever of co-operation and come back after me for the good things they have already given up for the first water they were forced to buy. It is thus in the United States. The monopolists have unwittingly run both themselves and the workers into an industrial cul de sac.

The capitalists may possibly see the danger first and make a turn that will give them a short and precarious lease of life in their present position. An eight-hour law, old-age pensions, etc., all such reforms may extend the capitalist system.

The best thing of all, however, to bolster up the capitalist system is a rattling good war between the great powers followed up by a prolonged civil war with great destruction of life and property.

If the principal industrial plants, railway shops and bridges, etc., of this country were destroyed the upbuilding of them would give labor unlimited employment and capital great scope for investment of savings. Witness the boom following our civil war, also the late Spanish war. The protective tariff is, so far as it goes, a supporter of the present industrial system, inasmuch as it prevents labor and capital functioning at the point of greatest advantage.

A protective tariff gives better employment to labor exactly as inferior machinery requires more men to operate it than superior. A change in the money standard from gold to silver or paper would also possibly extend the time for a final collapse of the capitalist system by reason of the industrial derangement it would cause. At best all the ad vates of silver can hope for is a little longer life for the small capitalist who is inevitably doomed under our present competitive system no matter what money standard we may have. Personally I have never been able to see how, for instance, the California orange grower could get more profit through silver

coinage when the railroad stands at hand to take it away if he does get it, simply by raising freight charges.

Then if Mr. Vanderbilt overlooked anything the poor farmer still would have a long gauntlet to run, with Mr. Rockefeller reaching for his surplus when he bought oil, Mr. Havemeyer for it when he buys sugar, etc., ad infinitum.

Some have suggested that free trade and equal freight rates obtained by government ownership of railroads would destroy trusts. The slightest investigation, however, would show that many trusts do not in the least depend upon favors from either railroads or government. The taking over of the railroads by the government would, however, have most far-reaching and revolutionary results. The immense labor-saving that would occur from a centralized management would of course serve but to accentuate the unemployed problem. This would be the jeat of its effects.

The capital invested in railroads is half the whole industrial capital of the United States. A transfer of ownership to the state would mean the payment to the present railway owners of an enormous sum of money that would naturally seek investment in other industries. These industries are already about at the point of crystallizing into monopolies owing to plethora of capital and the advent of such an enormous flood of money set free by the expropriation of the railroad owners would not only complete the process but would cause the amalgamation of trusts into one huge trust, the coming trust of trusts.

Nationalization of the railways would be letting free such a flood of capital that the ark of 'state would be immediately floated into socialism.

During the last twelve months the enormous sum of \$48,000,000 has been paid in dividends by the Standard oil trust. It may be noticed that the investing public pay no attention to the intrinsic value of a stock, i. e., by what the property owned by a corporation cost. A share of stock may be nominally worth \$100—as is Standard Oil stock, but as it pays 48 per cent dividends investors are willing to pay \$540 for each \$100 share. On the other hand there are some corporation stocks where each \$100 share actually represents \$100 invested, yet owing to various conditions dividends do not amount to 2 per cent a year and hence the market value of the stock is not \$50 per share. There is no remedy to be found for trusts by prevention of stock watering.

Rockefeller could just as well capitalize the Standard Oil Trust at \$500,000,000 instead of the present \$100,000,000, but he would derive no benefit, as it would simply mean that while he would have five times as many shares, yet each share would have only one-fifth of its former value. Shares do not sell upon a basis of the figures printed upon the stock certificates, as some of our populist friends seem to think.

The dividends that are earned determine the market value. Neither would publicity of accounts avail.

Everybody knows that the Standard Oil Trust is making profits of over fifty millions a year, and the Carnegie Iron and Steel Corporation nearly as much. Yet what good does the knowledge do the public? Admitting that the oil sells at double what it should, what are you going to do about it? Why has not Mr. Rockefeller as much right to the unearned increment derived from his monopoly of the oil business as has Mr. Astor to the unearned increment from his monopoly of land in New York City?

To resume: We are confronted by a fact and not a theory. The trust is here and here to stay as long as our competitive system of industry endures.

