

Voice OF Labor

COMBINING

American Labor Union Journal
Railway Employees Journal



PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY

AMERICAN LABOR UNION

Haymarket Building, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



VOL. III.

MARCH, 1905.

NO. 6

Show Your Colors

If a member of the American Labor Union
wear the Official Button.

One Dollar

Buys an elegant GOLD BUTTON displaying the emblem of the A. L. U. in three colors. To Local Unions, in quantities of ten or more, at 75 cents each.

Ten Cents

Buys a Button, exactly same size and design, but of bronze. Twelve or more at 80 cents a dozen.

Postage or expressage will be prepaid in any case.

The reduced prices in quantities are at actual cost to headquarters in lots of one thousand and they cannot be furnished unless cash accompanies the order.

Address

American Labor Union

Haymarket Building, Chicago, Ill.

Make Remittances Payable to

CLARENCE SMITH, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.



Main Thoroughfare
to the
Lewis and Clark
Exposition
In 1905

via the

UNION PACIFIC

This route traverses the heart of the great Northwest with its boundless resources, gives you 200 miles along the matchless Columbia River and a trip to

Portland and Northwest

WITHOUT CHANGE

THROUGH TRAINS DAILY

Equipped with Pullman Palace Sleeping Cars, Pullman Tourist Sleeping Cars, Dining Cars, meals a la carte, Free Reclining Chair Cars, etc.

Inquire of

E. L. LOMAX, G. P. & T. A.
OMAHA, NEB.

GENERAL ADVERTISING.



The
Midland Route

Reaches CRIPPLE CREEK, LEADVILLE, ASPEN and Colorado's best mining and agricultural country.

Illustrated books and pamphlets sent free. Address

C. H. SPEERS
GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT
DENVER, COLORADO

BUTTE, MONTANA ADVERTISING.

State Agent New Century and New Model Densmore Typewriters

B. E. CALKINS

JOBING
STATIONER AND PAPER DEALER
PICTURES AND FRAMES

31 to 37 North Main Street, Butte, Mont.

Hardware Storage Stove Repairs

GEORGE OECHSLI

New and Second-hand Goods

Telephone 923-B

42 W. Broadway Butte, Mont.

DO YOU WANT UP-TO-DATE
JOB WORK?

Then leave your orders at

JOURNAL PRINTING COMPANY

77-79-81 W. Broadway, Butte, Tel. 690 M

JOE RICHARDS

The Butte Undertaker

140 W. Park Street

'Phone 307

W. A. FLANEGAN, Practices in all State and Federal Courts, Special attention given to Labor Union Matters.
Suite 506-509 Monadnock Block, Corner Jackson and Dearborn Streets Chicago, Illinois
TELEPHONES: HARRISON 2493, AUTOMATIC 2494

CONTAGIOUS BLOOD POISON

Is the name sometimes given to what is generally known as the BAD DISEASE. It is not confined to dens of vice or the lower classes. The purest and best people are sometimes infected with this awful malady through handling the clothing, drinking from the same vessel, using the same toilet articles, or otherwise coming in contact with persons who have contracted it.

It begins usually with a little blister or sore, then swelling in the groins, a red eruption breaks out on the body, sores and ulcers appear in the mouth, the throat becomes ulcerated, the hair, eye brows and lashes fall out and, as the blood becomes more contaminated, copper colored spots and pustular eruptions and sores appear upon different parts of the body, and the poison even destroys the bones.

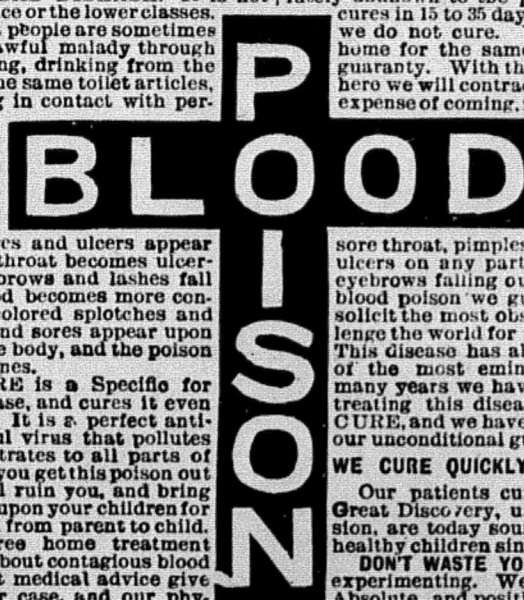
Our MAGIC CURE is a Specific for this loathsome disease, and cures it even in the worst forms. It is a perfect antidote for the powerful virus that pollutes the blood and penetrates to all parts of the system. Unless you get this poison out of your blood it will ruin you, and bring disgrace and disease upon your children for it can be transmitted from parent to child.

Write for our free home treatment book and learn all about contagious blood poison. If you want medical advice give us a history of your case, and our physicians will furnish all the information you wish without any charge whatever.

We have a NEW SECRET REMEDY absolutely unknown to the profession. Permanent cures in 15 to 35 days. We refund money if we do not cure. You can be treated at home for the same price and the same guaranty. With those who prefer to come here we will contract to cure them or pay expense of coming, railroad and hotel bills, and make no charge, if we fail to cure. If you have taken mercury, iodide potash, and still have aches and pains, mucous patches in mouth,

sore throat, pimples, copper-colored spots, ulcers on any parts of the body, hair or eyebrows falling out, it is this secondary blood poison we guarantee to cure. We solicit the most obstinate cases and challenge the world for a case we cannot cure. This disease has always baffled the skill of the most eminent physicians. For many years we have made a specialty of treating this disease with our MAGIC CURE, and we have \$500,000 capital behind our unconditional guaranty.

WE CURE QUICKLY AND PERMANENTLY.
Our patients cured years ago by our Great Discovery, unknown to the profession, are today sound and well, and have healthy children since we cured them. **DON'T WASTE YOUR TIME AND MONEY** experimenting. We have the ONLY cure. Absolute and positive proofs sent sealed on application. 100-page book free. **NO BRANCH OFFICES.** Address fully as follows:



•Cook Remedy Co., 1141 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.®

POINTERS FOR THE CZAR.



Capitalism Has a Surer and Safer Way of Keeping the American Workingman in Subjection.

Voice of Labor

Published Monthly by AMERICAN LABOR UNION, Haymarket Building, Chicago, Ill.

VOL. III.

CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH, 1905.

NO. 6.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO.

Readers of the Voice of Labor are more or less familiar with the fact that a conference of about twenty-five industrial unionists was held at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905, and that this conference, after three days' deliberation, issued to the world a Manifesto concerning the American labor movement, and calling upon all workmen and organizations of workmen in sympathy with the sentiments of the Manifesto to meet in convention at Chicago June 27, 1905, for the purpose of harmonizing and bringing together all of the disconnected elements of the industrial union movement.

Excepting the delegates from the Western Federation of Miners, those taking part in the conference and signing the Manifesto, did so as individuals, not representing officially the organizations of which they were officers or members. As will be seen, the signers include men of power in the American labor movement, among them officials of great labor organizations of to-day, and a number of industrial unionists who are practically unknown to the old school of unionists, but who are becoming towers of strength in the new movement. Haywood, Moyer and O'Neill are familiar as prominent figures in the famous struggle of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado for the eight-hour day. Estes and Hall will be recognized as at the head of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, while McCabe, DeYoung, Henion, Bradley, Pinkerton and Fitzgerald have been identified with various organizations in the railway service for many years. William E. Trautmann, editor of the Brauer Zeitung, official organ of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen, is one of the fighting industrial unionists who is known throughout Europe almost as well as in America. Mother Jones and Eugene V. Debs need no introduction. Schmidt and Guild are editor and treasurer, respectively, for the Bakers' International Union. Sherman is general secretary of the United Metal Workers, and a veteran of the American labor movement. Simons, Untermann, Swing and Bohn are, perhaps, better known as Socialists, although, we believe, all of them hold cards in some labor organization. Shurtleff was prominent in Knights of Labor affairs during the palmy days of that organization, and is now general secretary of the International Musical Union. The others are officers or members of the American Labor Union.

The editor of the Voice of Labor prefaces this article in this way because Chicago Federal Union, No. 454, of the A. L. U., is initiating a referendum of the American Labor Union on the question of responding to the call for the convention, and being represented therein, as a whole, in order to preserve the integrity of the American Labor Union as a whole, which could not be done if each local should be represented separately. It is now before the local unions, and if local unions representing six per cent of the membership of the American Labor Union indorse the proposition of the Chicago Federal, it will be sub-

mitted by the general office to the entire membership for approval or rejection.

Here is the resolution adopted by Chicago Federal Union, No. 454, A. L. U., at its regular meeting February 19, 1905:

"Whereas, This union has listened to and considered the Manifesto issued at Chicago, January 4, 1905, by a group of industrial unionists, including members of the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners and other organizations influential in the industrial union movement;

"Whereas, The principles and plan of organization proposed by this Manifesto are in harmony with the principles and plan of organization of the American Labor Union as at present organized, going only a step farther in the path of progress;

"Whereas, the signers to the Manifesto prove that outside the American Labor Union there are strong organizations and powerful forces struggling for the same principles for which the American Labor Union stands;

"Whereas, This Federal Union recognizes the necessity for perfect unity of all industrial unionists, and of all industrial unions, if the purposes of industrial unionism are to be accomplished, and the labor question finally solved;

"Whereas, The convention called for June 27, 1905, offers the opportunity of uniting all these disconnected elements of the industrial union movement in one aggressive, harmonious body; therefore be it

"Resolved, That Chicago Federal Union, No. 454, A. L. U., hereby proposes that the American Labor Union, as a whole, respond to the call for convention, and be represented therein by ten delegates, who shall be nominated and elected by initiative and referendum; that these delegates be empowered and instructed to unite and amalgamate the American Labor Union, and every part thereof, into the organization proposed to be formed at said convention; provided, the proposed organization conform in construction and methods to the principles and plans set forth in the Manifesto."

Local unions of the American Labor Union, or of the Western Federation of Miners, United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Amalgamated Society of Engineers or International Musical Union will, by majority vote, at a regular meeting, or a special meeting called for that purpose, indorse the above resolution, and notify the general secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union, Haymarket Building, Chicago. Such notification, to be recognized, must be signed by the president and secretary of the local union, and bear the local seal. When a sufficient number of local unions have indorsed this resolution to amount to six per cent of the membership of the American Labor Union, it will be submitted by the general office to referendum vote, for final approval or rejection.

Following is the Manifesto itself, with fac simile signatures of the signers:

THE MANIFESTO.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical

and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerves respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits, he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age-limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by craft divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted higher and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by differences in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employers that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers, the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary, and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief within wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage-slavery, but, where the workers will own the

tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone will enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federations, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working-class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed; but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an

economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, however, shall be given representation in the convention on the numerical basis of an organization unless he has credentials—bearing the seal of his union, local, national or international, and the signatures of the officers thereof—authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department to which it logically belongs in the general plan of organization. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual.

Adopted at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Chas. J. DeYoung
 Thos. Maguire
 Fred. D. Harrison
 W. J. Bradley
 Chas. O. Sherman
 M. E. White
 Wm. J. Pemberton
 August Kravitz
 Joe Fitzgerald
 A. G. Swing
 M. W. Simon

H. Skutumpah 212 Kim
 Frank M. McCall
 John M. O'Neil
 J. C. Coates
 Wm. W. Hayward
 Mother Jones
 Ernest Untermann
 W. F. Hall
 Chas. H. Meyer
 Clarence Smith
 William Conrad Frankmann
 Jos. Schmidt
 John Guild
 Daniel M. Donaldson
 Eugene T. Debs
 Frank Bohu

THE FUNCTION OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Election day marks a stage in the progress of the class struggle; but the real battle of worker against shirker is fought throughout the whole cycle of the year along the reverberating rails of commerce and in every mine, shop and factory of the land. The true gauge of the solidarity of the class struggle is to be found in the trenches, as it were, and general engagements on the economic battle ground, rather than in any spectacular parade of the home-guard at the ballot box.

If the ranks of labor are split up into petty craft factions on the industrial field, carrying on a guerilla warfare against one another instead of against the common foe, and refusing to recognize a community of class interests by reinforcing one another against the enemy, the insubstantial pageant of a flourish at the ballot box will not seriously disturb the capitalist class, because they know that back of that flourish is an economically divided working class.

It is the function of Industrial Unionism to establish unity of class purpose among these craft factions and to bring the workers into phalanx after phalanx of class-conscious organization, so that they may become an orderly, disciplined force, capable of taking over and collectively administering the tools of industry which they shall replevy from the capitalist class through the ballot box.

That this is well understood by our more economically advanced European comrades the following excerpt from the Brauer Zeitung makes evident:

"In No. 49 Neue Zeit (the principal exponent of scientific socialism in Germany) of last year, Comrade Karl Kautsky contributed a lengthy article on the attitude of the political party of the working class towards the economic wing of the general labor movement, commonly called trades unions here, although this is a misnomer. The opinions of Kautsky are shared by almost all industrial unionists in continental Europe and by many already in Great Britain; therefore, we believe that owing to the differences of opinion among

progressive workers in this land on this subject, these comparisons may be promotive of having this question intelligently discussed and the attitude of both the economic as well as the political relationship of the general labor movement clearly defined. So says Kautsky. 'While the campaign prior to national elections is the form of propaganda among the proletarians yielding the best results and getting the most recruits to our ideas, yet the industrial union is the only form of propaganda by which that portion of the working class is organized which is most eminently able to fight the battles of the working class, and which must be organized for that purpose. The political organization, the Socialist party proper, will comprise always only a relatively small elite, while the industrial union alone can constitute the militant organization of the masses, of the wage earners, the new world builders. A Social-Democratic party which has no economic organization as its choice troops to depend upon is built on quicksand.

"Of course the industrial unions must remain separated and distinct from the party proper. This is not only for tactical reasons; it's a necessity by virtue of our civil laws, and also because of the distinct and special duties these organizations on economic lines have to perform. But the Socialist party as such has to work and to strive that the members of the economic organizations be instilled with militant Socialist spirit. The Socialist propaganda has to work, simultaneously with a like propaganda in the party organization, for the strengthening of the industrial unions of the working class."

The very formation of industrial unions parallel with the lines of capitalist organization of industries, and the practical working of class interests therein, constitute such compelling object-lessons that the task of educating the proletariat in the principles and philosophy of the class struggle becomes at once simplified and easy of accomplishment.

T. J. H.

TRADING IN VIRTUE.

The transition from hand tools, requiring for their manipulation the brawn of men, to machinery which displaces mere muscular power has been followed in the natural course of capitalist development by such minute subdivisions of labor, as, for example, in the textile industry, that it has been found profitable to buy the labor power of women and children in great quantities on terms below the cheapest subsistence-cost of men.

The wages of thousands of women in shops and factories are forced down by the coupon-clippers to such a level that many of them are compelled to eke out a livelihood by bartering their toil-worn bodies for bread. And even this grim necessity has itself become a further source of profit in capitalist society; and a well established, dividend-paying business has developed in every civilized country of a world-wide traffic in women.

August Bebel quotes some startling facts from a book of travels by W. Joest, entitled "Aus Japan nach Deutschland durch Sibiren," which show the extent to which the present social system is polluting the blood of the working class and intensifying the taint of the already rotten middle and capitalist classes: "People so often grow warm in our moral Germany over the slave trade that some African negro prince may be carrying on, or over conditions in Cuba and Brazil, but they should rather keep in mind the beam in their own eyes; in no country is there such a trade with white female slaves, from no country is the export of this living merchandise as large as it is from Germany and Austria. The road that these girls take can be accurately followed. From Hamburg they are shipped to South America; Bahia and Rio Janeiro receive their quotas; the largest part is destined for Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, while a small rest goes through the straits of Magellan as far as Valparaiso. Another stream is steered via England, or direct to North America, where, however, it can hold its own only with difficulty against the domestic product, and, consequently, splits up down the Mississippi as far as New Orleans and Texas, or westward to California. Thence the coast is supplied as far south as Panama, while Cuba, the West Indies and Mexico draw their supplies from New Orleans.

"Under the title of "Bohemians," further droves of German girls are exported over the Alps to Italy and thence further south to Alexandria, Suez, Bombay, Singapore, aye, even to Hongkong and as far as Shanghai. . . . Russia is provided from East Prussia, Pommern and Poland. The first station is usually Riga. Here the dealers from St. Petersburg and Moscow supply themselves, and ship their goods in large quantities to Nischnij-Novgorod and beyond the Ural Mountains to Irbit and Krestofsky, aye, as far as the interior of Siberia. . . . This wonderful trade is thoroughly organized, it is attended to by agents and commercial travelers."

A few weeks ago the Literary Digest called attention

to the amazingly capitalist character of this buying and selling of women:

"So profoundly stirred is European opinion by the revelations made at the recent congress in Paris for the suppression of the world-wide traffic in women that another gathering of the sort, representing the leading countries, is to be held in Frankfort-on-the-Main next October. The original policy of reserve on the subject of the soul traffic has been abandoned, as such reserve plays into the hands of the agents of this commerce, who are well organized, have large financial resources, and have built up a system of perfect adaptability to their ends. Says the Frankfurter Zeitung:

"The traffic in maidens is nowadays as well organized as was in a former period the trade in negro slaves. It has its exchanges, bureaus of distribution, agents and price lists. In the latter the quotations vary according to the country of origin. Only the Jewish article remains at a uniformly high price. . . . Even into Russia, where the entrance of Jewish women is forbidden, the importation of Jewish maidens is extraordinarily great, for the agents of the commerce have found in Hamburg a clergyman to baptize the victims. Other ways and means are found to sinuggle in the unfortunates. Italy serves the agents as a peculiarly available transit station."

"The charge is made with circumstantiality that the Camorra of Naples, the 'Italian Tammany Hall,' has furthered the traffic. Cities in the United States form important way stations of the trade.

"The Berlin Vossische Zeitung notes that certain half barbarous lands refuse to co-operate in this work of humanity. Another German paper points out that of all the civilized countries America alone was not represented at the recent conference in Paris, adding: 'America is the most important way station for the traffic in these white wares. It has been repeatedly proved that traders in souls supply themselves with false passports in order, by means of them, to practice the most ingenious deceptions upon females whom they accompany to the New World.'