Democracy has been ousted from industry by autocracy, and, as our political institutions are but a reflection of our industrial institutions, we should not pretend that anything but a sham democratic political state remains. When we see imperialism, which is simply political autocracy expressing itself in the Philippines or in the bulpen of the Idaho miners we should not stultify ourselves by striving to prevent a result without first attacking the cause.

The trade unionists pure and simple, the anti-imperialists, the would-be destroyers of trusts are all right sentimentally, but are too limited in their vision. The nation has the mightiest task cut out before it that the world has ever set to perform. The ship of state is in the Niagara above the falls. It is not yet too late to sail down into the quiet waters of socialistic Ontario around the rapids and the terrible falls if we only have the patience and brains to cut our political Welland canal. Delay is most dangerous. That we shall finally get into our metaphorical Ontario is absolutely certain. The only question is, shall we go over the falls or through the canal? Now is the time, if ever, when this country needs earnest men who know the truth and are not afraid to cry it from the housetops. Once let us get into the rapids and nothing can possibly save

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us from the terrors of a violent revolution. Democracy must be established in industry and re-established politically. There is really no first step to nationalization of industry; that time has passed. Half-way measures are impossible industrially and unsound politically. Revolution and not reform must be our battle cry. The main plank, and, in fact, the only necessary plank in our political platform should be: We demand, The Nationalization of Industry.

TRUSTS AND IMPERIALISM.

By H. Gaylord Wilshire, "The Millionaire Socialist."

(Continued from Last Week.) And why not? Man's material wants are limited, no matter how unlimited may be his spiritual ones. If one bridge is sufficient to carry me from New York to Brooklyn, then two will be a surplus, then one car line is built on Broadway there is no room or necessity for more.

It is superfluous to point out that with wages determined by competition a workman can create no effective demand for the satisfaction of his spiritual wants. He is lucky enough to get the necessities of life and is not fool enough to refuse a wage because

it does not afford luxuries when he sees a man over his shoulder only too willing and anxious to accept it if he should refuse the offer.

Let us cast a broad sympathetic look over the surface of the United States, with the perplexed eye of a man with a million dollars or more looking for a promising and safe investment. Would he care to build an other transcontinental railway? I think not. There are too many already.

Would he care to go into wheat growing? Not if he is not in need of a

STRONG POINTS FOR UNIONISM.

Member of 'Butte Workingmen's Union Delivers Stirring Speech in Brooklyn.

Brother P. J. Cooney, a member of Butte Workingmen's Union No. 5, A. L. U., delivered a strong speech at Brooklyn, N. Y., last week in reply to Dr. Hillis, a college professor, who spoke against organized labor.

P. J. Cooney, of Butte, Mont., in a speech at Wurzler's hall, 315 Washington street, last night, answered the recent attack of Dr. Hillis on trade unions and labor organizations, and in portions of his address he handled Dr. Hillis without gloves.

"For a combination of misinformation, exaggeration, deliberate misstatements, malicious distortion of facts, a rehearsing of oft-explored lies and twisted logic," said the speaker, "the sermon is indeed a thing fearfully and wonderfully made.

"We must deal charitably with Dr. Hillis. Bred and nurtured in the atmosphere of capitalism, dependent upon the beneficiaries of the capitalist system for his sustenance, it is only to be expected that half consciously, half unconsciously, he will praise the bridge that carries him over. There is one text of Scripture that fits Dr. Hillis perfectly. I wonder if he ever preached from it:

"The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib."

"The reverend doctor says he yields to no one in his enthusiasm for the unions, when rightly conducted. I wonder what his definition of the word 'rightly' is? To have the union a mutual admiration society, a social affair? To pay sick and death benefits in order to relieve the rich from the burden of charity work would perhaps mean 'rightly conducted.' But to ask, aye, to demand, a larger share of their own products; to attempt to influence legislation in their own behalf; to use all possible means to strengthen their own ranks by new occasions, this is horrible, because it interferes with the rich man's harvest.

"The doctor tells us some harrowing tales of the tyranny of the labor unions. The point as to whether they are true or not is not worthy of discussion. We deprecate force and violence in any form no less than he, but we tell Dr. Hillis that men, being only human and living under conditions such as exist at the present day, these things are only incidents of the struggle that is being waged and are but its inevitable conclusions. Non-union men, he says, have been driven to suicide by the attacks of union men.