It is hardly necessary to point out the inevitable failure of the congress to be held next October in Frankfort-on-the-Main. This traffic in virtue is one of the inexorable consequences of the profit system which counts nothing sacred from the ravages of exploitation. We have heard much from the sanctimonious hirelings of capitalism about the danger which threatens the home from the establishment of Socialism, but they are, for the most part, silent upon this gigantic evil for which Socialism can in no wise be held accountable. For the wiping out of this and kindred evils which rob the working class of happiness and reduce the toilers to mere commodities in the markets of capitalist greed, the workers must unite in the compact, class-conscious organization of industrial unionism, and, by their combined economic and political power, overthrow the capitalist system whence all this festering traffic flows.

T. J. H.

THESE PEOPLE LIKE THE VOICE OF LABOR.

"I accidentally run across your February number of the VOICE OF LABOR, and like it so well that I am enclosing my subscription for one year. Commence my subscription with the January issue, if possible."

CHARLES HEATH, Memphis.

"I am instructed by the Union to write you that we enjoy the VOICE OF LABOR very much. The girls are getting interested enough to take the magazines home with them."

FRANCES CALVIN,

Secretary Women's Protective Union No. 148, Butte, Mont.

"Your valuable magazine is much appreciated here. Enclosed find \$2.00 for four yearly subscriptions, list enclosed."

F. LEONARD, Vivian, Ariz.

"Enclosed find postal money order for 250 copies of the VOICE OF LABOR. We may be able to use as many more this month."

R. C. GOODWIN,

For the Marxian League, San Francisco, Cal.

"Enclose ten cents for a few samples of the VOICE OF Labor. The new dress is a "dandy." I am a regular subscriber, but believe I can get other subscribers. I like it, and others here like it, also. Wish you much success."

L. P. HOFFMANN, Jacksonville, Ill.

(Since writing the above Brother Hoffman has sent us a number of yearly subscriptions.—Editor.)

"I have my VOICE OF LABOR. It is fine. Many favorable comments for it here."

REASONS FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

What Karl Marx calls the historical tendency of capitalistic accumulation takes on new sharpness of outline and greater clearness of detail in the light of current events. Time has thoroughly tested and proved the soundness of the law, formulated almost forty years ago by Marx, that the centralization of erstwhile divergent capitals "becomes more intense in proportion as the specifically capitalist mode of production develops along with accumulation. In its turn, centralization becomes one of the greatest levers of this development. It shortens and quickens the transformation of separate processes of production into processes socially combined and carried out on a large scale." The little capitalist is expropriated by the big capitalist; and there follows a "transformation of the individualized and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few."

This process is well exemplified in the Beef Trust, which has gained sovereign sway over the meat, fruit and dairy products of the country and which, according to Charles Edward Russell in the February edition of Everybody's Magazine, "controls prices and regulates traffic in a thousand markets. It changes conditions and builds up or pulls down industries; it makes men poor or rich as it will; it controls or establishes or obliterates vast enterprises across the civilized circuit. Its lightest word affects men on the plains of Argentina or the by-streets of London."

"Of some of the most important industries of this country it has an absolute, iron-clad, infrangible monopoly; of others it has a control that for practical purposes of profit is not less complete. It fixes at its own will the price of every pound of fresh, salted, smoked or preserved meat prepared and sold in the United States. It has an absolute monopoly of our enormous meat exports, dressed and preserved. It has an absolute monopoly of the American trade in fertilizers, hides, bristles, horn and bone products. It owns or controls or dominates every slaughter-house, except a few that have inconsiderable local or special trades. It owns steam and electric railroads, it owns the entire trolley-car service in several cities, and is acquiring the like property elsewhere. It owns factories, shops, stock-yards, mills, land and land companies, plants, warehouses, politicians, legislators and congressmen.

"It defies Wall street and all that therein is. It terrorizes great railroad corporations long used to terrorize others. It takes toll from big and little, it gouges millions from railroad companies, and cent pieces from obscure shippers. To-day it is compelling a lordly railroad to dismiss its general manager; to-morrow it is black-listing and ruining some little commission merchant. . . . It fixes the price that the grower of California shall receive for his fruit, and the price the laborer of New York shall pay for his breakfast. It lays hands upon the melon grower of Colorado and the cotton grower of Georgia, and compels each to share with it the scanty proceeds of his toil. It can affect the cost of living in Aberdeen and Geneva as easily as in Chicago and New York. . . . It can make, within certain limits, the price of wheat, of corn, of oats, what it pleases, and it will shortly be able to control the price of every loaf of bread."

Forty years ago this vast industry of food stuffs was unorganized and its now component parts were distributed over a wide area of "individualized and scattered means of production." Sausage-making, for example, was extensively carried on as a separate enterprise. The manufacture of barrels for packing preserved meats was confined for the most part to independent establishments of hand-working coopers. The trades unions were more or less differentiated according to the tools which the laborer used and to the individualized character of the product within the general scope of food stuffs. The organization of the workers was quite adequate to meet the loose and rudimentary association of the capitalists. The sausage-maker and

the cooper, working for different masters and in almost unrelated labor in so far as capitalist ownership was concerned, had very little need of each other in the enforcement of wage scales and hours of employment.

But with the bringing together of the individualized and scattered means of production into the socially concentrated Beef Trust, the trades unions in that industry cease to serve their purpose just as the simple tools of a century ago fail to fulfill the multiplied tasks of enlarged present-day production. Hence the insufficiency of the craft organizations of the sausage-maker and the cooper when carried down into a different industrial environment without any change in principle or essence that would adjust them to the new organization and concentration of capital. They are powerless to win forward for the working class because they no longer respond to the mighty forces of evolution, which are at work in every nook and cranny of the universe.

The capitalists who have pushed ahead with the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation are in control of the world's markets, while those who have failed to keep pace with that tendency are slowly sinking through the thin crust of the middle class into the seething ranks of toil. The workers, on the other hand, who have disposed the forces of their organization in alignment with that tendency are rapidly forging to the front as the vanguard in the class struggle for industrial freedom, while those who have not advanced with the development of industrial concentration are unwittingly becoming mere economic Hessians in the hands of their leaders against the colonies of labor.

Unlike the law of the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation, which mercilessly narrows capital into fewer and fewer hands, the law which guides the historical mission of the working class widens the field of industrial unionism in direct proportion to the concentration of industries. Thus, when the huge machineries of transportation are socially combined in a more compact unit of ownership, the engineers, firemen, brakemen, conductors, shopmen, trackmen and, in general, all the workers in that great department of commerce gain power for themselves and their class by uniting in a socially combined unit of organization; and lose strength for themselves and their class by remaining in the trades unions which divide and weaken their forces when confronted by capitalist concentration.

That the time is ripe for discarding the trades union methods and assembling the workers in the new formation of industrial unions becomes plain from a study of the drift toward centralized control in all parts of the capitalist world. The election of James Speyer, of the great banking firm of New York City, to the directorate of the Rock Island, of H. H. Rogers and H. C. Frick from the Union Pacific into the Atchison, and of Harriman and Cassatt into directorates other than those of their own companies, taken in connection with the recent consummation of the Rockefeller-Harriman syndicate's control of the Vanderbilt group of railroads, marks the swelling tide of economic development whose final ebb is destined to sweep away the last vestiges of the capitalist system.

The International Railway Journal, which is the mouth-piece of the railroad corporations, in its edition of January 7, 1905, clearly shows the process of the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation in the railroad industry and at the same time unconsciously suggests reasons for industrial unionism: "When the United States Supreme Court delivered its opinion in the trans-Missouri case in 1890—declaring that all traffic agreements made between railroads engaged in interstate commerce were in restraint of trade and illegal—the railroad industry of the country was thrown into a state of thorough demoralization. During the decade from 1880 to 1890 more than 75,000 miles of railroad had been added to the mileage of the country.

Most of this mileage had been constructed by independent companies, while a large portion of it had been built by speculators who openly announced their intention to throw the railroad industry into a state of demoralization unless they were bought out at a large profit.

"The result was that in 1890 there were more railroads than the business of the country demanded. The keen competition for business led to the most reckless cutting of rates. In an effort to maintain rates at a profitable point pooling agreements were made, and, while these pooling agreements were continually breaking up because of the dissatisfaction of different members, yet they resulted in steadying rates to some extent. When pooling agreements were declared illegal by the Supreme Court, competition again broke out in its most severe and reckless form. The railroad industry of the country became completely demoralized, and during the six years following the trans-Missouri decision no less than 239 railroads, having an aggregate capitalization of \$3,263,000,000, were forced to enter the hands of receivers.

"To place the railroad industry of the country upon a stable and profitable basis it was clear that radical steps would have to be taken and, beginning with 1898, the movement toward consolidation of the railroads started. If pooling agreements were no longer legal, the only way in which rates could be maintained would be for the larger systems to buy out their smaller competitors; and this is briefly what has been going on for the last six years and has resulted in completely transforming the railroad map of the country.

"The railroad industry, having a capitalization of more than \$12,000,000,000, is to-day practically controlled by eight different interests—the Gould, Hill, Harriman, Rockefeller,

Moore, Vanderbilt, Morgan and Pennsylvania. More than 80 per cent of the mileage of the railroads of the country is controlled by one or other of these eight interests." It may be added that, since the foregoing was written, the Rockefeller-Harriman syndicate has practically reduced these interests to five.

What is true of the railroads is true also of other industries. Iron, coal, copper, cotton, tobacco, agricultural implements and other staple products are grouping in more and more limited ownership. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, for instance, has united under one organization the commerce of a dozen different commodities in the production of which the workers are divided by a score of conflicting crafts and warring trades. The capitalists who make up that corporation may occasionally quarrel for mastery of the company's stock, but they never disagree about the jurisdiction of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company over the sources of its wealth.

Herein lies the lesson for the workers. They, too, must unite on the common ground of their class interests. Just as the pooling agreements of the railroads failed to answer the growing power of the historical tendency of capitalistic accumulation, so the loose affiliation of crafts in the inter-trade agreements of Labor Assemblies and of the American Federation of Labor fall short of the present development of the historical mission of the working class. Therefore, the workers must so organize in proportion to capitalist concentration of industries, irrespective of trades or tools, that, when they shall have acquired a sufficient class-conscious majority in every industry, they may be able to take over and collectively administer the machineries of production and distribution in the co-operative commonwealth.

THOS. J. HAGERTY.

HOW EMPLOYERS PROTECT THEMSELVES.

The remarkable increase in the number of companies engaged in what is known as casualty or employers' liability insurance, and the expansion in the volume of their business is a matter which vitally affects the working man, and is a subject which should furnish grounds for sober thought and careful reflection. This evil, and it can be considered nothing else, from the standpoint of the employe, is one of the most malevolent institutions which the working population is forced to contend with, for the reason that it only shows its hand at the time when the working man is at his greatest disadvantage and in the time of his greatest distress.

A brief statement of their plan of operation will, I think, be sufficient to prove the truth of these assertions, show the relation they bear to organized labor, and make plain to those who have been unfortunate enough to be injured during the course of their employment, some things which were at the time, hard to understand.

To begin with, the employer, let us say, is a manufacturer, employing a number of men, using machinery more or less dangerous. He takes out a policy in one of these companies, whereby the insurance company agrees to assume all legal liability and financial responsibility up to a stipulated limit, which rests upon the employer, for any injuries, accidentally received by any of his workmen during the course of their work. For this insurance, or "protection," as it is sometimes called, the employer pays a premium consisting of a certain percentage of his annual payroll, the rate depending, of course, upon the nature of the business in which he is engaged and the probability of accidents to his men. This premium is paid and the policy signed and delivered to the employer, who locks it up in his safe and leans back in his comfortable chair, secure in the assurance that no matter how many of his workmen, upon whose efforts and skill the very existence of his business depends, are maimed, crippled or killed, while in his employ, he is free from any claims or demands or pecuniary reparation therefor.

When an accident happens to one of these workmen, the

employer, in accordance with the terms of his policy, gives the insurance company immediate notice of the accident. With this report to the company his interest in the matter ends. The insurance company, upon receipt of the notice, immediately sends out an adjuster, who goes to the scene of the accident, learns the facts, has a photograph made, if necessary, and takes signed statements or sworn affidavits from every one who knows anything about the occurrence. The adjuster is usually familiar with the law covering such cases and in writing up these statements or affidavits he is careful to insert every possible clause which tends to relieve the employer from liability, and to defeat any claim which the injured man may thereafter make for damages growing out of his injuries. The witnesses often are friendly to the injured man, are anxious to see that he obtains just and reasonable compensation for his injuries, and are unwilling to sign the statements which may be used to his disadvantage. To these, the smooth adjuster represents that the statements are merely preliminary to the settlement of the case, and as soon as they are signed up and submitted, the company will make immediate payment to the injured man, of a substantial sum of money to reimburse him for the suffering and loss of time and earning capacity, which he has sustained by reason of the accident. With such arguments, the affidavits are usually secured, and, as stated before, are taken with due regard to every legal artifice which can be utilized to destroy the injured man's chances for recovery.

The evidence thus secured is then reviewed by the attorneys of the insurance company. If the facts disclosed indicate legal liability on the part of the employer, the next step is to hunt up the injured man before he has an opportunity to consult anyone about the legal aspects of his accident, and while he is lying in a hospital or at home, surrounded by the family, often in destitute circumstances, and tell him that there is absolutely no liability whatever in the case; that they have the evidence already written up and signed in the form of affidavits so skillfully drawn that he cannot recover anything if he goes into court, and

even if he does, that they will fight him through several years of costly litigation and beat him, in the end, through lack of funds on his part to prosecute his claim, and use every other discouraging argument they can think of to persuade the man of the utter hopelessness of his case. They then say that while there is no liability in the case, yet, in view of his disabled condition, or of the necessities of his family, which they always take special pains to emphasize, they are willing to pay him some meager pittance as a matter of "charity," if he will sign a release, absolutely waiving all claims which he may have against the employer responsible for the accident.

Settlements are frequently effected under these circumstances for small sums in cases, which, if carried to trial, would result in large judgments. That deception and fraudulent misrepresentations are necessary and are utilized to carry on the employers' liability insurance business successfully is proven by the character of the instructions sent out to their insured by some of these companies. The following is quoted from directions given by the Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation of London: "Kindly see that no information, nor facilities for getting information, respecting the accident or injury are given to the injured person or his representatives." The Aetna Life Insurance Company of Hartford sends the following to its patrons: "Do not give information about the accident to anyone or admit any person to the premises to enable him to obtain information (the police and Aetna representatives excepted)." In all cases they instruct the insured to keep the fact that he carries any insurance carefully concealed, and in all negotiations with the injured man they represent that they have come from the employer and that he has to stand the loss involved in the settlement. In some cases, if the personal relations existing between the employer and the injured man are very friendly, they delude the injured man into the belief that it is really the employer who is paying him the money, and succeed in getting small settlements on that score. If their business were transacted along legitimate lines and conducted upon the grounds of legality and justice, why do they practice so much deception and resort to such methods? Why do they operate with such secrecy and take every unfair advantage of the injured man that long experience and superior education and training can devise? If, as they always claim, they are governed solely by the facts and the law applicable to the facts in determining the question of liability and settling claims, why do they procure false testimony to win their cases in court, as I have personally known some ex-representatives of these companies to boast of having done? The answer to these questions is given in the financial statements which they publish from time to time for the purpose of exhibiting their financial strength and responsibility to the insuring public, incidentally pleasing their stockholders.

Another phase of this subject is the effect it has on the precautions taken by the employer to protect his workmen from accidents. Briefly stated, the law imposes the duty upon the employer to furnish his employes with a reasonably safe place in which to work, and holds him liable for any injuries resulting in the failure to do so. Suppose a large construction company, employing a number of workmen, in the course of its business, allows some of its appliances or tackle to become worn out and dangerous. To replace it will cost a large sum of money and interfere with its ambition to swell its profits to the fullest possible

extent. It is insured, and it makes no difference in a financial way if its employes are injured. The insurance company will have to stand that. Instead of making the appliances or machinery safe, it continues to use them as long as they stand the strain to which they are subject, and postpones making any repairs or renewals, which business prudence would demand, if the employer had to bear the consequences of their breaking. Men, ignorant of its condition, are placed at work under and around this machinery and use it until it gives way, crippling or killing some of the workmen. Then the repairs or renewals are made. But what of the injured men? They are turned over to the tender mercies of the insurance company, which proceeds by methods in which they are so well skilled to cajole and bluff them into settling their claims for injuries for the lowest possible amounts, and thus relieve the company of its liability, as far as possible, and increase its profits. The employer, protected by insurance, in order to swell profits, neglects precautions for the safety of the workmen. The insurance company, in order to swell its profits, takes the injured man where the employer leaves off, and proceeds to defeat and destroy such rights as he may have, arising from the circumstances of the accident. Thus it happens that the workman is ground between the upper and nether millstones of corporate greed, and thrown out upon the world at the finish, a helpless and hopeless cripple, or his family is left without any provision for their needs, except the charity of their neighbors and such relief as is furnished by public institutions.

It is safe to say that no form of organized capital, conducted under the guise of a business enterprise, is more nefarious in its methods and more iniquitous in its effects than the institutions known as casualty or employers' liability insurance companies. With all the power, which their combined wealth gives them, who is it they strike? Not the able-bodied citizen or substantial business man, who can stand the loss usually without very serious results, but the helpless cripples or widows and orphans produced by the carelessness and lack of precaution which the so-called protection furnished by these policies makes possible.

Ten years ago there were only four or five employers' liability insurance companies engaged in business in the city of Chicago. Now there are fourteen, and the yearly statements which they publish for the benefit of their stockholders show that their business is profitable. Is it not time for the workman to devise some means or take some measures to place themselves on an equal footing, so far as it can be accomplished, in order that their rights may be secured and their interests protected, as well as those of their employers? This is one of the results which a well organized law department should be especially designed to obtain. It should not only be a law department but also a claim department, and be prepared to give the workmen the same careful attention and make the same thorough investigation on their behalf that the insurance company furnishes for the employer. Nearly all labor organizations have provisions in their constitutions or by-laws establishing sick benefits which assist the workman and his family to tide over any period of illness which takes away his earning power, and it would seem that good judgment demands that the rights and interests of their injured members should also be cared for.

W. A. FLANEGAN.

Feb. 16, 1905.

A HYDRA-HEADED LIE.

In the February edition of the American Federationist, page 79, Samuel Gompers asserts that "the American Labor Union placed a boycott on the Boot and Shoe Workers' union label; on the union label of the Brotherhood of Papermakers, and threatened a boycott on the union label of the Cigarmakers' International Union."

The American Labor Union never threatened a boy-

cott on the Cigarmakers' label. Mr. Gompers knows that the A. L. U. in Montana rendered such valiant service for that label as to compel certain Philadelphia scab factories to unionize their shops. The A. L. U. never boycotted the label of the Brotherhood of Papermakers. When the A. L. U. men went out on strike against the Rocky Mountain Paper Company, J. D. Pierce, A. F. of L. organizer in Denver, organized the scabs who took their places; and

the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, composed largely of A. F. of L. locals, refused to recognize the scab label.

As to the boycott on the Boot and Shoe Workers' label, we dare Mr. Gompers to print the truth in regard to the so-called union factories of St. Louis and Chicago against which our boycott alone operates. Here are the facts as set forth in the September, 1904, edition of the A. L. U. Journal:

There is a reason for the A. L. U. not supporting the Eastern shoe stamp in St. Louis, and a good and sufficient reason to those real unionists who understand the situation. The reason, stated briefly, is that the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union, through its national officers, went into partnership with the millionaire shoe manufacturers and tried to sell the St. Louis shoe workers, bound hand and foot. The national officers tried to, and did, foist upon the local unions a contract that was without parallel in treachery to the workers, and was even more absolute in its surrender of the rights of the employes than the infamous Chicago contract of a few months ago.

The St. Louis contract gave the use of the union label to the Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company, which had been boycotted for years because of its unfairness to organized labor, and which, under the proposed "union" contract, would operate under no better wages or rules, and would even operate two out of its three factories as open shops, and under non-union conditions. The membership of the St. Louis locals protested against this remarkable "union" contract further on account of a provision that "all questions and conditions of labor in the factory be left to the firm to determine." The membership protested in vain, however, and General Vice President Lovely and General Secretary Eaton forced the contract upon them. Shortly after the contract went into effect Mr. Eaton resigned as general secretary, and became superintendent of the Hamilton-Brown factory at a salary of \$5,000 a year! It is a thing worthy of note that in the "union" stamp factory of which Mr. Eaton was superintendent, wages averaged lower and conditions worse than in the open or non-union shops of his competitors.

The next clash between the local members and the national office came when the St. Louis locals announced their intention to organize all of the 13,000 shoe workers in that city. General President Tobin promptly vetoed this proposal, and in a letter to the St. Louis Joint Shoe Council said: "We are more disposed at this time to reduce the number of union stamp factories, rather than increase," and in another letter, two weeks later, "We should regret to be obliged to refuse to issue the union stamp after you had decided it should be issued," showing plainly enough the existence of a secret agreement between the national officers and the Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company, even more infamous and dishonest than the one forced upon the workers openly.

The St. Louis membership then rebelled, whereupon the national officers revoked their charters and proceeded to reorganize the "union" stamp factories, with all the scabs, ex-convicts and straw bosses they could get together. Then the original union men joined the A. L. U. and adopted the A. L. U. label, while the scabs, ex-convicts, etc., were farmed out to the manufacturers by the general officers of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and were allowed to use their notorious "union" stamp.

This is why the A. L. U. does not recognize the "union" stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union on St. Louis made shoes. We believe it a conscientious duty to inform A. L. U. members of these circumstances, and to advise them not to patronize this worst form of scabbery, encouraging as it does the humiliation of union principles and a graft for the so-called "union leaders." We know the real union men of the country justify our position, and we do not care a rap for the opinions or loud mouthings of that element that has no use for unionism except the personal graft there is in it.

How about Chicago, whose shoes the Western Federation declines to buy? For answer we print in full the agreement made by President Tobin, of the National Union,

and forced upon the local unions. It is to be said, to the credit of the local membership, that they now see the perfidy of the national officers and appreciate the contemptible position they are forced to occupy in the name of unionism.

"Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1904."

"Basis of settlement as proposed between the undersigned shoe manufacturers of Chicago and the undersigned representatives of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, subject to ratification by the shoe workers of Chicago in mass meeting assembled.

"It is understood that the object of this agreement is to establish a fair condition of labor in the various factories and for the enhancement of the business interests of the shoe industry in this city.

"In adjusting prices for labor in the various departments, it is understood that the factories who are party to this agreement shall not be called upon to pay any more than any other factories in various parts of the country making a similar grade of work."

Note the fundamental point in the preceding paragraph: "THE FACTORIES WHO ARE PARTY TO THIS AGREEMENT SHALL NOT BE CALLED UPON TO PAY MORE THAN ANY OTHER FACTORIES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY MAKING A SIMILAR GRADE OF WORK." In other words, the "union" wages and conditions shall be no better than the non-union wages and conditions in unorganized factories: What then, is the use of the union? Why, to pay tribute to Tobin, of course. And we shall see, as we read the conditions of agreement further, that the "union" is also very useful to the employers as a means of enforcing arbitrary shop rules that it would be impossible to enforce without the "union" back of them.

"1. The open shop is conceded by the union."

Which means just exactly the same conditions in the employment of employes by the companies as if there was no such thing as the union. The two vital principles of trades unionism—the employment of only union men and the enforcement of better wages and conditions, are surrendered absolutely by the union.

"2. The standard of wages in each factory heretofore established, or that may be hereafter established, between employer and employe and the union is recognized, but in cases where employes are above the average in skill or capacity, a rate of wages above the standard may be agreed upon between the employer, the employe and the union or shop's committee, and each manufacturer shall furnish the union or shop's committee with the names of persons alleged to be below the average in skill and capacity, and for such persons the employer and employe and the union or shop's committee shall agree upon the compensation. This is to apply only to persons who work by the day or by the week, and does not apply to piece hands."

Just exactly the same as a non-union shop. If an employe is especially valuable the company will pay him just enough in wages to keep him from going elsewhere.

"The union agrees upon the following shop rules:

"3. That fifty-five (55) hours shall constitute a week's work in the factory; that all employes must be at work when the whistle blows in the morning, and work until it blows at noon, and again in the afternoon; that no time will be allowed for washing or for any other purpose."

The same hours of labor as non-union shops. Note how the union agrees to enforce the shop rules for the company.

"4. There shall be no extra pay for overtime, except on the following legal holidays: New Year's Day, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas."

The same conditions as non-union shops, except that no self-respecting man or woman would work at all on any of the holidays mentioned, for any wages. The companies have a right to expect them to do so, under this agreement, if they pay them for the work.

"5. Dressing and toilet rooms shall not be used for lounging and resting places.

"6. That employes must secure passes from the fore-

men in order to leave the factory during working hours.

"7. That no bundle or other property shall be taken from the shop without being O. K.'d by the foremen.

"8. That no person shall be permitted to operate any machinery except such as they are expressly hired to operate, except under instructions of the foreman.

"9. Not to accept any short lots, but to notify the foreman of all shortages.

"10. Not to accept any lots which contain damaged shoes.

"11. To show all shoes which they damage or find damaged by others to the foreman.

"12. That they will be charged for all shoes which they damage or for the missing shoes in lots which they pass along. The last operative handling such damaged shoes shall be held responsible, and shall be charged for them at the regular wholesale rates, and that these charges will be deducted from their wages, and the terms of this regulation (12) are expressly agreed to by all employees, and they hereby consent that the same be a part of their contract of employment.

"13. Employees will be paid on the regularly weekly pay day at 5:00 o'clock and at no other time.

"14. Any violation of any of the above rules shall be grounds for immediate discharge."

All of the above rules are for shop discipline for the benefit of the companies, and in many cases work great hardship and injustice to the employees. All of them the "union" agrees to enforce. Very nice for the company, and saves a lot of trouble and expense.

"15. Union business concerning wages and conditions of labor shall be adjusted between each employer and the business agent of the Chicago Council, or a chosen representative or representatives of the council or general union, who shall be acceptable to the employer; except in the case of Florsheim & Co., wages and conditions of labor shall be adjusted between the firm and a committee of three of their own employees."

Meaning that each individual grievance must be fought out with the employer. Note that no one can represent the union in any grievance unless he is "acceptable" to the employer.

"16. It is further understood that the General Union, with headquarters at Boston, shall be a party to this agreement, and they shall, upon call of either the Local Council or any manufacturer concerned in this agreement, send a representative of the General Union to supervise any question that may require adjustment."

That is to say, that if, in spite of this notorious agreement, the local membership should find a loop-hole to get anything for themselves, President Tobin could be called in by the manufacturers and could straighten things out to the satisfaction of the bosses.

"17. It shall be within the right of any employe to leave his employment, but after having left the factory he has no claim upon the job."

Section 17 is really the best thing yet found in the agreement, because it does concede to the individual employe the "right to leave his employment." This is really more than we had a right to expect from the source.

"18. It shall also be within the right of the employer to discharge without interference from the Union, and no demand shall be made for the re-instatement of any person discharged."

Which provides a very easy and effective way for the company to rid itself of any union man whose self-respect might lead him to become dissatisfied with his slavery and cause him to work for better things in an honorable way through his union. Really, isn't that a fine union, and ought we not to be very enthusiastic supporters of such "union made" shoes?

"The acceptance of the foregoing by a mass meeting of Chicago shoe workers shall make this agreement binding upon the following named firms and their employes, and both sides shall cease hostilities at once and work shall be resumed upon call from each employer.

"This agreement shall remain in force until May first, 1904, and shall continue in force thereafter from year to year unless either the General Union or any employer shall give notice to the contracting parties three months before the first of May of any year of their desire to terminate the agreement.

J. E. TILT SHOE CO.
J. P. SMITH SHOE CO.
TILT-KENNEY SHOE CO.
COLE-DAVIS CO.
WILLIAM OSNER & CO.
FLORSHEIM & CO.
By MILTON J. FLORSHEIM, Pres.
JOHN F. TOBIN,
GEO. B. ROBINSON,
GAD MARTINDALE,

For the Union."

Which is the end, thank God!

BUTE, MONTANA.

It is the practice in the brewing industry in Montana for all of the unions in the State, including brewers, malsters, coopers, bottlers and drivers, to make agreements with all brewery proprietors to terminate at the same time. The brewery bosses have a state organization, and our contracts for all breweries in the State are made directly with that association.

We are all united with the American Labor Union, in addition to being members of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen. This gives us a tremendous force behind us, which, together with our perfect industrial form of organization and our agreements terminating at the same time, makes the brewery employes of Montana a power to be reckoned with.

We seldom have to resort to a strike, as we ask for only what is fair and right, and the brewery proprietors almost invariably accept our demands without making a fight. We have a high scale of wages for all workmen in the industry, but, considering the cost of living and the prevailing high prices for everything here, including labor of all kinds, our union wages are not considered unreasonable. We work only eight hours a day.

I am pleased to state that in our recent difficulty with the Capital Brewing Company of Helena the arbitration board decided in favor of Local Union No. 171 of the American Labor Union and No. 231 of the International Union of Brewery Workmen.

H. J. MEYER
Secretary Beer Drivers and Bottlers' Union
No. 171, A. L. U.

IN GOOD CONDITION.

Havre, Mont., Dec. 29, 1904.

Enclosed find list of officers elected at last regular meeting for the ensuing term: President, J. F. Kehoe; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, W. M. Smith; Financial Secretary-Treasurer, W. H. Means. Our little union is in a flourishing condition, and we thank you for past encouragement.

W. M. SMITH,
Secretary Local 515, A. L. U.

DODSON UNION.

Dodson, La., Jan. 20, 1905.

We have elected a Corresponding Secretary, but he lives so far from the post-office I am afraid he will not write to you.

Our first Secretary-Treasurer left us in bad shape, but we now have splendid officers, and the future for the union is assured. We now have more than 100 members and have just started to grow. There is a big field here, three mills under one jurisdiction.

Davis and Barnes have both been with us. They are both true-blue union men. They know what they are "up against," and are able to meet the difficulties thrown in their way by the mill owners, who are bitterly fighting these new unions. But the working people have been treated like slaves lately, overworked and underpaid, and I think they can't be bluffed into quitting the union. They know it will protect them, and they will certainly support it.

G. W. HENDRICKS,

USUAL FALSEHOODS.

My love for the truth compels me to call your attention to an article in the Boot & Shoe Workers' Journal signed by H. H. Jobe. The article is headed, "The Van of Suicide—The American Labor Union," and the writer complains that the custom shoe workers who joined the A. L. U. are "a total wreck without either head or body." In other words of the immortal Artemus Ward, he is an amossing cuss. After proving himself a charlatan and placing his union principles on a commercial basis according to the market price of Tobin, et al., he deliberately utters a falsehood, when he states that we are without either head or body.

Since uniting with the American Labor Union our local has been in a healthier condition, both numerically and financially, than ever before. We have increased our membership, established superannuation funds, and have donated more money to striking locals, both A. L. U. and A. F. of L., than at any period in our history, and we expect to be doing business at the same old stand for many years to come.

It seems strange that the editor of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Journal should rush into print every statement which is sent to him by a deserter from the A. L. U. Shoe Workers' Locals in St. Louis. Really, it is a confession as to what foot the shoe is pinching.

SAMUEL A. CUMMINGS,
United Shoe Workers, A. L. U., St. Louis,
Mo.

Voice of Labor

Published by the American Labor Union.

OFFICERS:

President—Daniel McDonald, Haymarket Theater Building, Chicago, Ill.
 Vice President—David C. Coates, Wallace, Idaho.
 Secretary-Treasurer—Clarence Smith, Haymarket Theater Building, Chicago, Ill.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Chas. Moyer, Denver, Colo. (W. F. of M.).
 J. M. Clements, 39 Bellvue Av., Toronto, Canada (A. S. of E.).
 Geo. Estes, Haymarket Theater Building, Chicago, Ill. (U. B. of R. E.).
 John W. Dale, Culbertson, Montana.
 F. W. Ott, Laramie, Wyoming.
 F. W. Walton, Box 202, Wallace, Idaho.
 Rees Davis, Helena, Montana.
 John Riordan, Phoenix, British Columbia.
 M. E. White, Box 780, Denver, Colorado.

Fifty Cents Per Year, in Advance.
 Office, No. 3 Haymarket Theater Building, Chicago, Ill.

Address all communications, remittances, etc., to Clarence Smith, Manager, Haymarket Theater Building, Chicago, Ill.



Entered at Chicago, Ill., Postoffice as second-class matter.

"The laborer, instead of being in a position to sell commodities in which his labor is incorporated, is obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labor-power, which exists only in his living self."—Marx.

In all the anti-union advertisements from the Battle Creek manufactures of Post Mortem Cereals one truth stands out clearly: that labor-power is a commodity subject, like wheat, pork and potatoes, to the fluctuations of the market.

While the capitalist remains in control of the tools of industry, the worker who has only his labor-power to sell cannot "bull" the market to any lasting degree because, by its very nature, his labor-power is perishable and he has no other resources of raw materials and machines from which to cover his "margins."

So long as the wage-system continues the workers must bear the same relation to the tool-owner as the "lambs" do to the stock-manipulator of Wall street.

The trades union movement has for its object only regulation of the labor market and not the overthrow of the whole system of buying and selling labor-power. Therefore, it is in reality working against the supreme interests of the toiler and for the maintenance of the tool-owning class. The industrial union movement, on the other hand, never loses sight of the goal toward which the awakened, class-conscious worker is ever striving—the abolition of the profit-taking, life-destroying scheme of present-day society.

The Wolf, which tries to hide itself under the Civic Federation sheep's skin with its A. F. of L. tail, will fatten upon the brain and blood of labor until the working class shall have become strongly enough organized economically and politically to drive the Wolf and all its snarling whelps into the tangled wilderness of Cleveland's innocuous desuetude.

The nature of one's surroundings and the method of gaining one's daily bread combine to make the sub-

stance of one's character. This truth is well expressed in the words of John Burns: "Put Arthur Balfour or the Archbishop of Canterbury into a slum such as I have entered in Bermondsey, with his front door door up against a dirty railway arch, his back up against a tannery, and with his wife, three children and himself living in two rooms, and Arthur Balfour would become an anarchist and the Archbishop a dipsomaniac."

In the February edition of McClure's Magazine Lincoln Steffens, although he misses the economic interpretation of current history, furnishes overwhelming evidence in support of the fact that government is the political embodiment of the prevailing ownership of the machineries of production and distribution. His article is entitled, "Rhode Island: A State For Sale," and he asserts that "business men are back of the politicians that rule most corrupt States; in Rhode Island they are in plain sight, and everybody knows them and their operations. * * * So purely a business government is this that the officers and legislators, the bosses and the leaders, are typically native-born citizens of professional and business occupations." What he proves so unmistakably against Rhode Island is true in substance of every other State in the whole domain of capitalism.

"Mrs. Chadwick's operations have demonstrated anew the great theory of theft," says the Peoria Star. "Here it is:

Stealing a million—genius.
 Stealing \$500,000—sagacity.
 Stealing \$100,000—shrewdness.
 Stealing \$50,000—misfortune.
 Stealing \$25,000—irregularity.
 Stealing \$10,000—misappropriation.
 Stealing \$5,000—speculation.
 Stealing \$2,500—embezzlement.
 Stealing \$1,250—swindling.
 Stealing \$100—larceny.
 Stealing \$10—theft.
 Stealing a ham—war on society."

In the edition of April 14, 1904, the A. L. U. Journal published, on what then seemed reliable information, certain charges against P. F. O'Rourke, a former member of the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A., the falsity of which we have just learned through the General Secretary of that organization. We, therefore, tender our apologies to Mr. O'Rourke.

An editorial in the International Railway Journal for February calls attention to the good work which the Y. M. C. A. is doing toward developing the latest ability of railway employes and thus making them more serviceable to their employers. Railroad corporations as well as all other profit-takers freely invest in such religious institutions because of material values to be derived therefrom and not from lofty motives of zeal for righteousness.

First Vice President Frank McCabe, of the U. B. R. E. suggests that the Japs would still be on the windward side of Port Arthur, if they had conducted their siege of that stronghold on the pure-and-simple trades union plan of "boring from within."

Dr. Weichardt reports in the *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* that he has discovered an antitox-

in which produces a species of immunity against weariness. If this antitoxin can be manufactured at reasonable rates in wholesale quantities, we may expect to find it in active use by the Illinois Steel Company, which lately increased the hours of labor to twelve per day, so that the day's labor may be profitably increased to sixteen or eighteen hours.