"Let us look at the other side—the side Dr. Hillis stands for. Here is the capitalistic class, with all the advantages of education, travel and art, surrounded by all that can make men cultured and truly gentle. From them indeed we might expect reverence for the law, culture, mercy, humanity, generosity and forbearance, but what do we find? That these Christian men have systematically violated nearly every law made by the Legislature of every state in the Union.

"Look at the recent coal strike in Pennsylvania. The mine owners violated the laws requiring proper ventilation of the mines. They found it cheaper to do so, and through this profitable neglect hundreds of miners have been killed in explosions, thousands have died of asthma and consumption, caused by the constant breathing of air laden with dust and permeated with poisonous gases. By false weighing they have cheated the mine workers of nearly 20 per cent of what they earned, after their wages had been forced down so low that the operators themselves were ashamed to make it lower.

"These good men, by reducing the mine workers to dire poverty, have forced them to send their little boys into the mines, that their families might not starve. Thus violating another state law, to say nothing of any moral law. They have imported foreign workmen in violation of federal law to keep down the wages of native workers. These are only a few of the things one particular class of these God-fearing men have done in one section of the country. Therefore, we say to Dr. Hillis that when the highest types of our civilization do these things it could be but expected that the lower order, the workmen, who have not the great advantages of the rich, would follow suit. Dr. Hillis has nothing to say of the crimes committed by these good men against the workmen, and here again recurs that verse of the Scripture I quoted for you a while ago.

"We accuse Dr. Hillis of inconsistency and hypocrisy, and the charge is proven. We accuse him of ignorance. What can he know, bred in a luxurious atmosphere, of the bitter and intense struggle for bread?"

"He has pictured the walking delegate as a mendicant. He describes him as 'calling out the union men,' showing how utterly ignorant he is of what a walking delegate is. He does not know that the delegate

is simply the agent of the union and can do nothing without its consent.

"Dr. Hillis has taken pains to glorify the 'scab.' From the standpoint of facts the 'scab' is a man too ignorant of his own rights to ask for them, or too cowardly. The union means that cutthroat competition shall cease as far as the influence of the union can extend. The 'scab,' or non-union man, means that it shall continue. Unionism takes the child of tender years from the workshop and places him where he belongs—in school. Non-unionism means child labor.

"I would like to suggest for Dr. Hillis' next sermon 'The Moral Right to Scab.' Dr. Hillis is an expert on moral questions and I would ask him: 'If I have not the moral right to keep dangerous explosives in my home in the center of a large city thus endangering life and limb of my fellowmen, then I have no moral right to offer my labor power for sale at a price which means for you and yours—all my fellowmen—longer hours, smaller wages, worse conditions, bad health, death—danger to your morals, to your very existence.

"Organized labor has won a great moral victory in the recent strike. It has forced official recognition from President Roosevelt and placed Baer on the pillory of public opinion. It has made the men in whose behalf Dr. Hillis spoke realize that the growth of the working class mind is stripping that of their manufactured product, the capitalist mind and whatever the finding of the commission now sitting in Pennsylvania may be, it will be in one sense a victory for the miners, and that is where the shoe pinches and that, my friends, is the cause of the recent explosion of bombast from the pulpit of Beecher, which is occupied, now but nowhere nearly filled. The Business Men's League can distribute Dr. Hillis' sermon by the million if it will. The wider the distribution the better. For the intelligent workman who reads it, can easily see its inspiration and recognize its absurdities."

Stay Away From Keswick.

Workers are asked to stay away from Keswick, Calif. The members of Mill and Smelters' Union, Western Federation of Miners, are on a strike. There is no trouble on account of wages or hours of labor; the men simply demand fair treatment from the company in the matter of employment, which, they claim, they have not received in the past. Discrimination against union men has now become so strict that it is almost impossible for a man who is known to belong to a union to get employment of any kind, and as fast as they are found out to be union men they are discharged. Friends of organized labor are requested to remain away from this camp and induce other working people to do likewise until the trouble is settled and the men are conceded the right to organize.

A New Union Laundry.