We respectfully commend Dr. Weichardt's newly-discovered antitoxin against labor-exhaustion to the careful consideration of the National Civic Federation and the Citizens' Industrial Association.

The statistics of the Board of Health for Greater New York show an increased death-rate and a corresponding augmentation of poverty. The intense concentration of industry in great centers like New York always carries with it an ever-growing wretchedness, disease and insanity among the wealth-producers. These consequences are inseparable from the capitalist system.

NOTHING MINUS ZERO.

At the last meeting of the National Civic Federation a certain Western prelate, who has a hundred thousand dollars to every penny which the carpenter of Nazareth, whom he pretends to represent, possessed, said in the course of an address: "This is a great and blessed country. Those who are employers to-day were themselves employed yesterday. The richest among us, whose name has been applauded—Andrew Carnegie—says that the time was when he worked hard for a few dollars. This is a country of opportunity for all."

There are less than a hundred seats in the American House of Lords, yet every one of the millions of voters has an opportunity to become an United States Senator. Eight men own and control 80 per cent of the railroads of this country, nevertheless every section-hand has an opportunity to become one of the eight, if he will swing his pick and pound the ties hard enough. All the men shot down at Homestead and Hazleton had an equal opportunity with Andrew Carnegie, but they failed to read the "Workers' Magazine" supplement of the Chicago Sunday Tribune and, therefore, blundered into the bullets of the State militia.

The thirty thousand or more packing house employes, who so foolishly went out on strike for a paltry penny an hour, neglected as many opportunities as there were numbers in their ranks. Each one of them could have bought 51 per cent of the stock of the Beef Trust and thereby demonstrated what a blessed country they have in which to say their prayers. No wage-slave out of work need go hungry because he has an opportunity to buy the Waldorf-Astoria and dine with the East Side sweat shop garment workers who drop in there so frequently for a bit of *pâté de foie gras* and a glass of Ruedesheimer Berg.

THE RETURN OF PECKSNIFF.

Reformers and all the motley crew of social tinkers and cobblers hail with glee the opera bouffe of railroad rate regulation which the present administration is performing for their especial cozening. When the Northern Securities merger was declared illegal by the Supreme Court, they rejoiced in that bourgeois victory with exceeding great joy, forgetting that it is an old trick of capitalism to keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope.

As proof of how little the masters of the bread are disturbed by the antics of their puppet-show at Washington, reference may well be made to the announcement in the daily papers that the Rockefeller-Harriman syndicate now have control of the Vanderbilt group of railroads and, by virtue thereof, are lords of a trans-continental line of communication between the most important cities on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. In comparison with so gigantic a combination the Northern Securities merger dwindles to the proportion of a one-track Lilliputian tramway.

Readers of Dickens will remember with what uncommon skill the pious Pecksniff plied his trade of money-getting under cover of a godliness false as dicer's oaths. His twentieth century mate teaches Bible classes on Sunday and fleeces all classes on Monday. In order to temper the wind to the shorn "lambs," the government, which he and his congeners own, makes brave pretense of railroad rate regulation and beef trust condemnation: the while Rockefeller, Harriman and their train-bands go merrily on with the game of exploiting the working class, nor abate one jot or tittle of the tribute which they exact from the labor-power of the proletariat.

And the pity of it all is that many of the toilers believe that this opera bouffe is legitimate drama from which they are to derive much benefit—that the return of Pecksniff to the marts of commerce means the reign of righteousness for them. The truth is that it does not concern them in any way. The whole agitation is simply protest of an ever-weakening middle class against the growing power of the capitalist class, and has no more bearing upon the working class than the rings of Saturn have upon the price of pop-corn.

AN EVERY-DAY EXAMPLE.

J. E. Collins, business agent of the International Machinists' Union at Indianapolis, Ind., writing for the Machinists' Monthly Journal for February, gives us a practical illustration of the disintegrating effects of craft unionism:

"The union molders at the Chandler and Taylor Company shop came out on strike December 22. This is the fifth instance that the same policy has been pursued by the different managements in the past several years. They first start a fight with the machinists and aim to secure enough skilled scabs to do the difficult part of the work, and to instruct others as specialists. They continue this procedure for a year and a half or two years, during which time they have the assistance of the union molders, and then by the time they are fairly settled in the machine shop they start a fight with the molders, the result being both machinists and molders lose the shop; where if a fight had been made by both at the same time, one of two things would have happened—either the said firms would have made peace or shut up shop."

A national crisis would find the working people of the United States just as weak, and their resistance just as futile, as the workers of Russia found themselves when confronted with the rifles of the Russian soldiery. Is it not about time for the American working class to unite in a solid organization, equipped to meet capitalism in the shop, mine or factory, at the ballot box, or with force of arms? Should we not be able to protect the rights and liberties we already possess, and to enforce our demands for better things in the future?

LAW GOVERNING NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

Here is printed in full Article XI. of the Constitution of the American Labor Union, governing filing of certificates of eligibility, nominations and elections of general officers and members of the general executive board.

Local unions chartered directly by the American Labor Union, as well as locals of general or international organizations of the American Labor Union, should file with the General Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor Union, Room 3, Haymarket Building, Chicago, a complete list of all members of their union who are, under the Constitution, legally eligible to nomination for general officers or members of the General Executive Board.

According to Article VII., Section 5, of the Constitution, the publication of this law and this notice is legal and sufficient service of this notice upon all local, general or international unions.

Certificates from local unions must bear the seal of the union and the signatures of the local president and recording secretary.

ARTICLE XI.

Nominations and Elections.

Section 1. Any member, except honorary members, of any national, international or local union, which has been united with the American Labor Union for two years or more, and any individual members of the American Labor Union, shall be eligible to any general office or to the General Executive Board, as specified in this Constitution, provided he has been a member in continuous good standing of a national, international or local union, or of the American Labor Union, for a period of two years or more, and is in good standing at the time of nomination and election. Continuous good standing, for the purposes of this section, is defined to mean that the member shall at no time during the two years' period have been in arrears for more than three consecutive months.

Sec. 2. Local unions may certify and file certificates with the General Secretary-Treasurer as to eligibility and acceptance of members of such local unions as candidates for nomination for any general office or member of the General Executive Board.

Sec. 3. The filing of such certificates with the General Secretary-Treasurer shall begin not earlier than ninety days, and be closed not later than forty days preceding the date on which the General Convention shall convene, and certificates received subsequently thereto shall not be considered.

Sec. 4. Complete list of all members thus certified to shall be published in the American Labor Union Journal for four issues following the last date on which such certificates may be received by the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 5. Any local union may by resolution nominate one candidate for the office of General President, one for General Vice President, one for General Secretary-Treasurer and candidates for members of the General Executive Board, as provided in this Constitution, from the list thus published, forwarding such resolutions to the General Secretary-Treasurer prior to the convening of the General Convention, and such nominations shall be read by the General Secretary-Treasurer before the General Convention, and all candidates who have received three or more nominations in this manner shall be registered with other nominees made in the General Convention as regularly nominated candidates for the offices specified.

Sec. 6. All nominations made in this manner must be in the hands of the General Secretary-Treasurer in time to be read in the General Convention before final adjournment or they shall not be considered.

Sec. 7. Nominations may also be made by dele-

gates in the General Convention, but may not be made by delegates from local unions when such local unions have already made nominations for the same office by resolution. All nominations made in the General Convention require a second before being registered.

Sec. 8. Within ten days after the close of the General Convention, the General Secretary-Treasurer shall notify all eligible nominees of their nominations and all candidates shall file with the General Secretary-Treasurer within thirty days of the receipt of said notice letters of acceptance of such nominations, and in such letters shall give their views of the principles and methods of the American Labor Union.

Sec. 9. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall publish in the American Labor Union Journal a full list of nominees for all general offices with names and numbers of unions of which they are members, together with letters of acceptance, and shall forward to all unions, on or before August 5, 1905, and biennially thereafter, a sufficient quantity of official ballots showing the names, offices, location and union of all candidates properly nominated. The ballots shall be so constructed that voters can with ease designate their choice by making a cross opposite the names of those for whom they desire to vote.

Sec. 10. Elections by referendum vote of the General President, General Vice President, General Secretary-Treasurer and members of the General Executive Board, representing local unions, shall be held on September 1, 1905, and biennially thereafter.

Sec. 11. No ballot shall be used at such elections except those issued by the General Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 12. No member shall be entitled to vote at general elections who is not in good standing and so reported in the monthly report preceding the election.

Sec. 13. The President and Recording Secretary of each local union are hereby required, within forty-eight hours after closing the polls, to transmit to the General Secretary-Treasurer a statement showing the number of votes cast for each and every candidate. They shall also transmit to the General Secretary-Treasurer in the same manner the votes cast, securely sealed. These returns shall be carefully filed by said official and delivered to the Board of Canvassers.

Sec. 14. Preceding an election for general officers, the General Secretary-Treasurer shall send each member of the General Executive Board a list of unions within a radius of three hundred miles of headquarters. The members of the General Executive Board shall then vote for five unions. The five unions receiving a majority vote of the General Executive Board shall each of them elect one member of the Canvassing Board.

Sec. 15. The members elected as the Canvassing Board shall meet at headquarters at 10 o'clock on the morning of September 15th, succeeding the general election. They shall then formally and in the presence of each other open envelopes or boxes containing votes, records of results, etc., and ascertain and verify results of the election. Upon conclusion of their labors, they shall prepare a detailed report of the result of the election and sign and certify to the same. This report shall be published in the issue of the Official Journal immediately after the result is ascertained. The Canvassing Board shall place all the ballots, etc., together with a copy of its report, in a box to be closed and sealed by them, and this box shall not be opened until the next General Convention is held, when it shall be disposed of.

Sec. 16. Any member of the Canvassing Board

who shall aid or abet in falsely declaring the result of an election for general officers shall be expelled from the organization and not be permitted to a readmittance for a term of five years from the date of such expulsion, and upon readmission said person shall pay a fine of fifty dollars, and shall forever be deprived from holding any office in this union, and his name and offense shall be published in the Official Journal for three consecutive issues.

Sec. 17. With the exception of the offices of General President and General Secretary-Treasurer, those nominees receiving the highest number of votes on the first ballot shall be declared elected to the positions for which they were candidates. In the case of the above mentioned officers a majority vote shall be necessary to elect, and if, on the first ballot, no candidate for General President or General Secretary-Treasurer receives a majority of all votes cast, or if there shall have been an equal number of votes for the two highest candidates for any other office, the Canvassing Board shall direct the General Secretary-Treasurer to issue ballots containing the names of the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes (or those who may have been tied) and unions shall hold an election within forty days of such date. The election and certification of results to be in all possible respects similar to those which had obtained in conducting the initial election.

Sec. 18. Any member proven guilty of misrepresenting returns, altering, mutilating or destroying deposited ballots, or voting wrongfully or illegally, shall be punished as the local union shall determine, but in no case shall the penalty be less than a fine of ten dollars. It is further provided that for the purpose of preserving the integrity of this law, the General Executive Board, all other laws, or parts of laws, to the contrary notwithstanding, is empowered to proceed against the alleged offender, and mete out such punishment as in the opinion of the said General Executive Board is just and equitable.

Sec. 19. Any union refusing or neglecting to hold an election, as required by this law, shall be disciplined as the General Executive Board may determine.

Sec. 20. All general officers and members of the General Executive Board, outgoing and incoming, shall meet jointly on the first Monday in October, and shall duly install all general officers-elect in their respective offices, using due care to check all accounts and cash, and provide for the legal and binding transfer of all books, accounts, property and funds to the general officers-elect.

Certified to by **CLARENCE SMITH,**
General Secretary-Treasurer American Labor Union.

INDUSTRIAL UNION EPIGRAMS.

The American Labor Union is organized on industrial lines, and advocates the idea and principle that all employes engaged in any one particular industry should be under one central authority, so that in the event of a strike, all men employed in that particular industry will strike at the same time for the same purpose. In this way the strike is made more effective, as it completely paralyzes every department of the industry, and makes the strike an actual and material force. It believes that all employes working for one company, engaged in any one industry, should be managed through and by one authoritative head; that all men employed by one employer, in any one industry, be answerable to the employer through one and the same organization, and the same authoritative head. By this means all friction is eliminated; and petty, bickering, jurisdictional, quarrels are reduced to a minimum. Its strength is increased to a maximum by focusing force and uniting its entire power in a common cause. It draws together and cements the working class by recognizing and protecting their interests. It lends universal protection and uniform respect to all, and stimulates brotherhood, which develops a spirit of fraternalism among the workers.

The American Labor Union is broad enough in its scope, and far-reaching enough to embrace all the working class.

Industrial unionism lends a helping hand to all. It unites the laboring forces into one solid phalanx.

Its action is characterized by high moral purposes and accompanied by fidelity to principle. Organize industrially if you would have your requests considered or your petitions respected; and thus further your interests, enforce your rights and protect your liberties.

The laboring man must know that he can get better terms from his employer by bargaining collectively than

panies will resume operations and the incident will be he can individually. Every worker employed in any one industry ought to be organized under one central, authoritative head, so as to eliminate all possibility of friction of interests. All agreements or contracts existing between employers and unions organized on industrial lines in any industry ought to expire on the same date throughout the entire country.

Industrial unionism affords universal protection and uniform respect to every individual employed in any industry.

Industrial unionism will lessen your hours, lighten your burden, increase the returns of your labor and better your conditions. Advocate it.

Under the capitalist system you do the work, the other fellow has the leisure and the pleasure. Is this right? Do you approve of it?

Solidarity of the working people means their complete universal emancipation from this painful wage drudgery.

What is Industrial Unionism? Up-to-date organization which refuses to allow any class or calling, craft, trade or group of men to work in any branch, section or department of any institution or industry when any part or portion of the men are locked out or on strike. It is the right kind of unionism; that is all.

Capitalists design the laws and interpret them. They employ men and fleece them. The capitalist system of production does give to him who hath so that he may have in abundance. But he who hath not he takes away even that which he hath.

Capitalism recognizes the folly of competitive warfare, and have organized trusts and monopolies to eliminate waste of effort and loss of money.

DANIEL M'DONALD.

February 9th an explosion of two hundred and eighty-seven boxes of powder on the eighth level of the North Kersarge Mine, Larium, Michigan, resulted in the instantaneous death of seven men. Only two bodies have been recovered; the other five are yet under ground. The surrounding mines were compelled to close on account of the smoke from the explosion. As soon as possible the com-

forgot. There is probably a law on the statutes of Michigan (as there is in nearly all mining States) prohibiting the storage of powder underground. At least the law of common sense should be sufficient to prevent such a dangerous practice. But the convenience of the company is the first consideration; the life and limb of the underground worker is seldom regarded.

LETTERS FROM LOCAL UNIONS

SPOKANE, WASH.

Work for common labor is always scarce in Spokane in the winter, and this winter has been no exception. Spring work will soon commence, and then the busy season for the union will also commence.

Old-time union men in Spokane know the struggle this union had to unionize common labor in Spokane, secure the eight-hour day and decent, living wages. Contractors and employers fought us bitterly at every turn. But we won, and won fairly. Now, all that we gained appears to be in danger. The employers have hailed with joy the dual union of scabs recently organized by the A. F. of L. in this city, and they expect this can be used as a club to destroy all we have won for the common laborers of this city. The policy of the A. F. of L. in this city makes decent union men blush with shame. There is nothing too low, or mean, or contemptible, or scab-like, for the Gompers' henchmen to resort to, in their destructive tactics against the A. L. U. We had heard that A. F. of L. Organizer(?) Pierce had organized scabs to take the places of A. L. U. strikers in Denver, but it was unbelievable until we could see their dirty work with our own eyes. It is disgusting and revolting to every honest union man, and the A. F. of L. is being severely condemned by all sincere unionists in Spokane.

We will, of course, fight this nest of Gompers' scabs just as we have fought our other battles in the past, and if an honorable, straightforward union principle counts for anything, we will win this fight just as we have won the others.

A. G. ANDERSON,

Secretary Spokane Federal Labor Union,
No. 222, A. L. U.

MILAN, WASH.

Our local is small in membership and weak financially, but never yet have we turned down a call for assistance for our distressed brothers. We send herewith postoffice order for donation to the Hope strike fund.

GUST. E. SMITH,

Secretary Milan Union No. 311, A. L. U.

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO.

The union instructs me to write the VOICE OF LABOR regarding our trouble with the Coeur d'Alene Lumber Company, and to warn all lumbermen to stay away from this district until the trouble is settled.

The company started up its big planing mill Feb. 6th, and just hired those union men they couldn't get along without. They are running "open shop," which really means a shop closed to union men. Those union men who are working are being paid the union scale of \$2.25 a day, and the scabs get from \$1.75 to \$2 a day, with about four non-union to one union man.

All lumbermen who believe in fair wages and union principles will stay away from Coeur d'Alene for the present, as we may be forced to strike again to unionize the mill.

OWEN J. WOOD,

Secretary Kootenai Union No. 228, A. L. U.

ANGELS CAMP, CALIFORNIA.

Various causes have kept unionism more or less weakened in this camp for the last six months. There is a revival of union sentiment now, however, and some of us have made up our minds to build up the A. L. U. We will thoroughly reorganize Local No. 503 and will make it a union that you can be proud of.

I. A. RYANT,

Secretary Unity Federal Union No. 503, A. L. U.

GOLDFIELD, NEVADA.

We now have all cooks, waiters, clerks and bartenders and nearly all laborers in the union and expect soon to have every one of them wearing a union button.

Goldfield is a "hummer" now, but it is just beginning to grow. Ditto for No. 510.

PHIL E. DEMPSEY,

Secretary Goldfield Federal Union No. 510,
A. L. U.

MISSOULA, MONT.

We are happy to report a speedy ending of the strike of the employees of the Deschamp meat market of Missoula. The strike was to enforce the union schedule of hours and wages. It took us only four days to convince Mr. Deschamp of the error of his ways. The third day after declaring the market unfair and calling out his employees he appealed to the Chamber of Commerce to appoint a committee to meet our committee and settle the matter. We contended that the boycott would be removed and our men allowed to return to work if Mr. Deschamp would pay the union scale, pay \$100 fine for violating the union agreement, and reinstate all former employees. He immediately made out the necessary check, agreed to the union demands and the next morning everything was running as usual. The market must have suffered a loss in profits of at least \$50 a day during the strike.