Matt Griffin has resigned his position as organizer for the American Labor Union and has gone into the laundry business in Denver. He has secured control of a steam laundry there and has named it the C. O. D. Steam Laundry and bids for business. Needless to say that all of Brother Griffin's employees will be union men. There is a splendid opportunity to build up a good union laundry in Denver. All of the large laundries have refused to recognize the union, and in many cases they have actually forbidden their employees joining the union. Organized labor in Denver now has a chance to support Griffin's new C. O. D. Steam Laundry. Brother Griffin was a pioneer in the labor movement in Butte. He has been a consistent union man all his life and deserves union patronage. He is prepared to give the best kind of laundry service. Help him, brothers, and thereby assist to organize the laundries in Denver, which will be the means of bettering the conditions of the workers who now receive starvation wages.

A WOMAN'S SONG.

Do you call my face a rose With the time of roses near? Find a truer name than this For the brow and lips you kiss. For you know that roses die, In the autumn of the year, And beside you, love, must I Front the frost and face the snows. I was never rose nor star— One's too near, and one's too far. I'm no pebble and no pearl, But a living, loving girl. Mouth to kiss you, hand to keep Touch with you while you're asleep. Eyes to kindle when you're glad, Hope to climb where you would creep. Tongue to comfort when you're sad. Call me wife and comrade, dear, Call me neither star nor rose— Then the day I need not dread. When the snow falls on my head, Then my soul to yours shall be Changeless, though my beauty goes, And the eyes I love not see Youth and grace forsaking me As the bees forsake the rose When the wind of autumn blows. Soul on soul looks in and knows All that's best of you and me. —Nora Hooper

News Notes from the Field of Labor

TOLD BY CORRESPONDENTS

Victor Federal Union.

Victor, Colo., Dec. 6, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

Mr. N. Norrbom wants suggestions as to how we shall be able to get a better attendance at our meetings. I will venture some suggestions if you will agree beforehand not to poke fun at me for doing so.

Once upon a time I attended a Sunday school convention, and a preacher was asked: "How shall we be able to get the boys to attend Sunday school?" and the answer was, "Get the girls to attend and the boys will come along of their own accord." I believe that would be true of unions also.

So my suggestion would be, to begin with, to concentrate the unions. Machinery has done away with trade lines long ago, and what we now call trade is nothing more than a cog in a machine wheel, and why not do away with those imaginary trade lines in our unions. That would give us fewer unions, but better attendance. And, again, let us take the women into the unions. That would give a larger number, and give a better attendance. I am one of the old fogies that be-

lieve that a man has no business to go where his wife and daughters cannot go.

Once upon a time I was a member of the Knights of Labor, and there we had discussion of public questions for a given time every night. That is not a debating society. We would name a question to be spoken on at a meeting beforehand, and appoint a committee of two or three to take the lead, and we would aim to appoint the most timid ones, and that would compel them to take part. When they got through the more nervy ones would carry the discussion through, by throwing more light upon the subject. That made the meetings interesting and educated the members.

I would also suggest that each union not by criticizing the timid ones, but give an open meeting at least once a month, for the discussion of public questions. I have seen that tried with good results, both in Olympia, Wash., and in Sacramento, Cal. In Washington there were but two unions, and we began in a small hall, but before long the biggest hall in town was needed to hold the crowd, and lawyers, preachers and the gov-

ernor were invited to come and take part in our meetings; and, best of all, the union men could hold their own with any of them.

I for one believe that our unions work too much behind closed doors. What would you think of a church that was trying to convert the world and do all its preaching behind closed doors? Would they succeed? No, certainly not.

As for myself, I joined my first union in 1868, and have been a member of all the reform organizations I know of, and been called all the pet names, all the way from a decent man to an anarchist. Yet I do not remember of having ever helped to lay a plot or hear of one being laid that I would be ashamed to let the world know or sign my name to.

Hoping that these suggestions may be taken up by somebody, I am, Fraternally, H. HANSEN.

In Memoriam.

Silverton, Colo., Nov. 19, 1902. To the Officers and Members of Silverton Federal Union, No. 112, A. L. U.