We thank the American Labor Union for its prompt offer of financial support, although we are glad it was not needed.

A. JESSE THOMAS,

Secretary Missoula Federal Labor Union No. 43, A. L. U.

HELENA, MONT.

Mr. M. Grant Hamilton, one of Gompers' four-hundred-dollar-a-month organizers (?), and one Miller, of Butte, are working in Helena to disrupt this union and organize a local of the so-called Bartenders' International League. Brothers Rees Davis and Carl Mackey have assisted me to thwart these destroyers of unionism, and so far we have saved the union from disruption.

J. J. BACKS,

Secretary Helena Bartenders' Protective Union No. 221, A. L. U.

BUTTE, MONT.

The VOICE OF LABOR for February was well received by the members of No. 4.

At the meeting of Feb. 7th the local received a committee from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly. Good addresses were made by Brothers Cahill and Gillis.

The A. F. of L. element is constantly at work trying to disrupt our union by poisoning the members against the American Labor Union. We know, however, that the A. L. U. needs only a square deal to prove itself the best organization for us to belong to, and the honesty and fairness of the great majority of our members will always insure a square deal to everybody.

GEO. FOZARD,

Secretary Laundry Workers' Union No. 4,
A. L. U.

PARK CITY, UTAH.

We have got the Park City Labor Assembly at work again. Presidents, Vice Presidents and Secretaries of all local unions have been invited to meet with the delegates at the next meeting of the assembly, to talk over the union question, and make plans for the future. Our local union is increasing its membership.

JAS. G. WATSON,

Secretary Federal Union No. 385, A. L. U.

PARK CITY, UTAH.

Next month's report will show a better membership than this one. You see we have 18 or 20 members in good standing. We are working up gradually again. Other locals of the A. L. U. in Park City are also showing more interest and are getting more members. The loss of the carpenters' strike last year was a hard blow to all unions in Park City, but they are gradually recovering and will no doubt be stronger than ever.

HARRY VAN TASSELL,

Secretary Teamsters' Union No. 378, A. L. U.

DENVER, COLO.

Organized labor of Denver is going to protest against Peabody's contest for the governorship. There will be a big demonstration March 2. Will it do any good?

The Citizens' Alliance has had a bill introduced in the lower house of the Legis-

lature by which it hopes to destroy unionism in this State. The bill provides that all unions must be incorporated and employers shall have access to the minutes of any union at any time. The eight-hour bill will no doubt be snowed under.

At present Brother Hoelzgen is laid up with a sore finger.

Business is dull in our industry, and we have to lay off in rotation.

AUGUST BEEK,

Secretary Brewers, Malsters and Coopers' Union No. 76, A. L. U.

ROCHELLE, LA.

Brother Barnes requested me to write you and let you know how we are getting along with our union at this place.

We held a meeting Tuesday last and initiated seven candidates. We have only 28 members now (Feb. 9th), but expect to increase to 40 at the next meeting.

I just returned from a trip out to the woods, where the men are sawing logs. These men are anxious to join. We will get some farmers, too.

JOHN KIDD,

President Rochelle Union No. 540, A. L. U.

BONNER, MONT.

It seems to me that the monthly membership card system does not at present work well with the system of issuing transfer cards. I wish to create a discussion of this question in the VOICE OF LABOR, with the idea of arriving at a proper solution of the question and amending the constitution accordingly.

When a request was made by the Secretary of another union for the transfer of a member who had paid ahead on our books, I have been in the habit of sending the transfer to the Financial Secretary-Treasurer requesting it, with the amount to the member's credit, after deducting the price of cards issued in advance at 20 cents each. This seems fair enough to me, but there is much confusion among different unions. Some have accepted this plan and have taken up cards issued in advance by this union and issued cards from their own union in place, sending cards so taken up to headquarters as cash in payment for cards used. Other unions have insisted that I remit full amount of dues paid ahead, and they will return cards to us here for adjustment. The constitution gives process of transfer when a member is in arrears, but makes no provision for the transfer of members paid ahead.

It seems to me that when a member of this union makes application to the Financial Secretary-Treasurer of another union to be transferred to that union, that if he is acceptable, he should be considered a member from that date; that no transfer should be sent for until the member has been accepted. This rule could apply to all members, whether in arrears, in good standing, or paid in advance. Then transfer would be final, and no return slip would be required.

Some unions when sent a transfer with remittance, will accept same whether the member is present or not, and will consider him a member of their union, while other unions will wait until the member puts in appearance in person before they accept the transfer. If he leaves soon, the transfer is returned here for cancellation. When I issue four transfers for one man in three months without having any of them accepted I begin to wonder if this transfer business cannot be simplified.

Don't think I am a "kleker" or a crank. I simply believe the A. L. U. has reached a state of growth where these details that take so much time of local officers must be arranged so they can be done with economy of time. Most local secretaries do the union work without any compensation whatever, and even those who are paid for their services do not like to sit up with their union work every night after working all day for someone else.

S. G. CHAFFEY,

Secretary Big Blackfoot Lumbermen's Union No. 47, A. L. U.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Despite the extremely cold weather, this recently organized local is increasing its membership steadily.

Wednesday evening, Feb. 8th, two candidates were inflated and ten applications acted on. A raging snowstorm that disorganized the street car schedules, prevented a large attendance. The next meeting was better attended and the union is growing right along.

Our meeting night has been changed from Wednesday to Thursday, and place of meeting to Union Temple, 21 Washington avenue South. Visiting brothers will be cordially welcomed.

C. CANNON,
Secretary Minneapolis Federal Union No. 539, A. L. U.

MINDEN, LA.

I just got back from Bernice, where my family lives, and I found the A. L. U. had a union there, too.

Barnes has grasped the situation better than we expected, but it takes time and money to cover a big district like this.

The company here now thoroughly understand that we can't be bluffed, and is trying now to fool us. The manager started the rumor that on June 1st the company would put all its mills on the ten-hour basis, with the same pay we now get for eleven hours. They hope this will cause us to give up the union, but they are mistaken. If by simply organizing we get a reduction of hours without asking for it, then the union must be a pretty good thing to keep. Besides, there are other abuses here almost as bad as the eleven-hour day, and we need the union to help us get rid of them gradually, one at a time.

All A. L. U. unions in Louisiana will hold a district meeting at Ruston, March 5th, to form a district union. Our local at Minden will be fully represented.

THOS. E. SCANLON,

President Workingmen's Union No. 526, A. L. U.

DODSON, LA.

With a feeling of keen interest in the work that the A. L. U. has undertaken in the South, I pen you these few lines from No. 527. Our union meets regularly and is doing well, everything taken into consideration, the principal obstacle being the weather, which has been extremely bad, in fact as cold as we ever had in this section of the country.

I see you are arranging for a convention for the 5th of March. I think the union has made wonderful progress under Brother Davis and Brother Barnes. And they certainly have had lots to "butt against." While the majority of the lumbermen of the South are ignorant of unions we have some as hard and earnest workers as could be wished. These will be with you to the end. While I have never belonged to a union before, I have read much for and against unionism, knowing that there have been unions connected with all kinds of "boodle games." I am bound to believe that a union, such as the A. L. U. appeals to me, is all O. K.

The principle for which we are organizing surely is just, and in my mind if we will all be at our post the movement of

the A. L. U. will go down in the world's history as one of the blessings of mankind. Your work in life could be no more holy than organizing the poor laboring man, who is the very pillar of civilization.

Wishing you success in your work, I am with you all the way.

J. R. HAIR,
Dodson Union No. 527, A. L. U.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

At a fair and enthusiastic meeting of Bartenders and Waiters' Union No. 517, A. L. U., at their headquarters at 7th and Ann streets, the following officers were installed: President, Wm. E. Dennert; Vice President, Fred Frank; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, F. W. Labmann; Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Otto Nitsche; Guide, Geo. Bohmer; Guard, Matt. Lasswitz; Voice of Labor Correspondent, F. W. Labmann; Trustees, Andrew Lehr, John Borchard, John Femmen.

This local is pleased to note in the VOICE OF LABOR that there are other locals of bartenders and waiters in the A. L. U.

F. W. LABMANN,

Correspondent Union No. 517, A. L. U.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Our local at the last meeting voted to donate \$5 for the Hope strike fund.

We also purchased four tickets for the ball for the benefit of the striking garment workers in Chicago. These people are affiliated with the A. F. of L., but, in the opinion of the American Labor Union, all workmen in distress are our brothers, and we assist them as far as possible. May these garment workers soon see the error of their ways and unite with us to build such a compact and powerful industrial organization that we can be the masters of the jobs, instead of mere beggars for the opportunity to work for starvation wages.

Hereafter this union will charge only \$1 initiation fee, and will remit all initiation fees directly to headquarters, to be used to maintain a permanent organizer in this district, who will devote his whole time to building and strengthening the A. L. U. in St. Louis.

ALBERT BURNS,

Secretary Lasters' Union No. 470 of the United Shoe Workers, A. L. U.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

We have had the misfortune to lose a little money through the disappearance of our treasurer, Otto Koess. He was a new officer and went wrong before the union had time to protect itself through the bonding system provided in the constitution of the American Labor Union. We are a new union, but this will be a good lesson to us, and after this we will see that officers who handle money are bonded, as provided by the constitution, before they are installed.

We are by no means discouraged. The amount taken was small, and we have so many good, solid men in the union that it goes forward now better than ever, strengthened by this experience.

Brother Shurtleff, A. L. U. organizer, was with us this month, and his advice and

help was much appreciated.

GUSTAV FISCHER,
Secretary German Bartenders' Union No. 507, A. L. U.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

District Union No. 10, A. L. U. has installed the following officers for the present term: District President, James Smith, 238 East 45th street; District Vice President, Otto Gray, 243 East 38th street; District Secretary, Patrick Mullen, 61 West 11th street; District Treasurer, James Traynor, 61 West 11th street; District Guard, Thos. Colley, 337 West 19th street; District Trustees, Patrick Connelly, Chas. Ginsberg, Gustav Schwab.

Organizer Shurtleff has arrived and is bucking down to work.

P. MULLIN,

Secretary District Union No. 10, A. L. U.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At our meeting, Feb. 4th, we admitted four new members by initiation and one by transfer. Our union is growing steadily in spite of all opposition.

Our union will order 100 copies of the VOICE OF LABOR each month, in addition to those for each member, and we will pay for the extra copies out of the local treasury. We find the magazine a fine thing for educating strangers to the principles of the American Labor Union.

Another union of engineers is seeking to join the A. L. U. and will probably be amalgamated into Engineers' Union No. 308, A. L. U., and German Engineers' Union No. 334, A. L. U.

OTTO SEEGERT,
Secretary German Engineers' Union No. 334, A. L. U.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At our last meeting, the New York outlook was informally discussed. Our members want Brother Estes again, but they thought best to wait to see Organizer Shurtleff. With his assistance we hope soon to be able to prepare the way for Brother Estes. Our members are unanimous that Brother Estes is the man for New York City, and when he comes again we will plan a large reception and big meetings for him.

We made a good gain in membership during January and are increasing this month.

P. MULLIN,

Secretary Engineers' Union No. 308, A. L. U.

LYNN, MASS.

Our local is building up slowly but surely. There is a steady increase in membership since Brother Estes was here in December. Moving headquarters from Butte to Chicago has encouraged this union a great deal, as we now realize that the American Labor Union is of national importance. Organizer Shurtleff is in correspondence with us, and will probably pay us a visit soon.

JOHN M. DONOVAN,

Secretary Grain Counter Workers' Union No. 261, A. L. U.

THE HOPE STRIKE.

This has been a month of strenuous events in the Hope lumbermen's strike situation.

Angered by its failure to railroad to the penitentiary five of our brothers, the Hope Lumber Company, early in February, secured from District Judge Morgan a temporary restraining order, and applied for a permanent injunction against the American Labor Union and its officers, and against forty-nine members of Hope Labor Union, No. 328, A. L. U.

The petition for this injunction covers many, many pages of closely typewritten legal cap paper; but instead of charging the union and its members directly with acts already committed, the petition for injunction is made on the grounds that we may do unlawful acts in the future. As none of our members, or any one connected with the strike, has so far committed an act that would with the widest stretch of the imagination be construed as unlawful, it is hard to see how any judge can, with regard for law

and decency, make the restraining order a permanent injunction.

The hearing was at Rathdrum, February 18, and Judge Morgan will render decision February 24th, probably too late for mention in this issue of the Voice of Labor.

We are ably represented by ex-Judge W. E. Richardson of Spokane, and Attorney Sanders of Coeur d'Alene City. Unless the judge is particularly biased against us, and so far we have no reason to believe that he is, the injunction will undoubtedly be denied.

The American Labor Union has won the confidence and respect of every one on account of its providing means to support the strikers and their families, for promptly meeting the opposition in the courts, and for its thorough and business-like method of carrying on the strike from the first.

A. WAYNE DE VOE,

Secretary Hope Labor Union, No. 238, A. L. U.

REPORTS FROM ORGANIZERS

MONTANA.

The A. L. U. is the first of all in Havre. We are prospering to a safe, sure and sound foundation. Everybody acknowledges the A. L. U. is organized on correct lines. We will push it.

O. H. WEBBER,
Organizer Havre, Mont.

COLORADO.

After extended negotiations with the Western Packing Company, the grievances of Amalgamated Power Workers' Union No. 488 are settled. The whole contention of the union was for an eight-hour day, which is granted by the company.

The process of bringing the matter to a settlement was a clear test of the efficiency of industrial unionism. The result proves that perfect industrial organization is almost invincible, and when the average employer comes to understand the power of industrialism, strikes will be less frequent, because the employers will always seek to avoid a clash.

M. E. WHITE,
Organizer and Member General Executive Board, A. L. U.

MINNESOTA.

Little is to be said from this district except that we are working ceaselessly to up-build the A. L. U. and are meeting with success.

Minneapolis Federal is growing nicely, and other unions will be added to the A. L. U. roster from time to time as the work develops.

The A. L. U. and industrial unionism is popular in Minnesota, and the demand for literature is greater than we can supply.

LATER.—We certainly have a fine federal here, considering the short time we have been organized. It is composed of Machinists, Machinists' Helpers, Blacksmiths and Helpers, Moulders, Stationary Engineers, Firemen and others. Of course, when these different branches become sufficiently strong as to make the federal unyielding and unsatisfactory, then separate locals will be formed for each industry. In this way we will finally organize every industry of any importance in Minneapolis, and as all locals will be united directly with the American Labor Union, the various locals will all be stronger than they

could possibly be in separate internationals, as they will each of them have back of them the united strength of all industries within the A. L. U.

The membership of the federal represents the most intelligent and most experienced union men in Minneapolis.

It is amusing to see the attacks and listen to the reports that are circulated by the A. F. of L. In one report they state that we have only those who have been dropped from their own ranks. If such is the case, then a good many of their best local unions had better elect new sets of officers, for many of our members are still holding office in the locals from which they have come to us.

Our organizers are doing good work, and had it not been for the extremely cold weather of the last few weeks our membership would be close to the thousand mark by this time. But with such bright prospects we can afford to wait until the weather favors us.

We have addressed many A. F. of L. Unions and the arguments of industrial unionism are gladly received by all. I am informed that two of these unions are now making arrangements to join us. I cannot find anyone in this section who does not say that our principles are right, and that they must all come to us in time.

W. J. BRADLEY, Organizer.

MISSOURI.

Things are so adjusting themselves here that I think I will now be able to devote my whole time to the organizing work.

Nearly all the St. Louis locals have complied with the new organizing plan, by which \$1 of each initiation fee will be forwarded to the general office, for the support of the organizer for the district. This, together with the proportion of all per capita tax apportioned by the general office to the organizing work here, will provide a living for me, and I intend to devote my best efforts to build up the A. L. U. until it is a power in the city of St. Louis and the State of Missouri.

F. CLEMENS,

Organizer, No. 2847 Morgan St., St. Louis, Mo.

ARKANSAS.

I have not yet been able to organize an A. L. U. local proper, but I have instituted a local of the International Musical Union and reorganized the U. B. R. E. division at Little Rock.

Carpenters have about decided to go into the United Brotherhood of Builders.

Street-car men are also talking organization.

C. DAILEY,
Organizer Little Rock, Ark.

LOUISIANA.

Two new unions—at Rochelle and Lincon—have been organized since my report in the February VOICE OF LABOR.

It is no small job to take hold of ten local unions, recently organized, and drill them into perfectly working machines to fight the battles of the working people. I say it is no small job, and if it is accomplished at all, it must be through the earnestness and unselfish work of these poor men themselves—men whose conditions are little better than slaves, and who are coming to the A. L. U. for help and protection.

This month I have spent chiefly in clinching the work of the past—establishing the already organized locals on a working basis. The mill owners are trying their best to force us into a fight before we are ready for them, in the hope of breaking the new unions. This might have been done thirty days ago, but it is impossible now. Every local union is alert and watchful, and every one of them is stronger than a month ago.

A district convention will be held at Ruston March 5th, when we will bind these unions together in a district lumbermen's union. All locals will be represented.

The mill owners are also organizing, and it looks as if they would make a fight to perpetuate the miserable conditions, and try to crush out the last vestige of manhood and independence from the Southern lumbermen. Will they do it? We shall see. If the natives will stand for a struggle, they can win; and unless I am very much mistaken, there is still a d—n good fight left in the Louisiana lumbermen.

J. C. BARNES,
Organizer, Pollock, La.

A VIEW OF THE LABOR QUESTION.

In the class war of the near future the role of the strike is going to become more and more important; not the strike for economic betterment, but the strike used consciously as a political weapon. The ballot alone is impotent. If this is "impossible-ism," make the most of it. Capitalism is never going to fall, snowed under by ballots alone. Mind you, I do not despise the ballot. Let us use it, but let us back it up with our strongest weapon, the strike! In my view, the two weapons of the proletariat—the strike and the ballot—should be used as co-ordinate political weapons, each being the necessary auxiliary of the other. Recent events in Italy, Belgium, Colorado and Russia have demonstrated the effectiveness of the strike as a political weapon. Recent events in Russia have shown the folly of exposing our members in street riots, to be shot down by machine guns in the hands of brutal soldiery.

Now, in the event of our electing a Socialist to a really important office, the capitalist class would never allow him to take his seat till they were forced to. We cannot compel them by military force. What effective weapon could we use? The general strike. A majority large enough to elect would be strong enough to tie up a whole district or nation industrially by a general strike, and we could thus force the capitalist class to make terms.

Now it is growing more and more obvious we can never hope to use the A. F. of L. for such a purpose. The capitalist press more and more praise Gompers, Mitchell, et al., as "safe" labor leaders; and their organizations as buffers against Socialism. We must have an industrial organization for the purpose outlined.

The only question in my mind: Is your organization likely to have sufficient support from the rank and file to grow into a bona fide labor organization? Or is it another Utopian paper scheme of leaders like the S. T. and I. A.?

I believe from the names signed to your manifesto it has a chance of becoming the organization we imperatively need, and hence, if my name and endorsement are of any value, you are at liberty to use my name or this letter in any way you see fit.

My friend Lee's editorial in the current number of "The Worker," opposing the new departure, apparently from fear that it may weaken or disrupt the A. F. of L., has had an important influence in deciding me to endorse your movement.

The A. F. of L., purporting as it does to speak in the name of the working class, and continually opposing their true interests, cannot be disrupted too soon.

ROBERT C. LAMONTE,
Kansas City, Mo.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

OFFICERS.

CHAS. H. MOYER, President Denver, Colo.
 Room 3, Pioneer Building.
 J. C. WILLIAMS, Vice President Grass Valley, Cal.
 W. D. HAYWOOD, Secretary-Treasurer Denver, Colo.
 Room 3, Pioneer Building.
 JOHN H. MURPHY, Attorney... 503 Kittridge Bldg., Denver, Colo.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

M. W. MOOR McCabe, Ariz.
 L. J. SIMPKINS Wardner, Idaho
 C. E. MAHONEY Box 841, Butte, Mont.
 FRANK SCHMELZER Silverton, Colo.
 JAMES KIRWAN Terry, S. D.
 JAMES A. BAKER Slocan City, B. C.

PICK POINTS SHARPENED FOR THE VOICE OF LABOR.

BY W. D. HAYWOOD.

The spirit of discontent will proclaim the emancipation of humanity.

Politically, the President is only a few handshakes from the lowest ward heeler.

The "big stick" is a big bluff, which the people can easily whittle down to the small end of nothing.

I have never been able to detect the difference between the cream and the slum of society.

As a "chain is no stronger than its weakest link," society is no better than the most miserable habitue of the Ghetto.

The accoutrements of the soldier are relics of barbarism; the uniform of the mail carrier a beacon of civilization.

Jealous of the "dignity" of labor, some workingmen wear overalls all the time, for fear of being mistaken for capitalists.

The Civic Federation being a parasitic organization, all parasites should become members.

If the interests of capital and labor are identical, why are not the capitalist and laborer identically interested?

Give every man an opportunity to earn an honest, decent livelihood, and the hook-worm, the microbe of laziness, will soon be eradicated.

Cultivate a desire for the better things of life. There is no economic law to prevent us from enjoying the best, if we organize and enforce our demands.

W. F. M. NOTES.

The members of Mine La Motte Union No. 192, Western Federation of Miners, are locked out. The Mine La Motte Lead and Smelter Company, through their foreman, notified the employes of the mill on Saturday, January 28th, that they would have to work twelve hours or stand a cut of one-third in their wages, beginning February 1st, 1905. The union at once held a meeting and decided that they would not work twelve hours, as it was against the law of the State, and further, that they would not accept a reduction of wages, as the compensation was already too small for the labor required.

Resolutions to this effect were presented to the officers for them to consider until the first of the month, but it seems that everything was prearranged and the mines and mills were closed down without ceremony. The law of Missouri provides "That it shall be unlawful for persons or corporations engaged in the smelting, refining or reducing ores to work their employes at such employment or industry longer than eight hours in a day of twenty-four hours, and is hereby declared that eight hours shall constitute a day for all employes or laborers engaged in that kind of labor or industry aforesaid." Governor Folk will have an opportunity to enforce this measure. We trust that there will not be a repetition of the Morenci, Arizona, episode, where the employes of the smelter trust were compelled to work longer than the eight-hour day, in defiance of the Territorial laws. The corporations were backed up by Governor Brady and the Federal troops. Member of the Executive Board James Kirwan is in charge of the situation at Mine La Motte. He has brought to the attention of the Prosecuting Attorney the numerous violations of the eight-hour law in Madison County.

The coal miners of Aldridge No. 57, and Horr No. 54, Montana, have been locked out since the 18th of August, 1904. A committee from these unions recently held a conference with the manager of the property, but as yet no settlement has been effected. The company agreed to the scale for all men employed around the mines, but asked a five-cent per ton reduction for the miners. This the unions refused to accept.

The strikes in Colorado have entered into the third year and up to the present time the only place where a settlement has been effected is in Telluride. After fifteen months of the most fierce industrial war that was ever waged, the companies of Telluride were compelled to admit that it was impossible for them to operate their mines with incompetent labor. They granted the eight-hour day and a minimum wage of three dollars. The union men are rapidly resuming their old places.

The strike breakers in the Cripple Creek district have a difficult problem to solve in the Mine Operators' card system, which is the most effectual blacklist that could possibly be established. If for any reason a scab loses his job, his working card is forfeited and it is impossible for him to secure employment from any other mining company.

The corporations have thrown their tentacles around the Legislature of Colorado, which is now in session, and some of the bills that have been introduced at the instance of the Citizens' Alliance and kindred organizations, should be sufficient to throw the Civic Federation into spasms. Labor organizations are the bone of contention, and measures for compulsory arbitration; Conveying power to the Adjutant General of the State Militia; Compelling unions to submit their records at any and all times for inspection. These and similar laws will give the pure and simple trades unionists a series of "solar plexus" blows that will be difficult for them to recover from. Industrial unionism has nothing to fear. From laws enacted in favor of the employers Labor as a unit will be able to successfully thwart any legislation directed against the working class.

Department of
International Musical Union

Edited by W. SHURTLEFF, General Secretary

To the Officers and Members of the American Labor Union,
 Exerywhere—Greeting:

I desire to call your attention to the International Musical Union, and ask your assistance in organizing the unorganized musicians and bands in your community.

Our International is strictly a musical labor union, chartered by the American Labor Union, and organized on the industrial union plan, admitting to membership both vocal and instrumental musicians.

Charter costs \$5; besides this, each member pays an initiation fee of fifty cents to the International. Seven members is the smallest number that can get a charter. The per capita tax is ten cents a month, segregated as follows: American Labor Union Defense Fund, five cents; American Labor Union Administration Fund, one-third of a cent; International General Fund, four and two-thirds cents.

Blank applications for charter can be obtained at headquarters American Labor Union, Chicago, or at headquarters of the International Musical Union, 87 Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio.

Trusting that every member, and every local, of the American Labor Union, W. F. of M., U. B. R. E. and A. S. of E., will render us every possible assistance in organizing the musicians of their respective communities, I am, fraternally yours,
 W. SHURTLEFF,
 General Secretary-Treasurer International Musical Union.

In view of the fact that our International will shortly begin the nomination for election of officers for the ensuing two years, it would be well for our members to commence considering the men best qualified for the various positions, for, in the International Musical Union, our membership reigns supreme.

We have no "boss" rule. No "machine" can be built in the International Musical Union, because the plan of organization as laid out in the International Constitution and By-Laws will not allow it. Through the bitter experience of other "boss" and "machine" ruled organizations, we have learned how to avoid it.

All general officers are elected by a vote of the entire membership, and each Local Union is entitled to nominate one of their own members for each office to be filled. All rules, regulations and laws of the International Union can be altered by a vote of the whole membership, and a vote is always taken upon petition of five Local Unions. All decisions of the General Executive Council and actions of the General Conventions must be submitted to a vote of the general membership upon petition of five Local Unions. Any official or committee of the International Union can be removed from office at any time by a vote of the whole membership, and such a move is initiated upon petition of five Local Unions.

Ours is an organization wherein the rank and file, the ones who contribute every cent towards the organization's expense, have the final say in all matters of import. There is no possibility of a "boss" or a "machine" being built under such laws as govern our movement. Every member has an equal voice with every other member. In this feature we differ essentially from all other organizations of musicians ever formed.

In our organization the rank and file rule supreme; they elect the officers, who must be the servants of the membership, and can only remain in office as long as the membership so decrees—in short, this organization runs its own affairs by referendum votes, and can have no "boss" or "machine" rule.

LABOR-DAY.—It has long been a practice of the musicians in the Federation of Labor to charge Labor Unions more for their services on Labor Day than they received during any other day in the year. Our members, fearing that do not "soak" the Labor Unions on their National Holiday, would result in a howl from the F. of L. Musicians that they were cutting prices, have followed suit. I was glad in attending a meeting of Local No. 1 at Cleveland, to hear that in the future their price to Labor Unions on Labor Day would be the same as they charged capitalistic clubs and secret societies on their holidays.

In my travels a short time ago I was near Battle Creek Mich., where the non-union Grape Nuts and Postum are made. Reading that it was the only place in the United States that guaranteed freedom from strikes, lockouts and labor warfare, I started for the Michigan Eden. But at Kalamazoo I met a wage worker (non-union) who was tramping his weary way to some live city, where the workers had not forgotten their American manhood or the lesson taught them on Bunker Hill. He recommended that unless I wanted to see closed factories and a dull, despairing and poverty stricken lot of workers, I had better turn back; and I took his advice. But it struck me forcibly that his description didn't quite tally with the glowing accounts of prosperity, contentment, etc., etc., published in the big dailies by this company.

In the last issue of the VOICE OF LABOR, I note that Dan Richmond, former President of A. F. of L. Railroad Clerks, has become an organizer of the American Labor Union. I have been Dan's opponent on more than one occasion and will say that in the acquisition of Bro. Richmond the A. L. U. has secured a fearless, determined, honest and sincere worker, one whose only fault has been that he won't dodge bricks, but gets in the way just to see how hard they will strike.

The letter from Butte Laundry Workers in last month's VOICE OF LABOR brings back to me my days as organizer for the K. of L., and my membership in the Cleveland Laundry Workers. We had a good local and prospered, finally securing a laundry. Then the National Officers of the A. F. of L. Laundry Workers at once became anxious about our welfare, got in touch with some fakers in the local, and had it turned over to the F. of L. Results came swift. An eight-hour movement we had under way was killed at once, and finally, having used the F. of L. for what they wished, to get rid of the men in the local who could not be controlled or corrupted, and who would not join the F. of L., they let the local die. The laundry is now in their hands, and worth about \$10,000. To our Butte Laundry Workers, brothers and sisters, and all Laundry Workers' Locals in the A. L. U., I would say, remain steadfast; the tempters and disruptionists in the A. F. of L. have nothing to offer you but disgrace and death, but the A. L. U. will in time build for you a structure that will mean independence of all capitalistic forces, large or small.

The Labor Movement is more important to the musicians than to any other class of wage workers, for the musicians are prosperous only when the wage workers are well paid. This no musician will deny. Being so, it should be our object, both from a financial and business standpoint, as well as fraternal, to assist Labor Unions in every way possible, and always remember that to us every new union man means increase of wages and better conditions for the men from whom we receive the most of our engagements, and let us, in the great Industrial Movement with which we are united, be the vanguard.

Department of

United Brotherhood of Railway Employees

Edited by W. L. HALL, General Secretary-Treasurer

AS A MAN WHO THINKS SEES IT.

To the wage earner, political economy is a question of vital importance. Political economy to the employing class is the science of getting profits from his purchase of labor, but to the wage earner it means the opposite.

Therefore political economy should be studied from a class standpoint.

Political economy, to the plutocrat, means that force which enslaves the worker to his will. To the worker it means that force which frees him from a condition of slavery, and through a natural development into a pure democracy, subjects the industries of the world to serve the best interest of mankind.

The great trouble with the wage earner is that he does not give sufficient study to this science, and what little study he does give is to the "ready made" variety that emanates from the plutocratic institutions that are endowed by the wealth of the capitalist, and not from his class standpoint.

The individual who reads and thinks soon begins to understand. And as he understands he commences a struggle to free himself. As the light shines and reveals to him his awful condition he begins the search for the remedy. The remedy and the only remedy which presents itself is of course organization.

His first thoughts of the remedy is, of necessity, crude and limited to his immediate environment. To him the whole problem is confined not only to the shop that employs him, but to the special craft in which he is employed. Therefore his first crude awakening thoughts are to organize his close companions in the craft that his egotism tells him is the one important key to the situation, into a union. For a time the process of his intellectual development ceases. He has found the remedy. There is no necessity of his giving further thought to the problem. All has been accomplished. A little experience, however, soon informs him that in this assumption he has been mistaken. He is astonished to find as his understanding unfolds that the great problem that he had at first thought settled has only become more and more unsettled.

Many men at this stage, wearied with the labor of thinking and discouraged by their first disappointments, give up the struggle and their development ceases. They either fix themselves permanently to the institution born of their first crude idea, and become intellectually atrophied, or, as many do, immediately revert to the original type. Which, in this case, would be to a state of disorganization. However, there are others to whom obstacles and disappointments act as a spur, to reanimate them to renewed activities. Upon the shoulders of this class depends the burden of progress. Such men, on account of their failure, once more take up their studies with a deeper determination to master the problem, and as they progress to higher realms of intellectual development and as a broader horizon gradually unfolds to them they see that the "great problem" is no longer confined to their shop, nor to their craft, but broadens into a world problem.

To them the remedy still lies in organization; but in their new understanding this organization must be industrial in character. Instead of organizing the craft, we must organize the class. If all wage earners could advance, through study and thought, to this stage of development, the "great problems" would be easily settled. The difficulty lies in the intellectual atrophy of the masses.

The employing classes use their great power over the employed to encourage this state of atrophy in the working people. They fight every stage of advancement the worker seeks to make for his class. They fondle and soothe the man they recognize to be in this state of mind. They, of course, opposed his first awakening and the development of his little craft union; but now that they see the signs of a still further awakening, in the development of the broader and more forceful industrial union, they have settled down to a policy of encouraging the workers to remain asleep in their craft organizations, where they are powerless and

can do no harm. They realize that tied in this manner, lulled to a soothing sleep, it will be impossible for the working people to interfere with their nefarious plans; which the plutocrat has concocted to plunder the masses.

To assist them, in opposing the next higher step, in advance, for the working people, they have called into being the CIVIC FEDERATION. To this institution they have shackled the forces of organized labor through the capture of the misleaders of working people.

WAKE UP, BOYS. Involve yourselves in the process of thinking. That alone will save you from yourselves and the conditions that you are responsible for.

Have you not had sufficient example before you to demonstrate to yourselves not only the absolute necessity of organization, but likewise the failure of your old craft order to accomplish your purposes.

Did not the textile workers and the dye-workers of Philadelphia meet defeat because the organization, confined to weak craft lines in the A. F. of L., was not strong enough to support itself, and could get no support through those who are supposed to be their brothers in the same organization?

The great machinists' strike which was inaugurated some seven or eight months ago on the Santa Fe railway, has resulted in nothing but loss and starvation to the men engaged in it. The Santa Fe Company has continued running its trains and has transacted its other business just the same as though no strike was on. Then, again, the case of the telegraph operators on the M., K. and T. who have been on a strike for several months, which has resulted in nothing but the placing of scabs in the place of union men and the putting of union men on the "hog."

There are numerous instances of this character in recent history that is in the minds of every workingman who reads that could be referred to if necessary to prove what this letter attempts to set forth, that is, that the craft order plan, as represented by the A. F. of L. and the old organizations in the railway services, are calculated to do more harm to the cause of the laboring man, if persisted in, than good, but I will refrain from doing this for lack of space.

A man, Farley by name, who has gained a national reputation with his organized army of "strike-breakers," claims that his men are all from the ranks of organized labor; that they all believe in unions, but that they have had such severe experiences in coming in contact with "the closed union principle" of the craft orders, and that they and their families have suffered so much by reason of the weakness of the labor unions to protect them in times of trouble, that they were driven from sheer desperation to desert them. They joined Farley's army because there they could find the protection they required. If this is true, we have a spectacle of fighting men, men who have proved themselves brave (because it takes a brave man to face the dangers that naturally beset the "strike-breaker," especially the hatred and malice of the brother that he has so shamefully deserted), that circumstances seem to drive into the attitude of fighting the principles that he naturally believes to be right. Most men act from stress of necessity.

I would refer to one more thing before closing this letter that has caused me a great deal of serious thought, and perfectly illustrates the ridiculous policies which the craft unions are driven to follow. I will put it in the nature of a question and possibly some trade union advocate who professes to base his belief in trade unions on logic and reason will answer.

Why is it that men who call themselves good union men will consent to work peacefully and, as most of them believe honorably, with a "scab" "strike-breaker" in the production of some manufactured article, and when the article is completed ready for market, put the A. F. of L. UNION LABEL on it to fool and defraud the public into believing that it is strictly union-made?

If this policy is to be recognized by union men as wise and right, how is the public

to be guided in their attitude towards the label? The public will not know whether the greatest amount of the labor expended in the production of the article was "scab" labor or union labor.

There is only one remedy for all these evils, which is in true unionism. This unionism must be based on the fundamental principle that "AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL."

This is the policy of the U. B. R. E. that invites all manly men, working in the railway service, to join hands with us to fight the battles of the working people.

Yours, in equality, unity and protection.
FRED H. HOPKINS.

SOCIAL MEETINGS.

Roseberg, Ore., Feb. 2, 1905.

For the last three months we have had one social meeting a month with most gratifying results. The first meeting in the month is the regular business meeting and the second an open meeting, at which we give a luncheon and smoker. The reports from our division will show you the success of this experiment.

We intend to continue these meetings all winter and add to their attractiveness by music, vocal and instrumental. The attendance thus far averages from 60 to 85, and we expect to get five or six new members out of the next meeting.

The VOICE OF LABOR is so valuable an aid to the propaganda of industrial unionism that we are often really handicapped by not being allowed to send it to those who have fallen in arrears of dues. Some members who are staunch and true fall behind temporarily without any intention of shirking the responsibilities of membership. It seems to me that the agent ought to be allowed to use some judgment in these cases. Kindly send me a few extra copies for distribution among prospective members.

The following is the list of newly elected officers for this division:

- Manager, David Roberts.
- Superintendent, R. A. Whitaker.
- Prelate, J. Whitaker.
- Conductor, A. R. Green.
- Engineer, A. Agee.
- Outside Flagman, H. F. Snyder.
- Inside Flagman, M. W. Drollinger.
- Agent, H. Faulkner.
- Finance Committee, R. A. Whitaker, A. H. Lindsey, T. Hunter.

Let us hear from other divisions in regard to social meetings and methods of arousing and sustaining interest in the work of organization.
H. FAULKNER,
Agent.

Without Pain or Disfigurement
Cancer Cured with Oils.

Lebanon, Ore., June 19, 1904.
Dr. D. M. Bye Co., Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Doctors—I am thankful to the Good Lord that I can say your medicine has cured me of the cancer on my nose and also one on my cheek. I have followed your directions with your medicine until every appearance of a cancer is gone. The beauty about your remedy is—such little pain produced by the use of the medicine and such a small scar left when the cancer is cured. I had faith all the time I was using your medicine it would cure me. I wish all who are afflicted as I have been knew of your remedy for cancer and that they could have just such faith in its virtue. I want to say, Praise the Lord for Dr. Bye and his medicine.

F. S. DOUGHTON,
Local Minister of the M. E. Church South.

We cure all forms of cancer and tumor with soothing, balmy oils. Doctors, lawyers and ministers endorse it. Write for free book to Home Office, Dr. D. M. Bye Co., Drawer 505, Indianapolis, Ind.

CHICAGO DISTRICT.

Officers and Members of U. B. R. E.
Dear Sirs and Brothers—It affords me great pleasure to be in a position to send you, through the medium of our journal, a

message carrying with it the bright rays of hope that is shedding its lustre through the dark clouds of antagonism and opposition to the principles of industrial organization. On Feb. 1, I instituted Lake Division 110 at 230 West 63d street, Chicago. This division is very promising; its charter list is composed of 50 charter members, who had previously been affiliated with the I. A. A. of Railway Clerks.

February 20 I instituted Eureka Division 111 at 26 East Van Buren street with 32 charter members, employes of the Chicago-Great Western and Pierre Marquette railroads.

In the next issue of our journal I hope to be in a position to render our noble Brotherhood an account of my stewardship by presenting to them a new division composed of employes of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.

The switchmen of Chicago seem to have a thorough realization of the needs of industrial organization and applications are rapidly finding their way into all of our locals, a large number of the Illinois Central switchmen showing their appreciation of our efforts by coming to us in a body. In conclusion, I will state that I received a friendly call from Bro. Wm. J. Pinkerton, author of a book entitled "His Personal Record," which is an expose of the injustices practiced by the railroads through the establishment of the so-called philanthropic institutions which are embodied in the contracts of the relief departments, hospital and pension system. To which conditions he attributes the tendency of the corporations to establish the age limit and physical examinations. The work should be read by all railway employes, as it is a most convincing argument in favor of industrial organization.

I remain yours, in E., U. and P.

FRANK McCABE,
First Vice President.

Galveston, Tex., Jan. 31, 1905.

W. L. Hall, General Secretary-Treasurer,
Chicago, Ill.

My Dear Sir and Brother—Owing to bad weather during January, Division 35 has been unable to accomplish much in the way of new members, as you will notice by our report enclosed.

I think this is the first report from Galveston which has failed to show some new members.

However, we will make up for all this when the weather moderates in the spring, as every railway man in Galveston has expressed themselves in no uncertain terms that our principles must and will prevail, and also that it is their purpose to join the Brotherhood.

Watch Division 35 during the coming spring and summer.

I remain yours in E., U. and P.

A. E. SCHORP.

Needles, Cal.

Editor Voice of Labor.

Needles Division 23 has just passed through a period of reactionary depression, due to the long drawn out machinist and boiler-maker strike on the Santa Fe.

Of course the strike did not affect us directly, but the example of the Boiler-makers' and Machinists' Union being so impotent, in fighting the large and powerful Santa Fe Company, and make a good showing for unionism, was bound to react against our Brotherhood, as it did against the spirit of unionism in all parts of the country.

However, the men themselves who have passed through the fight know why they have not been successful, and just as soon as the strike is declared off (and I understand that this will be in a few days, especially with the boiler-makers) they will all come into the U. B. R. E.

They have had a splendid object lesson showing the necessity of industrial unionism.

I remain yours in E., U. and P.

A. D. MOORE.

LOS ANGELES CAL.

T. H. Herrington, formerly agent of Tucson Division 83, but now residing in Los Angeles, Cal., writes as follows regarding the situation there:

Since coming to Los Angeles, where I am employed in the S. P. shops, I have investigated and found a great deal of enthusiasm among the boys here for the U. B. R. E. and industrial unionism.

They are all waking up to the necessity of this movement, and I think the time is not far distant when every employe of the shops at this place will be members of our Brotherhood.

It is a sad thing to realize that the working people, as a mass, will give so little of their thought to proper organization until conditions have forced them through desperation to act.

Why are they not more willing and anxious to "prepare in time of peace for the warfare" that the insatiable greed of the employer will bring upon them sooner or later?

No man who is employed for wages can escape being a victim of this greed unless he organizes and even then he must see that the organization is established on the broadest possible lines of strength.

Industrial unionism is the only possible solution and the boys are beginning to see it.

ONE OF THE OLD GUARD.

Portland, Ore., Feb. 13, 1905.

To the Editor of Voice of Labor, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother—It has been a long time since the U. B. R. E. has been heard from in the great and growing State of Oregon, the State that gave birth to the industrial organization on railroads.

Some four years ago the faithful few that started this great movement on the lines of the South Pacific in Oregon little realized that it would develop as it has done. They have watched and waited and worked night and day for its advancement. Many changes have come to pass. Many new faces are seen in the various departments along the line; but the same interest is felt for the U. B. R. E. We are holding our "forts" at Roseburg, Ashland and Portland. We have all learned many good things through the organization. We have become better acquainted with our fellow workmen, working in departments other than the one in which we are employed, that we never would have known unless the Brotherhood had brought us together. We have learned something of our brothers' trouble; and by knowing it have been compelled to give him our sympathy and support. Above all we have learned to respect our organization, because we have learned the principles upon which it is founded, and in respecting it we give our best manhood for its support.

We are very proud that our Oregon divisions are number 1, 2 and 4, and hope the day is not very distant when we can say to the railway men of the country, it was the railway men of Oregon that paved the way for an organization that stands for the unity and equality of all.

The old and tried members, throughout Oregon, have many times been discouraged, but not for a single moment have they "let up." We have kept "hammering away" and to-day we have an organization that we can with justice feel proud of. And as we pass over the roads in Oregon and see the men at work in the various departments wearing the little button of the U. B. R. E. on the lapels of their coats, it encourages one to know that there is no truer union men in the world, because every one of them knows why they are union men. They are all steadily but surely sowing the seeds of industrial unionism, and have already reaped a harvest. This is evident and noticeable on all sides, in the fact that the old craft organizations, with their narrow, selfish policies, are fast disintegrating and their membership is flowing to the U. B. R. E. and the A. L. U.

The past growth of the U. B. R. E. has been slow, as it should be, to be permanent, but it is building like a solid rock, to be as lasting as the industries that gives it birth. An industrialist knows why he is an industrialist; and for this reason each member becomes an organizer on his own account. Every one of them has his say in argument, and make it a point to show the new man the great benefits to be derived. This system of education goes on previous to the man becoming a member, and when he finally gets in he fully understands its working principles and he can see for himself the "promised land." A member of this kind is worth a hundred ordinary "trades union" members, because he is not forced. He is a member from his own free will, and respects the organization a thousand times more than he would under other circumstances.

Every man that toils should either be in the A. L. U. or the U. B. R. E. Just think what the result would be were this so.

It is all a matter of education. If they could all realize, and they can only do this through a process of thinking, that the craft organization is simply a "time server" and has no high and final purpose in view, I am satisfied that they would be doomed

to clear the way for a sane and proper organization based on industrial lines.

The craft organization has grown to be a tool of the employer to-day and is used by him to divide the ranks of labor. This is evidenced in every move that is made. The official organ of the A. F. of L. recently said, "The A. F. of L. and the Civic Federation must convert Patriism, and then combine their forces to wipe out industrialism." What does this mean? What significance has this statement to the working people?

The S. P. Co. in Oregon is conducting some very extensive improvements on its lines, and there is many of our young men "going up the line" of promotion. The consolidation of the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company with the Southern Pacific has brought us in closer contact with the boys on that line, and they have already begun the work of getting in line with us in the U. B. R. E.

At this time there are many idle men in this part of the country. The great fair we are going to hold here next year has brought many men to our city, expecting to pick up money in the streets. In this, however, they have been sadly disappointed. Everybody here has to work for what they get, and I think a little harder than they have to work in other places. If we are unable to get work, and it often happens this way, we have to get out. Don't be deceived by some schemer, who might wish to sell you a ticket to this part of the country, as there are many men here looking for work and nothing for them to do, like in all other cities.

In conclusion, I would say that if any of our members from any part of the country happen to come to Portland, you will find a hand of welcome extended by a "jolly set of boys, members of Portland Division. Our headquarters are at room 211 Alisky Bldg., corner 3d and Morrison streets.

I remain yours, in E., U. and P.

C. P. CONNOR.

A SPUR TO BACKSLIDERS.

West Philadelphia, Dec., 1891.

I want to say a word to the lukewarm, indifferent, weak-kneed men who have joined and let themselves get into arrears. Some of these men were loud in speech before we derived any benefits from the union and now they are strangely silent. But the day is not far distant when they will be glad to get back into the fold of the U. B. R. E. There is a certain station in the southern part of the city where the men are kept three nights a week working overtime without any recompense.

It would be absurd for three or four brotherhood men to make a stand for workers who are not willing to do their share toward bettering their own conditions of labor. Some of the backsliders are repenting and crying for justice; but those who cry the loudest are the last to join the union. When the last trumpet blows I expect to see them trailing far off at the end of the procession and hanging onto somebody else's coat tails.

There are a few of these backsliders connected with Division 79 and I cannot understand why they neglect their duty. Perhaps it is because they are too parsimonious to part freely with the small sum required as monthly dues. But this is hardly likely to be the case. It is more probable that they do not realize the tremendous importance of industrial unionism and the necessity of every man doing his utmost to bring about a better form of society for the working class.

M.

A DRAWING CARD.

Roseburg, Ore., Feb. 5, 1905.

The prospects of Division No. 1 have never looked brighter than at the present time.

One meeting each month the division gives a social, which is proving to be a great drawing card. Everyone looks forward to these meetings with great interest and pleasure.

At the last social we had eight applications for membership, and have many others in sight.

The section foremen along the line are beginning to realize that, unless they get together, they are soon going to have a cut in wages, and when the summer comes again, I am anticipating, they will be asked to work 11 and possibly 12 hours per day to make up for the few months that we are working only 9 hours during the winter months.

Last November the company reduced the hours to 9, instead of 10, and the men

were put on a scale of 15 cents per hour. On this basis the wages are \$1.35 per day, instead of \$1.50, which they were formerly getting for 10 hours, so you see it looks reasonable that in summer the men will work 11 or 12 hours, and the foremen will have to do the same, without any extra compensation.

If we were well organized we could have something to say about this; but, as it is, each man for himself, we can do nothing. I remain as ever, yours, in E., U. and P.

H. F., Agent Division No. 1.

A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN.

Sparks, Nev., Feb. 2, 1905.

I am very glad to be able to report that the removal of the shops from Wadsworth to Sparks, which, of course, necessitated the removal of Division No. 6 to the same place, is finally completed.

The affairs of the division have been in a very unsettled condition for the past two months, but now that our members are nearly all here we will soon be settled down to business again.

Our agent, F. A. Chamberlain, is not yet here, but I am attending to all business of the division in his absence, and all communications should be addressed to me at Sparks.

No. 6 will soon be up to its old standard again, as you will see by our future reports, as we propose to make a vigorous campaign for new members.

You can also announce that we are going to try and capture the gold watch as a souvenir of our worthiness to be called union men. I remain yours, in E., U. and P.

J. H. S.

Acting Agent and Manager Div. 6.

TO ALL OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE U. B., R. E., NOTICE.

Beginning Jan. 1, 1905, I hereby offer a prize, consisting of a \$60 gold watch (21 jewel), Waltham or Elgin movement, in a solid gold hunting case, suitably engraved and inscribed, as a souvenir, and a \$15 solid gold chain, to the member who will secure the largest number of new members during the period between Jan. 1, 1905, and July 1, 1905.

This offer does not apply to commissioned organizers, or vice presidents.

There is no special qualification necessary to enter this contest. Any member in good standing, other than those excepted above, can enter for the prize.

All applications secured under this contest must be sent in to the General Secretary-Treasurer, through some agent; and on the reverse side of the application must be written, in ink, the word **CONTEST**; and below same the signature of the member who secured the application, together with that of the agent to whom application was reported.

Agents must not report applications to the credit of any member, unless cash for the full amount of the initiation fee and at least one month's dues are turned in with the application. Agents are also required to send to the General Secretary-Treasurer the full amount of the General Treasury proportion of the initiation fee, thus turned in with the application, in cash. In no case will agents be permitted to apply such cash on vice presidents' or other vouchers.

This proposition is made for the purpose of stimulating activity and interest on the part of our members, and of recognizing, by the award of a suitable and lasting souvenir, the services of any member who by his earnest zeal and activity manifests his belief in living out the principles that he openly professes by his membership in a labor union.

All those who wish to join the army of workers in the cause of the brotherhood and have their names enrolled as contestants for this splendid souvenir, should send their name and address to the General Secretary-Treasurer as soon as possible, after they have decided to do so.

W. L. HALL,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Directory==United Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS WILL PLEASE NOTIFY GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER, U. B. R. E., OF ANY CHANGES OR ERRORS IN THIS DIRECTORY

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

- D. J. BYRNE, Engineer, 8 E. 12th St., North, Portland, Ore.
- W. H. FRENCH, Conductor, Walnut Creek, Cal.
- JOHN EMMETT, Bridgeman, McMinnville, Ore.
- DANIEL R. DAVIS, Brakeman, 429 W. 21st St., Ogden, Utah.
- D. G. WILSON, Switchman, 303 Allen St., Cleburne, Tex.
- J. H. LANGE, Freight Handler, 1215 N. 52d St., West Philadelphia, Pa.
- L. K. GIGNAC, Machinist, 1520 W. 8th St., Oakland, Cal.
- HARRY G. JACKSON, Boilermaker, 613 Walnut St., Columbia, Pa.
- J. S. McDONALD, Shopman, Box 277, Dalhart, Tex.
- THOS. DE YOUNG, Carman, 1314 Bingham St., Houston, Tex.
- JOHN L. MURPHY, Trackman, 620 Ontario St. S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.

GENERAL OFFICES

Room 3, Haymarket Building, Chicago, Ill.

GENERAL OFFICERS

- GEO. ESTES, President, Room 3, Haymarket Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- FRANK McCABE, First Vice President, Room 3, Haymarket Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- CHAS. J. JONES, Second Vice President, 1114 S. Arizona St., Butte, Mont.
- W. J. BRADLEY, Third Vice President, 25 Central Av., Minneapolis, Minn.
- J. E. FITZGERALD, Fourth Vice President, General Delivery, Fort Worth, Texas.
- W. L. HALL, General Secretary-Treasurer, Room 3, Haymarket Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
- W. R. APPERSON, General Organizer for the State of Washington and Oregon, 211 Alisky Bldg., Portland, Ore.
- W. SHURTLEFF, Organizer, New York City, Care McKibbin, 209 W. 115 St.
- DAN W. RICHMOND, Chicago, Ill.

DIVISIONS

- 1. ROSEBURG, ORE.—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 7:30 p. m., Native Sons' Hall. Manager, David Roberts. Agent, H. Faulkner, Box 348.
- 2. ASHLAND, ORE.—Meets 2d and 4th Saturdays, 7:30 p. m., Pioneer Hall.

- Manager, G. C. McCormick. Agent, D. J. Byrne.
- 3. DUNSMUIR, CAL.—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 7:30 p. m., K. of P. Hall, Sacramento Av. Manager, C. D. Harper. Agent, Gus Weiss.
- 4. PORTLAND, ORE.—Meets 2d and 4th Saturdays, 8 p. m., at 217 Alisky Bldg. Manager, Joseph Emerick, 735 22d St. South. Acting Agent, W. R. Apperson, office 211 Alisky Bldg., corner 3d and Morrison Sts.; residence, 75 Park St. Telephone Main 2968.
- 5. SACRAMENTO, CAL.—Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 8 p. m., U. B. R. E. Hall, 924 6th St. Manager, W. F. Malder. Agent, L. W. Robetaille, 924 6th St.
- 6. WADSWORTH, NEV.—Meets every Thursday, 7:30 p. m., in Assembly Hall. Manager, J. H. Sullivan, Sparks, Nev.
- 8. RENO, NEV.—Meets 1st and 3d Fridays at Sanders and Oakes Hall, Plaza St., opposite freight depot. Manager, O. J. Peterson. Agent, C. P. Chamberlin, 203 Scott St.
- 9. OGDEN, UTAH—Meets every Wednesday, 8 p. m., Union Labor Hall, 364 24th St. Manager, W. C. Guernsey, 478 28th St. Agent, T. L. Wallace, 146 24th St.
- 10. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Meets 1st and 3d Mondays, 8 p. m., at Room 200, 997 Market St. Manager, H. G. Iderton, 1516 Chestnut St., Alameda, Cal. Agent, J. E. Murray, 1015 Regent St., Alameda, Cal.
- 12. OAKLAND, CAL.—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays, Magnolia Hall, 1203 1/2 7th St., corner Magnolia. Agent, S. Edson B. Abbott, 372 7th St., Oakland, Cal.
- 14. MISSOULA, MONT.—Meets 2d and 4th Saturdays, I. O. O. F. Annex. Higgins Av. Manager, John H. Nottingham. Agent, Edmond Arbuckle, 1001 Cooper St.
- 15. LIVINGSTON, MONT.—Meets 7:30 p. m., 2d and 4th Tuesdays, in Railroad Trainmen's Hall, Hefferline Bldg., Main St. Manager, T. J. Harrison. J. M. Langly, 128 N. D., Livingston.
- 20. BUTTE, MONT.—Meets 2d and 4th

- Tuesdays, 8 p. m., in Frost Hall, South Butte. Social meetings last meeting of every month. Manager, Louis Brainerd, 1042 Gaylord St.
- Agent, Chas. Schultz, 152 Cherry St.
- 21. DENVER, COLO.—Meets 8 p. m. 1st and 3d Friday nights at Room 323 Charles Bldg., 15th and Curtis Sts. Manager, A. Bohling, 1035 S. 9th St. Agent, Geo. Weber, 3535 Clear Creek Av.
- 23. NEEDLES, CAL.—Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., in K. of P. Hall. Manager, T. Kelley. Agent, A. D. Moore, Box 171.
- 24. SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at Murry's Hall, corner Burleson and Austin Sts. Manager, T. C. Ferguson. Agent, C. F. Denys, 919 N. Cherry St.
- 26. ANACONDA, MONT.—Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, Mattie Hall, corner Oak and Commercial Sts. Manager, August Nelson, Beaudry Bldg. Agent, A. A. Grorud, Room 9, Davidson Bldg.
- 27. DALHART, TEX.—Meets Wednesday, 8 p. m. Manager, J. D. Mann. Agent, L. A. Highfield, Box 33. Agent, J. S. McDonald, Box 277.
- 29. CARLIN, NEV.—Meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at Souther's Hall, North Side. Manager, J. A. Bielor.
- 31. BROWNWOOD, TEX. Manager, R. W. Melton. Agent, J. McDuff, Box 416.
- 32. CHILDRESS, TEX. Manager, G. F. Mullin. Agent, J. A. Casey.
- 33. STAPLES, MINN.—Meets 4th Saturday, 8 p. m., C. Batcher Hall. Manager, John Carlson. Agent, Joseph Raney.
- 34. NEW ORLEANS, LA. Agent, J. S. Brosmer, 239 Atlantic Av., Algiers, La.
- 35. GALVESTON, TEX.—Meets 2d and 4th Mondays, St. Patrick's Hall, corner 34th and Av. K. Manager, Jas. Reilly, 3826 Broadway. Agent, A. E. Schorp, 3319 Broadway.
- 36. LOS ANGELES, CAL. Agent, F. A. Groce, 907 E. 3d St.
- 37. LITTLE FALLS, MINN. Agent, J. O. E. Nelson.

39. FARGO, N. D.—Meets 1st and 3d Sundays, Socialist Hall, corner Broadway and 3d Av. North.

Manager, Wm. H. Froemming.
Agent, Gilbert A. Bjelde, 715 1st St. South, Moorhead, Minn.

40. SAN LUIS OBISPO, CAL.—Meets 1st and 3d Fridays, 8 p. m., in I. O. O. F. Hall.

Manager, L. C. Williams.
Agent, J. B. Carlon, Box 2.

Medical Examiner, Dr. J. J. Knowlton.
41. GAINESVILLE, TEX.
Manager, John McLaughlin.

Agent, Geo. Compton.
42. CALDWELL, KANS.
Manager, Edw. W. Hess.

Agent, E. P. Reynolds, Box 330.
46. EL PASO, TEX.—Meets every Tuesday evening, I. O. O. F. Hall, El Paso St.

Manager, E. Brown, 601 Wyoming.
Agent, C. H. Cole, 1218 Missouri St.

48. DENISON, TEX.—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., B. L. F. Hall, W. Main St.

Manager, L. Irby, 120 W. Day St.
Agent, B. M. Hrlig, 1205 W. Chestnut.

49. DEL RIO, TEX.—Meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., at Gildea's Hall, Gove st.

Agent, A. M. Gildea, Box 306.
50. BILLINGS, MONT.
Manager, J. W. Skinner, 413 32d St. South.

Agent, W. L. Nelson, General Delivery.
51. GLENDIVE, MONT.
Manager, Joseph Wester.

Agent, James Rivers.
57. FORT WORTH, TEX.—Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays, 8 p. m., in B. of L. F. Hall.

Manager, J. T. Langley, 922 E. Annie St.
Agent, A. R. Schultz, 212 E. Hattie St.

59. PACIFIC (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., West Side Turner Hall, 770 W. Chicago Av.

Manager, Wm. Peterson.
Agent, H. Moore, 401 N. California Av.

61. CLEBURNE, TEX.—Meets Fridays, 8 p. m., Mayor's office, Main St.

Agent, Wm. Watson, 301 Watson Av.
64. HOUSTON, TEX.—Meets 8 p. m., 1st 3d and 5th Tuesdays; also 10 a. m., 2d and 4th Sundays, K. of P. Hall, 5th Ward, corner Liberty and McKee Sts.

Manager, G. H. Roesing, Breuner.
Agent, O. Lorenzo, 1016 1/2 Congress Av.

67. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Meets 3d Thursday afternoon, Dental Hall, 1301 Arch St.

Manager, A. H. Williamson, 1063 S. Rosebud St.

Agent, J. J. McFall, 242 Morris St.
70. WINNIPEG, MANITOBA—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Front Hall (Forester's Hall), corner Market and Main Sts.

Manager, T. H. Clement, 170 Rupert St.
Agent, Wm. Gault, 77 Charles St.

73. TERRELL, TEX.
Manager, J. A. Morriss, Box 612.
Agent, A. R. Bullock, Box 95.

74. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, 8 p. m., Modern Woodmen's Hall, corner Two-and-a-Half St. and Cedar Av.

Manager, J. L. Murphey, 620 Ontario St., S. E.
Agent, Jas. O'Hern, 729 Lenox St., S. E.

75. GREAT FALLS, MONT.—Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., U. B. R. E. Hall, West Great Falls.

Manager, H. B. Outcalt, 505 5th St.
Agent, Geo. McCowan, 617 4th Av., S. W.

76. ENGLEWOOD (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 2d and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., Temperance Hall, 330 W. 63d St.

Manager, D. C. Wolverton, 5606 Normal Av.
Agent, Wm. Hickey, 4610 Wentworth Av.

77. COLFAX, CAL.—Meets 8 p. m., 2d and 4th Tuesdays, Odd Fellows' Hall.
Manager and Acting Agent, J. H. Kneeland.

78. STOCKTON, CAL.—Meets 1st Thursday of each month, 8 p. m., Old Native Sons' Hall, Main St.
Manager, A. S. Groves.

Agent, F. L. Williams, 1127 E. Market St.
79. WEST PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Meets every 2d Sunday, No. 4037 Lancaster Av.

Manager, Alexander McKessick, 3028 N. 60th St., W. Philadelphia.
Agent, Joseph F. Drain, 2129 Lawrence St., Philadelphia.

80. COLUMBIA, PA.—Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, 8 p. m., Odd Fellows' Hall, 2d and Locust Sts.
Manager, R. S. Dunbar, 437 Cherry St.

Agent, H. G. Jackson, 613 Walnut St.
82. TRACY, CAL.—Meets every Tuesday 8 p. m., Odd Fellows' Hall.

83. TUCSON, ARIZ.—Meets 7:30 p. m., 1st and 3d Tuesdays, I. O. O. F. Hall, Congress St.

Agent, J. A. Flood, 782 Allen St.
84. DALLAS, TEX.
Manager, B. F. Striplin.

Agent, J. A. Gilbreath.
85. ALAMOGORDO, N. M.—Meets 7:30 p. m., every Wednesday, K. of P. Hall.

Manager, J. H. Moran.
Agent, D. G. Thomas, Box 231.

Medical Examiner, Dr. J. R. Gilbert.
87. SOUTH TACOMA, WASH.—Meets 8 p. m., 1st and 3d Fridays in G. A. R. Hall, corner Union Av. and 54th St.

Manager, R. P. Herbold, General Delivery.
Agent, G. E. Hagan, Box 1214.

88. ROCKLIN, CAL.—Meets every Saturday night, 7:30 p. m., at Firemen's Hall, Rocklin, Calif.

Manager, J. F. Bowser.
Agent, M. V. Morton.

Manager, O. W. Caldwell.
Agent, W. E. Tibbets, 3117 Pine St.

90. HARRISBURG, PA.—Meets every Monday, 8 p. m., Sible & Clark Hall, 3d and Cumberland Sts.

Manager, L. H. McLaughlin, 419 Boyd Av.
Agent, Geo. J. Griffee, 614 Boas St.

92. FRESNO, CAL.—Meets every Thursday at 8 p. m., at Ostrom Hall, corner J and Tulare Sts.
Manager, F. W. Jennings, 1111 P St., Fresno, Cal.

Agent, F. S. Brack, 1521 Calaveras St.
94. ST. PAUL, MINN.—Meets on the 1st and 3d Saturdays at 8 p. m. in Central Hall, 75 W. 7th St.

Manager, M. F. Lloyd, 836 Conway St.
Agent, Chas. Gauthers, 234 Granite St.

96. DOUGLASS, ARIZ.—Meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., Workmen's Hall, 10th St.
Manager, F. E. Holmes.

Agent, J. A. Willis, Box 944.
99. BENICIA, CAL.—Meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, Masonic Hall.

Manager, A. Kueny.
Agent, R. W. Meadows, Benicia, Cal.

101. EAST GRAND FORKS, N. D.
Agent, Thomas Pender.
102. MANDAN, N. D.—Meets 1st Sundays, 8 a. m., Section House Hall.

Manager, Charles Eggert, Hebron, N. D.
Agent, Gus. Gullickson.
104. TWIN CITY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Meets every 1st and 3d Sunday, A. O. U. W. Hall, 229 Central Av., at 2:30 p. m.

Manager—B. L. Weeke, 429 Central Av.
Agent, J. H. Walter, 40 Eastman Av.

105. CROOKSTON, MINN.
Agent, Chas. Engelbritson, 211 S. Broadway, Crookston, Minn.

106. LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
Manager, W. H. Tanner.
Agent, Fred Chapin, 1213 Water St.

107. ERIE (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, 8 p. m., Lehr's Hall, 5210 Halsted St.

Manager, John Eul, 5215 5th Av.
Agent, P. J. Buckley, 5751 Halsted St.

108. KENSINGTON (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 1st and 3d Thursdays, 8 p. m., McLeod's Hall, 2875 Kensington Av.

Manager, H. W. Hobson, 342 Stephenson St., Pullman, Ill.
Agent, J. W. Anderson, 11840 Michigan Av., Chicago.

109. HAMMOND, IND.—Meets 2d and 4th Fridays, 8 p. m., Long's Hall, 243 State St.

Manager, E. A. Awbrey, 702 North Holman St.
Agent, H. P. Overton, 25 State St.

110. LAKE (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 3d Thursdays, Temperance Hall, 330 W. 63d St.
Manager, R. C. Rodgers, 4747 State St.

Agent, J. A. Thompson, 5815 Grove Av.
111. EUREKA (CHICAGO, ILL.)
Agent, Jos. Nicol, 2534 W. Harvard St.

83. TUCSON, ARIZ.—Meets 7:30 p. m., 1st and 3d Tuesdays, I. O. O. F. Hall, Congress St.

Agent, J. A. Flood, 782 Allen St.

84. DALLAS, TEX.
Manager, B. F. Striplin.

Agent, J. A. Gilbreath.

85. ALAMOGORDO, N. M.—Meets 7:30 p. m., every Wednesday, K. of P. Hall.

Manager, J. H. Moran.

Agent, D. G. Thomas, Box 231.

Medical Examiner, Dr. J. R. Gilbert.

PATRICK & CO.
Rubber Stamps
Stencils, Seals, Brands, Etc.
221 SANSOME ST., SAN FRANCISCO

YUILL & MCKENZIE
Dispensing Chemists
SOUTH TACOMA, WASH.
Where you get everything that is reliable.

ROSEBURG DIRECTORY.

JOSEPHSONS
CLOTHING, DRY GOODS, HATS
AND SHOES

We sell "Red Seal" UNION-MADE Overalls
Shirts and Corduroy Pants.

Phone 255 ROSEBURG, ORE

J. F. BARKER & CO.
ROSEBURG, OREGON
GROCERIES, CROCKERY, GLASSWARE

Agricultural Implements, Mitchell Wagons,
Champion Binders and Mowers

SACRAMENTO DIRECTORY.

Geo. H. Clark Al. P. Booth

CLARK & BOOTH
FUNERAL DIRECTORS

1017-1019 FOURTH STREET

Telephone 134 SACRAMENTO, CAL.

WESTERN HOTEL
SACRAMENTO, CAL.

FIRST CLASS IN ALL ITS APPOINTMENTS
BOARD AND ROOM \$1 TO \$2 PER DAY

MEALS 25 CENTS

FREE 'BUS TO AND FROM ALL TRAINS
WM. LAND, Proprietor

ASHLAND DIRECTORY.

PROVOST BROS.
HARDWARE DEALERS

A complete line of Hardware, Tinware and
Stoves. Plumbing done with dispatch. Your
patronage solicited. Please call and get prices.

ASHLAND, OREGON

FOR FRESH UP-TO-DATE
GROCERIES

CALL ON

HOLMES BROS.

Phone 43 ... ASHLAND

THIS IS THE ONLY GENUINE
LABEL

of the United Cloth,
Hat and Cap Mak-
ers of North Amer-
ica affiliated with
the A. F. of L.

General Office,
56-63 E. 4th St.

New York City
Beware of imita-
tions and fraudu-
lent labels.



"The Struggle for Existence"

By Walter Thomas Mills, A. M.



THIS is the most complete and readable application of the scientific discoveries of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Morgan, Marx and the other great scientific students and writers of the last century to the modern labor problem yet written.

It shows the causes of the things which are in order to show how to cause or help to cause the things which ought to be.

It outlines coming events in the economic class struggle, and it does this supported by the facts of history and the truths of science.

It can be understood by anyone who can read a newspaper. It will fasten the attention and reveal old things in new relations to the most widely read.

It is divided into Six Parts—Part I. presents the distinguishing features of both Capitalism and Socialism, and the method usually followed by Scientific Socialists in the Study and Discussion of Historical and Social Problems. Part II. deals with the Evolution of Capitalism. Part III. with the Evolution of Socialism. Part IV. with questions of Controversy between Capitalists and Socialists. Part V. with Socialism as Related to Every Possible Current Public Problem, and Part VI. with the Organization and Promotion of the Socialist Movement.

It contains forty-eight chapters, 640 pages, copious footnotes quoting 241 acknowledged authorities, complete indexing, bound in English linen with flexible back.

PRICE \$2.50.

International School of Social Economy,
1429 Masonic Temple, Chicago.

State Savings Bank

Cor. Park and Main Streets
BUTTE, MONTANA

A general banking business transacted.
Interest paid on deposits.

DIRECTORS.

John A. Creighton, Simeon V. Kemper George W. Stapelton, Anthony H. Barrett, Thomas M. Hodgens, Erasmus D. Leavitt, James O. Hodgens, Morris S. Largey.

AETNA Savings and Trust Co.

BUTTE, MONT.

CAPITAL, \$100,000.00

We have a patent system making it easier to bank by mail than to go to the bank in person. Write for Booklet.

Interest Paid on Deposits

Money to Loan on Real Estate

Eastern Office, 1222 F. St., N. W., Washington D. C.

Western Office, 50 N. Main St., Butte, Mont.

F. AUG. HEINZE.....President
A. N. CLEMENTSCashier

Your Banking

No matter how small, no matter how large, the

Daly Bank & Trust Co.

OF ANACONDA

CAPITAL, \$100 000 00

Will give it careful attention. We try, by courtesy and fairness, to meet the needs of all.

John R. ToolePresident
M. B. Greenwood.....Vice President
Louis V. BennettCashier
F. C. Norbeck.....Assistant Cashier

Export BOHEMIAN Beer

BREWED BY THE

Centennial Brewing Company

Equal in quality to such famous brands as Anheuser-Busch, or Budweiser, and sold at \$4 per case of 24 quart bottles.

Each bottle bear a label guaranteeing that nothing but the choicest imported Bohemian hops and best Wisconsin six-rowed malt is used in its manufacture, such as is used in the most select beers brewed in the renowned breweries of this country at a considerably increased cost over the ordinary bottle beers.

May be ordered at

112 HAMILTON STREET

PHONE 430

OR OF YOUR GROCER

The Miners' Magazine

A Weekly Tribune of the
Underground Workers

Official Organ of the Western Federation
of Miners

\$1.00 per Year. 50c Six Months

JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor

ROOM 3, PIONEER
BUILDING

Denver, Colorado

Buy Your GROCERIES

—OF—

E. E. ROST

AND YOUR MEATS

At THE MYRTLE MARKET
3134 WALNUT STREET
3801 Franklin St., DENVER, COLO

NEWS SUPPRESSED BY THE CAPITALIST PAPERS

WILL ALWAYS BE FOUND IN THE

APPEAL TO REASON

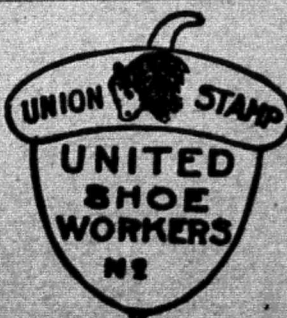
GIRARD, KANSAS

50 CENTS PER YEAR

CLUBS OF FOUR OR MORE, 25 CENTS

WHEN PURCHASING SHOES
Demand THE ACORN STAMP of the
UNITED SHOE WORKERS' UNION
Endorsed by the American Labor Union

It is a guarantee that the shoes containing same are made by Union workers under Union conditions, where wage bills prevail and custodians see that the Stamp is placed on nothing but product made by Union workers.
It represents true unionism. Demand it.



The Best Place to Get Your Garments Made

IS AT

CHAS. TYL & CO.

The Popular Tailors

772 SOUTH HALSTED ST., CHICAGO

Corner 19th Place

SAMPLES ON APPLICATION

All Garments bear the label of the American Labor Union

AMONG YOUR RESOLUTIONS RESOLVE TO BUY

UNDERHILL

UNION MADE

WORKING GARMENTS

Shirts, Pants, Overalls
and Duck Clothing

UNDERHILL

MANUFACTURING CO.

Chas. Bayly, President and Manager

DENVER, COL.

TELEPHONE, MONROE 1989

GALITZ & PABST, PRINTERS

401 NORTH HERMITAGE AVENUE, CHICAGO



Typewriters *All Makes*

New and second-hand, all in perfect condition and guaranteed for one year. Write me for price list and my easy payment plan. Every Agent should use a typewriter. I've sold over 1600 machines to Unionists and Socialists during the past four years.

Mine is the only typewriter concern in the world run according to Union principles. Every sheet of literature has the Union label.

Patronize Your Friends

O. T. ANDERSON, 409 Rialto Building, CHICAGO

References: Brother Hall and Brother Estes.