We, your committee appointed to draft resolutions of sympathy and respect towards our brother, O. N. Franklin, who mourns the death of his beloved mother: who died recently, respectfully submit the following:

Whereas, The Omnipotent and All-Wise Ruler of the Universe has called to himself the beloved mother of our esteemed brother, O. N. Franklin to a higher sphere, where we hope all the joys and none of the sorrows of our earthly life are in store for her; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the officers and members of Silverton Federal Union No. 112 tender our sorrowing brother and his family our sincere and heartfelt sympathy in this, their hour of bereavement; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of our lodge, a copy be given to our brother, and a copy be sent to the American Labor Union Journal for publication.

WILLIAM JONES, Chairman. J. W. BUNGER. CHAS. VALITON; Committee

Dangers to the Socialist Movement

By Marcus W. Robbins Author of "Trying to Cheat God."

(Socialist Papers Please Copy.)

One of the greatest dangers that will confront the program of Socialism in the next few years will be the fact of its success. What do I mean? Simply this: Anyone who has looked at the election returns of 1900 and 1902, and who also considers the sentiment of the general public, must plainly see that by the year 1904, the Socialist party will hold the balance of power in the majority of northern states. The danger that lies in this can best be expressed by the one word, "fusion." The democratic party will be the minority party in these same states. The truth I wish to bring out can best be shown by one of the old Greek legends.

Once upon a time there lived a great general named Ulysses who made a certain voyage on the Mediterranean Sea. On one of the islands which he had to sail past lived a number of fascinating young maidens called Sirens. These maidens sang songs with such bewitching effect that passing sailors were attracted to the shore only to meet with death. But there was this peculiarity about the life or existence of these Sirens: If any seaman could resist the entice-

ments of their magic music they ceased to exist from that moment. Now Ulysses was warned by a good old lady named Circe of the dangers to be expected from these Sirens. So, thus forewarned, he stuffed the ears of his companions with wax and lashed himself to a mast until he had sailed out of hearing of the fatal songs. He afterward lived to a good old age and died peacefully at home.

I could hardly be classed as an old lady, still I think that it would be a good idea for several of the Socialist brothers to stuff their ears with wax. Or if they are bound to listen to the Siren song, that they at least take the precaution to tie themselves to a good stiff post. We can get this consolation out of the story: If the sailor could get safely by, without landing, the Siren died. Now I will say it under my breath: If the Socialist party can get safely by democracy—

But can she? Men will come into our party from now on who have not been trained by persecution and decision to stand steadfast. We will also have the men who are greedy for office, spoils, the sucking of the public tit. In the next few years we will gain the hypocritical Socialist, the men who have been shrewd enough

to forecast a page or two of history and who see that Socialism is coming. These men will be our fair-weather friends and they will leave us in our first adversity. So, fellow comrades, who doubtless have been Socialists longer than I, let us cry together, "No compromise," "No fusion."

I took "Dangers" for my subject. The other danger that confronts Socialism is found in the republican party. This danger can be illustrated by a law of Nature. When any life or organism is threatened with extinction by reason of being out of touch with its surroundings, it is the tendency for such life or organism to adapt itself to its surroundings. The plainest example of this is found in the chameleon, which is a species of lizard that changes its color to correspond with its background. For instance, if it is surrounded by green leaves and twigs, it will assume a green color, or, if the surroundings chance to be brown, its skin will change to that hue. In Africa are found certain insects that look like bird droppings. Every boy has noticed how hard it is to distinguish a grouse from its surroundings. I give these examples to

make clear my statement that when the capitalistic leaders of the republican party perceive that there is danger of Socialism thrusting them out of power they will proceed to adapt themselves to their new surroundings by joining on the workers government ownership of railroads or coal mines and stop with that. What would be finer for capitalism than to have its railroads, telegraph systems and coal mines turned into government bonds and the workers paying them interest? Capitalism would be relieved of all responsibility of management would get paid for all its watered stock. They would strengthen their position by saying: "Ours is conservative progress and is therefore the only safe kind." Don't you think there are some dangers confronting Socialism? If I should say which was our greatest peril, it would be that the class-conscious worker was in greater danger of being deluded by capitalistic co-operation than he was by the Siren song of democracy. But both believe in the continuance of the competitive wage system, and therefore both are to be avoided.

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

JOURNAL NOTES.

Brother William Jones, of Silverton, Colo., says the Journal is O. K. and wishes it success.

David Goldstein, secretary of the "Boston School of Political Economy," subscribes for the Journal and predicts success for it.

E. Nicholl, of Lynn, Mass., sends two paid subscriptions and asks for a bundle of sample copies. He says the Journal is all right.

Through a mistake we omitted to credit the cartoon of Child Slavery, published in the issue of November 27th, to "Social Hell." This is the name of a valuable and handsome book of Socialist cartoons published by "The Coming Nation," Rich Hill, Mo. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price by the publishers.

We receive numerous complaints from members who have paid for the Journal and whose names have not been sent in by the local secretaries. A good plan to follow is for the secretary of each local union to send list of all new members after each meeting, with the amount of subscription for each.

There is not a member of the American Labor Union that cannot get four subscribers for the paper, either from union men or other workmen who are not organized. Get in and hustle four new subscribers for us, and we will give you a year's subscription to Wilshire's Magazine.

Member of the Executive Board Banks says the issue of the Journal of November 27th was grand, and that the boys are all talking about it. Give us 5,000 subscribers this month and we will make as good a paper as that every week after January 1st. All we want is enough to pay actual expenses of publishing the paper.

Rev. Doctor Lyman Abbott, in an address delivered at Yale University, November 5, declared that Socialism was inevitable.

The Socialists of North Nainaimo, B. C., have nominated Parker Williams to contest the coming election against W. W. E. McInnes. Williams is a miner.

NINETY AND NINE.

There are ninety and nine that live and die In want and hunger and cold, That one may revel in luxury And be lipped in its silken fold; The ninety and nine in their hovels here, The one in a palace with riches rare.

They toil in the fields, the ninety and nine, For the fruits of our Mother Earth; They dig and delve in the dusty mine And bring her treasures forth; And the wealth released by their sturdy blows To the hand of one forever flows

From the sweat of their brow the desert blooms, The forest before them falls, Their labor has builded humble homes And cities with lofty halls And the one owns cities and homes and lands, And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

Dear God! how long will their wrongs be dumb? How long the hopeless strife Ere the hearts that die and the souls benumbed Shall quicken in new-born life? And the empty hands that toil from birth Be clasped in a band that spans the earth?

Ere the night, so dreary and dark and long, Shall that glorious morning bring, When over the world the victor's song Of the ninety and nine shall ring, And echo afar from zone to zone. "Rejoice, for labor shall have its own!" —Ex

The Socialists of Shenandoah, Pa., have caused the arrest of Wm. Shortall, a ward constable, on a charge of bribing election officers.

A Socialist landslide is reported from Brockton, Mass., where a Socialist mayor, seven aldermen and eight councilmen were elected. Socialist candidate for mayor received 1,100 plurality.

Indianapolis Socialists will establish a paper.

SCHOOL NOTES.

Headquarters International School of Social Economy, Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 6, 1902:

Rochester, New York, comes in with a class of twenty-five members in the correspondence work.

The American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners, both officially recommend the use of the Mills Correspondence lessons in all the unions of both organizations.

Lockwood, the man of the automobile, and his wife are at the training school. Lockwood says the only reason the school hasn't a thousand Socialists in attendance is that the Socialists don't realize what they are missing.

Canada, North Carolina and Louisiana all came up the hill to the Training School the same day last week.

Fifty-four of the most active young Socialists in America are at the Training School.

Kirkpatrick has joined the working force at the Training School. He lost his chair in one college and resigned in another because he was a Socialist. He is one of the best-read students in the movement and is teaching Socialism all the time now instead of by occasional remarks only as was possible while holding down a professorship in college. Send us some more such men, Mr. Rockefeller.

The Academy of Music in Kansas City is packed every Sunday to hear Mills talk Socialism.

At Haverhill, Mass., Socialist candidate for mayor was reported defeated by 14 votes, although they increased their vote more than 800. All parties combined against him. Socialists believe they did not get a fair count and will demand that the ballots be counted again.

COURAGE IN THE TRUTH.

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust, Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis properous to be just, Then it is the brave men chooses, while the coward stands aside, Doubting in his abject spirit, 'till his Lord is crucified, And the multitude make virtue of the faith they have denied. —JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL