

# Voice OF Labor

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NO. 8.

# Organization EDUCATION

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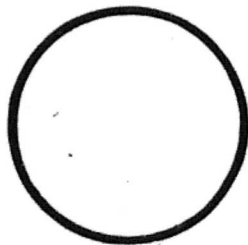
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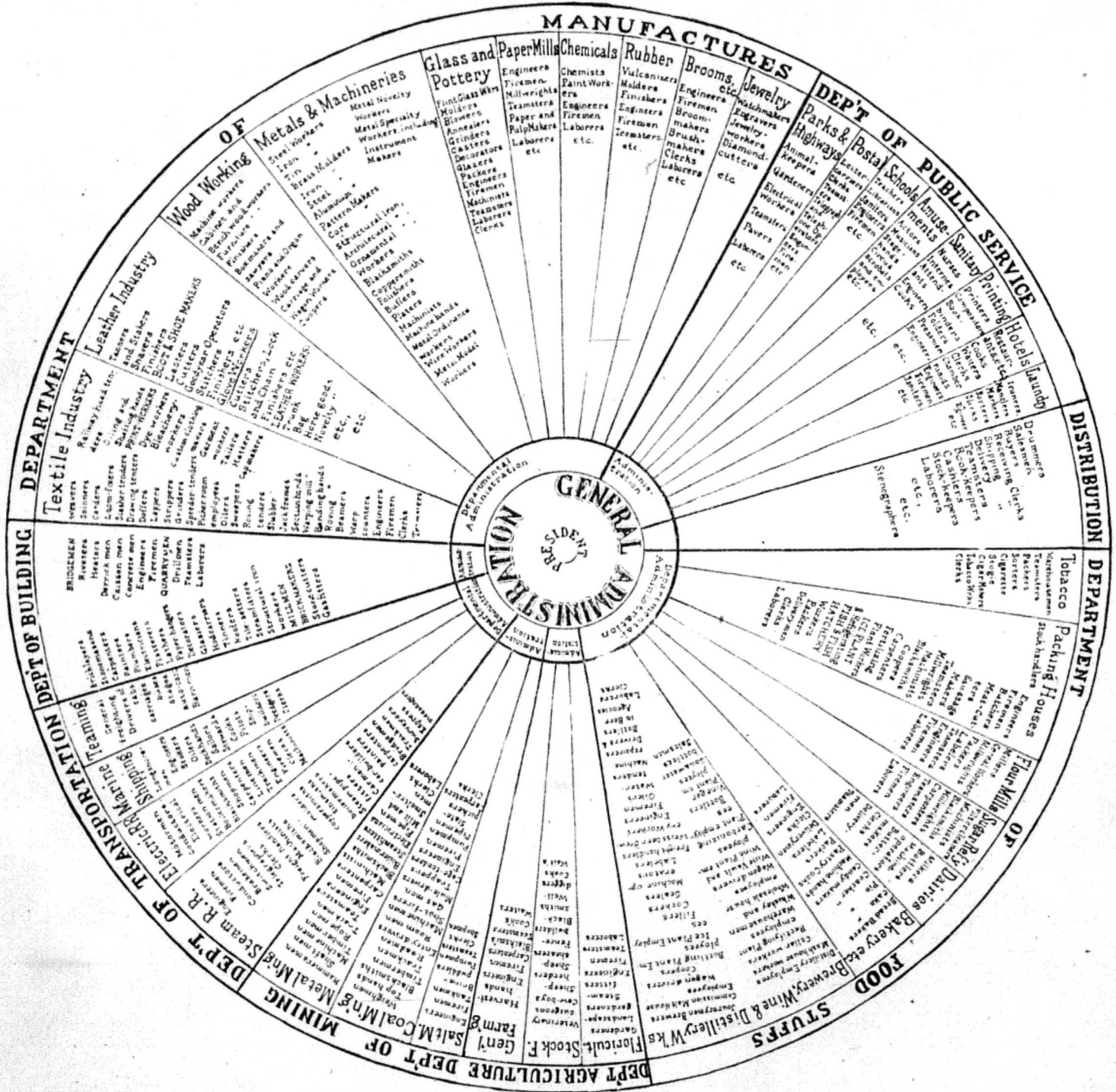
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# Industrial Organization of the Workers



A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the working people of to-day in their struggle for fewer hours, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly—It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions and bull-pens.

Study the Chart and observe how this organization will give recognition to trade and craft divisions; yet provide perfect Industrial Unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center,

from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also, how the growth and development of this organization will build up within itself the structure of an Industrial Democracy—a Workers' Co-Operative Republic—which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government, and be the agency by which the working people will operate the industries, and appropriate the products to themselves.

- One obligation for all.
- A union man once and in one industry, a union man always and in all industries.
- Universal transfers.
- Universal label.
- An open union and a closed shop.

# Voice of Labor

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NO. 8.

## Industrial Union Convention

### A Discussion

#### 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 hither 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 employer's 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, flattered 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.

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FRANK BOHN,

## THE MISSION OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

(By Frank Bohn, Organizer, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.)

When the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had completed its work, Franklin arose and pointed to a picture of the sun, which was represented as being near the horizon. "It has often been a matter of doubt to me," he said, "whether it has been rising or setting. Now I feel assured that our steps are to be guided by a rising sun."

And so American Socialists are asking themselves whether the coming convention will mark the beginning of daylight for the proletarian army which hitherto has been struggling along half in darkness. We may feel sure that the sun is rising. For no form of economic organization other than is outlined by the Chicago manifesto, will be possible shortly. Of course some small crafts, such as the locomotive engineers, may continue to serve the interests of the capitalist class, being bribed by high wages. But then, as a whole, the American Federation of Labor is to-day a broken-hearted and decrepit old jade. The cause is not far to seek. "The first of all truths is this," said Carlyle, "that a lie cannot endure forever." The pure and simple form of union, such is the American Federation of Labor, based, itself, upon the lie that it could raise the wages of the working class and permanently better its condition. And the rank and file is fully aware of the fact that those who developed this form of union and guided its destinies have lied to them. The factories and mines I have been in since last July now constitute a chain reaching from eastern Ohio to southern Arizona. Everywhere I have told the same naked truths about the American Federation of Labor and not one single man in any shop or mine has raised his voice to dispute me! "That's the way I have been thinking for eight or ten years," is a statement I hear everywhere I go. Economic development has dealt a crushing blow to the "aristocracy of labor." The work of the new Industrial Union will be constructive from the start.

But too often the workers, in expressing the desire that their class "stick together" fail to discern the ultimate purpose of their union. They are desirous of organizing into an army; but where the army is to go and what it is to do, they are often at a loss to know. And, strange to say, this ignorance is painfully evident among that large portion of the working class whose spirit of solidarity is due to Socialist agitation. Perhaps there are two or three millions of working people in the United States who have been more or less inoculated by the revolutionary virus. Conviction must take the place of mere sentiment. Political agitation and education might cause earnestness. But zeal without proper organization or skillful tactics is ineffective. The problem of organization and tactics must be solved.

How?

Through an industrial class-conscious union.

Those workingmen who "favor Socialism," but usually vote the Democratic or Republican tickets, will usually say: "We don't see how it is going to be done."

And their criticism is worthy of more of an answer

than the "Trust us" of the Socialist candidates. The student of social science has answered, and answered rightly, that we cannot foresee social forms—that prophesy is utopian and makes one's conversation ridiculous.

"But," replies the skeptic, and with good reason, "from what basis is the development to proceed. Give us more assurance than your word, that, after a Socialist victory at the polls, Socialist industrial institutions will, in reality, develop." And thereupon, the "pure and simple political Socialist," as Hagerty has very fittingly dubbed him, feels a sinking of the stomach and a withering up of the powers of thought. Perhaps he blurts out something about Marx and economic determination, whereupon the bystanders go home with a great vacant place in their minds.

The fact is that American Socialists have found themselves face to face with the necessity of formulating the very tactics of the social revolution. We have had to deal with this proposition, in the first place, because there is but one class struggle in America. Russian Socialists may very properly concern themselves with, and build up, a political party on the basis of opposition to Czarism. We have a "pure" capitalistic government as opposition. We can not escape this matter of tactics, furthermore, because we have, in the trust, a well-nigh perfect system of capitalistic production. The trust is socialistic industry in the process of development, just as the union should be Socialist industrial society in the process of development. German and French Socialists may develop a political party and struggle for old-age pensions and a restricted term of military service. For American Socialists to pursue such infantile tactics is to stultify and degrade their movement and fail, also, to develop a workingman's party. The radical Democrats can and will throw a half-loaf for every Socialist crumb and thus defend capitalism against any such paltry "Socialist" attacks.

On the other hand, the utopian character of the ultra-revolutionary pure-and-simple-political Socialist is as evident as the moral weakness of the opportunists. Opposing immediate demands as "compromise"; opposing labor unions as worthless; he sees only, far beyond the horizon mists, a gulf into which we shall plunge and find salvation.

The writer, not understanding the mission of industrial unionism, points out a half-truth regarding the tactics of the revolutionary "pure-and-simple" Socialist. Upon this half-truth, always more pernicious in argument than outright falsehood, an argument for a reform party is built up. It is an exceptionally striking case of the blind leading the blind.

The exponent of hare-brained colonization schemes has found occasion for his crude theory and practice in the fact that so many "scientific" Socialists have contented themselves by teaching the economics and history of capitalist industry. And of all the utopians the colonizer is the most reasonable in his deductions. He perceives at least the futility of developing a Socialist industrial commonwealth out of the capitalist political state. For at present the capitalist political state is merely the weapon of oppression and cannot be made over into the tool of industry.

All "pure-and-simple" political Socialists, whether they favor "immediate demands" or "revolution," are impossibilists: Swords may have been beaten into plough-shares and spears into pruning-hooks; but if anyone knows of some good use to which riot-guns and search-warrants and bomb-shells may be put, let him speak up?

Think of it! Take the American township, for instance. It was created by the Puritan settlers of New England, who adapted a very old English rural institution to the needs of the primitive form of social life which economic conditions forced upon them. It is still a good plan—for the organization of farmers "up in the woods" who desire to elect a constable and mend their roads. To conceive of it as a means of securing "immediate demands" under present industrial conditions is about as sane as to advocate the harvesting of the nation's wheat crop with sickles.

The county, as a form of local government, developed

in Virginia and the far South, because great plantations worked by slave labor made a larger unit of local government than the township a necessity. The county as a means of local government has never obtained in New England, nor the township in the South. When the West was settled, by people from both sections, they compromised and kept both forms, for no better reason than that it was better to do so than to quarrel about it.

Coming to the matter of municipal government, we find that the limit of idiocy is reached by those Socialists who speak of their particular creed as "Municipal Socialism." Edinburgh is usually pointed out as a shining example. But even such cheapening of the slaves' laboring power is made possible by "Municipal Socialism" is impossible in America unless the State government also is captured. As every grade pupil now knows, the powers of municipal governments in the United States is wholly dependent upon the State Legislatures, or worse, still, upon constitutional provisions. When "Golden Rule" Jones was mayor of Toledo, Ohio, his office was stripped of almost every vestige of power. Not long ago Pittsburg elected a Democratic mayor; thereupon a self-government for that city was annulled by placing it directly under the control of the Republican State administration.

Now, what of the State?

This entity is a descendant of the primitive American colony. And the colony was a grant of land by the King to an individual or corporation whose property it ordinarily became when a certain number of people had been settled thereon to furnish raw materials for English manufacture and to take her surplus products. Local pride and mutual jealousy arising from conflicting economic interests kept the States alive as political organizations after they became independent from England. In the West the institution of State government was handed down from above, and the people received it because, under the national constitution no other form of self-government was possible. And now some well-meaning people in Kansas calling themselves "Socialists," getting their ideas, no doubt, from Bryan's thought factory, desire State ownership of electric car lines, coal mines and oil refineries. "The present legislation providing for a State refinery is a step toward Socialism," said a prominent "Socialist" of Wichita to me not long ago. "But suppose I'm out of a job," I insisted, "and went to Rockefeller's refinery. He would give me a couple of hours free between work and sleep. But your "Socialist" institution, before it would employ me, would insist that I commit some crime and do my work behind bars! None out criminals are to be employed."

"We shall get cheap oil," he replied.

Cheap oil may satisfy some—but I am looking for liberty.

As though the industries of this country, organically developed through trastification, could be dismembered in that fashion! The butchers, with meat-cleavers, will probably go on and cut their silk, thinking to make themselves garments. Of course they will do little harm, because the wheels of progress simply cannot be turned backward.

Finally, the American nation, as its political life finds expression in the national constitution! What of it as a means for the attainment of the workers' republic? "Get that," the half-baked "Socialist" is shouting, "then we shall have them!" How they warm up when they speak of raising the "grand old Stars and Stripes" and going after the hateful trusts armed with the full powers of the constitution! Capitalist "patriotism" is certainly a dirty mess which the average Chauvinistic "Socialist" once having swallowed it, has a hard time to get off his stomach.

"The United States constitution," as Von Holst very truthfully puts it, "was wrung from the American people by dire necessity." It was neither a gift from God nor a "production of an assembly of demi-gods," as Jefferson would have it. The spirit of a capitalistic conservatism dominated the convention. Important issues were compromised. These two facts caused, for instance, the birth of such an abortion as the Senate. The form of government established was workable so long as an abundance

of free land permitted slaveocracy and capitalism to grow side by side with a free rural democracy, government being easy. When the end of the free land was in sight the sections went to war over what remained of it, in spite of their constitution. At present writing this constitution serves the interests of the dominant class just as well and no better than the English constitution with its king and decadent house of lords. Each is a pile of old scrap, from which, whenever needed, a piece of lead pipe may be gotten with which to beat in the brains of the workers.

And this junk-heap, covering up township, city, county and State, is to be the means for the development of the Socialist republic! Heaven (or any other old thing) save us from the perfect blunderbusses which are abroad in the land!

Let us get control of that pile of scrap and all reach for a long piece of lead-pipe. Then, after we have put the enemies of the working class and of civilization to flight, let us throw our weapons away.

Once having served the immediate purposes of the social revolution, the only thing which the working class can do with the capitalist state is to forget about it. Our stacks of law books and other documents will fit nicely into the cells of the penitentiary and the whole remainder of class rule may be turned over to the antiquarians.

And then the industrial union in which the working class has been carefully training itself to govern industrial society, will be the government. Having thrown off the shackles of the capitalist political state, it will stand erect as the Social republic.

The trust is organized industry. The union should be and shall become organized human society.

Of course we are fully aware of the fact that, as industrial unionists, we are offering a bitter pill to every self-appointed Moses and Mirabeau of the social revolution. And, indeed, we are a most heartless and unthankful set. Those who have so willingly offered themselves as martyr leaders are told that the workers, themselves, with dirty hands, propose to begin, at once, the development of the institutions of the future. Vision of terrors! All those who desire to take any effective part in what is to be, probably, the most important phase of the social movement, must go to work!

The industrial union will fight the fight of to-day. Instead of preaching twaddle about six street car tickets for a quarter, it will make "immediate demands" directly from the capitalists, in shop and mine. If anything is gotten in that way it will be gotten for the workers and not "the public."

The industrial union will train the workers for self-government. The capitalist class was four hundred years learning how to govern without a king. If anyone tells the working class that it can govern industrial society without learning how, he is either a liar or an ignoramus. To-day the workers will make as much from the shop and mine as they can force from the capitalist class.

The new union will be the army of the working class. Having voted in accordance with its class interests, if its votes are not counted, it will shoot straight. Drilled to govern industry, it will likewise be drilled to prevent the government of itself against its will.

The new union will be the developing form of the government to be—reason indeed why the June convention should meet with a proper sense of its history-making character.

Tucson, Arizona.

By ALBERT RYAN, in *Miners' Magazine*.

The decision to publish in the Magazine the Chicago manifesto until the convention for which it calls takes place is one which should meet with the approval of every member of our organization, and should be read as often as it appears, as the subject is a vital one and the reasons for the formation of a new industrial organization, as set forth in the call, are worthy of a discussion in the Maga-

zine, to which every one who has the welfare of organized labor at heart should contribute. Better yet, every local would do well to make this matter a subject for discussion at their meetings, that the collective sense of the members may be secured and be embodied in resolutions which will doubtless be presented at the coming annual convention, and which will tend to influence the action of that body.

The discussions provoked by the consideration of this topic will naturally have an educational value not to be overlooked, and it will be a desirable change from the monotony which characterizes many of our meetings, will lend them an additional interest and tend to promote economic knowledge.

It is high time that steps be taken to bring before the organized workers some plan of organization that will hold out to them a reasonable assurance of improvement in their economic condition, and the reasons as stated in the manifesto are both an indictment of the present system and an arraignment of the present senseless class and craft divisions of the workers that the advocates of the latter form of unionism will rather avoid than attempt to refute.

The fear has been expressed in some quarters that this proposed plan of organization, if carried into effect, will tend to cause further divisions in our ranks, but such alarms are groundless, as we can be hardly more divided than we find ourselves, as witness unions scabbing on unions in the Santa Fe strike, union coal miners in Iowa digging coal under contract, and thus aiding the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company to defeat their striking brothers in southern Colorado; union painters working with scabs on buildings in New York City, where the plasterers are on strike, as well as the many splits due to questions of jurisdiction, etc. The history of our present style of craft unionism is full of similar instances, which prove the weakness of the system.

The trade union movement is simply a phase of the class-struggle, and its members join it, not through any overpowering love for each other, but through their consciousness of the fact that it is only by collective effort on their part that they can protect themselves in some measure against the rapacity of the masters of the bread. Under the old form of wealth production they were partly successful and the tactics and policy of the guilds sufficed. But times have changed. Where formerly the workers and masters were confined to each trade, to-day all such distinctions are obliterated. A few masters now control absolutely every line of effort and the workers engaged in them. The masters, ever alive to their own interests, have changed their form of organization to adapt itself to the new conditions, while the workers have stood still, content to rely on antiquated and obsolete weapons. The capitalist class have subordinated everything else to their common interest—the plundering of the workers.

The history of organized labor, particularly in the past decade, is full of instances which go to show the inefficiency of the present craft form of organization, to which is directly attributable the many failures which they have experienced. They have not even succeeded in holding their own. It can be satisfactorily demonstrated that the share which the worker receives of the product of his labor becomes less every year, regardless of his increased efficiency as a producer of wealth.

On May 27, 1902, President Boyce read his address to the annual convention then in session in Denver, in which he reviewed the history of our organization as a trade union. Several portions of it are well worthy of reproduction in the Magazine, that the facts which he then stated may be made known afresh to all the membership. What he then said, and the recommendations which he made, are particularly applicable at this time. Since his message was read many things that have transpired in labor circles have tended to prove that his forecast was true in the main.

While reasonable allowance should be made for mutual differences of opinion as to details, there are but few who will not agree with us that we should be organized on the economic field along industrial lines, and that if the present



form of organization is ineffectual on account of craft divisions, then let us take steps to change it.

Craft organization among the organized workers has nullified every effort on their part for better economic conditions, and the only ones who have profited by this form of unionism are the capitalist class and the labor misleaders, who have risen to affluence and a berth at the political pie counter as a reward for the betrayal of their followers.

There is, unfortunately, a tendency in some quarters to criticise the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor, which should be avoided, not as a matter of policy, but simply because they do not deserve it. They, like us, are creatures of environment and circumstances, and it is their misfortune to have a form of organization within which has been created a machine composed of a few misleaders who have used the power and influence of the entire organization for their own aggrandizement, and have so centralized that power within their hands that they have been able to render abortive any effort of the progressive members to rid the organization of them or their policy.

That part of the manifesto which says, "It (the industrial union) should be established as the economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party," has given rise to the apprehension that the necessity for independent working class political action would be ignored. A careful study of the manifesto, and taking the entire context, together with that particular portion which says, "Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement," will show that such was not the intent of those who signed the document, because, to organize industrially and to ignore the political issue, would be equivalent to ignoring the class-struggle, on which the manifesto specifically states the organization shall be founded.

The educational experiences which the members of the new unionism are sure to undergo in their future conflicts with the capitalist class on the economic field will tend to bring to them the conviction that an independent ballot is their only salvation, and that this ballot must be cast for the overthrow of capitalism. This conviction must come from the bottom and permeate the mass before we can have any tangible results. As proof, I mention the fact that at the last three conventions of the Western Federation of Miners we passed resolutions declaring emphatically for independent political action, which caused a little excitement, but what was the actual result? Those resolutions did not affect the membership, who voted as they did before.

Just as soon as each worker learns where his political interests lay he will naturally ally himself with the political party of his class, and thus in course of time affiliation will come through a gradual absorption. The rate of absorption will depend on increase of economic knowledge and the severity of oppression by the capitalist class.

A national industrial organization, composed of all the workers as a class, and striking as a unit, if necessary, will teach them the advantages of collective action. It will accentuate the class-struggle and develop the class-conscious sense which is necessary before the worker can strike where he is most effective. It will develop his power of resistance and make him self-reliant.

Capitalist society contains within itself the germ of its own destruction, which it is rapidly hastening. It is eliminating waste in production and distribution, and is concentrating all the industries, as well as perfecting the details of their management, and thus preparing them for the new order of society, when the workers will take them over for themselves. A distinct advantage of the industrial union will be that while the workers will be together as a class, there will still be separate the proper economic groups which will be necessary for the collective operation and management of the industries when the change takes place from private to collective ownership.

Without a well-balanced education, both political and economic, a revolution of the present system would be disastrous. It would find us as unprepared as the workers of

Paris in June, 1848, of which occasion one of the leaders said, "The time of surprise, of carrying through a revolution, by a small minority at the head of ignorant masses, is past. For a complete overthrow of the social organization the masses themselves must be concerned, they must understand what they do, why they take part."

(From Max Stern, Member Socialist Labor Party and Hungarian Socialist Federation.)

Schenectady, N. Y., April 3.—Many objections are raised against the clause in the Chicago Manifesto which declares: "The organization should not be affiliated with a political party." To the objectors, this seems to be a contradiction to that part of the document, which declares, that the organization of labor should be based upon the class struggle, and its aim should be the co-operative commonwealth.

Now, I ask the objectors whether it is absolutely necessary that a revolutionary movement, which the coming organization promises to be, must be affiliated with a political party? What are political parties? Are they not institutions of the capitalist system, which that very revolutionary movement seeks to overthrow? A political party can accomplish its aims only if it rolls up enough votes at the ballot box.

Now, the ballot box being a capitalist institution, the ruling class, the capitalist class, can make a political party ineffective, especially such as goes against the very life of that class.

The capitalist class, having the political and economic power in its hands, could disfranchise the workers, when they become revolutionary, by means of the existing laws. They could force the workmen to leave their residences, and be disfranchised, by moving their industrial establishments from one place to the other. It is not even necessary to move their plants. An industrial corporation like the United States Steel Company, the American Locomotive Company, the General Electric Company and many others, having plants in different parts of the country, all they would have to do is move their men. Or they could a few months before election day close their factories, and the workmen, on the average, being thirty days from the poorhouse, would have to apply for public charity, which fact would reduce them to paupers, and paupers have no votes in many States. They could prevent foreigners, whom they think are revolutionary, from becoming naturalized citizens. Or they could prevent a revolutionary party altogether from coming on the official ballot. Witness the late decision of the courts in Chicago, and other places. How do we stand in the State of New York now? We could come on the official ballot only by the grace of capitalist politicians. I, for one, would object to coming on the official ballot if we must stoop down to crooked capitalist politicians and ask them for favors.

It is true that the action at the ballot box would be a legal action, but a revolutionary movement could not tie itself down to the "legal" path that the ruling class prescribes; if it does, it's bound to be shipwrecked. Witness the "legal" action of the Hungarian Revolutionists in the Revolution of 1848 (see *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany*, by Karl Marx), or the "legal" demonstration of the Mountani against the illegal action of the ruling class in France after the July Revolution in 1848 (see "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" by Karl Marx) or the "honest" attitude of the Communists towards the Bank of France (see "History of the Paris Commune" by Lissagaray). A revolutionary movement must make its own laws and institutions without regard to the laws created by the ruling class.

The economic and political superstructure of the revolutionary Socialist movement is the industrial union, and when the working class, the only useful and potent factor in society, thoroughly organized in the industrial union, will in the Industrial Assembly declare for the Socialist republic, what need we care, whether the useless, impotent, parasitical capitalist class recognizes this action or not? Did the "Third Estate," the then useful and potent factor in society, care whether the useless, impotent and parasiti-

cal feudal class recognized its action in the National Assembly during the French Revolution?

By reading history and studying S. L. P. literature and closely observing the political movements, I came to the conclusion that hoping to carry through the Social Revolution at the capitalist ballot box is a snare and a delusion. My conclusions might be wrong. If they are, comrades will be found to set me right. If they are right I hope comrades will be found to improve on my arguments, and when the June convention will come there would be no objections to that "no political party" affiliation clause. I should move that not only the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, but the Socialist Labor party also, not as a political party, but as a revolutionary working class movement, should send delegates to the convention.—Daily People.

By EUGENE ROONEY, Milwaukee, Wis.

We find that labor, at present, is organized into a hundred or more so-called internationals, each of whom are usually intent only on their selfish trade interests. For the amount of sacrifice and devotion which the present system of organization calls for it is woefully inefficient. We have no real federation of labor. It is but an empty name. We see this whenever the workers engage in a struggle for better conditions. Let the workers in all the departments of any given industry go on what may be called an industrial strike, and you will see something like this occur. The various general officers quickly arrive, and right away make a Mrs. Chadwick agreement, looking out only for their particular organization, and ignoring effect on the general strike situation. This is what has happened in every big strike for a long time back. Labor has been getting it in the neck these many years. It has suffered an unbroken series of defeats from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The unvarying defeats are causing many a man, who otherwise would be among our best fighters, to lose heart and despair. Many of the working class have come to the conclusion that the day of the small strike is gone. This opinion which they hold accounts for the indifference and apathy so many display in union matters. It is about time for us to take stock and see what is the trouble. Let us see. The American Federation of Labor is a back number. It is no longer up to date. It no longer meets existing industrial conditions. Industry is now carried on by great industrial concerns, which often have in their employ workers of a hundred different trades. To this condition of affairs the Federation offers no real unity of the working class, and what is worse, it actually splits the workers up into as many camps as there are internationals. It is no real Federation at all. Its very name serves to deceive the workers that it is a Federation. President Gompers and his executive board have very little power. It is but a loose aggregation of international organizations, who do about as they please. At present we find that for the most part only those who follow some occupation steadily, or those who possess some degree of skill, are organized. No concern is felt for the untold thousands of tradeless workers who are found in our manufactories. For the man who works but a short time at a job, and is constantly changing to other lines, there is no place for him in the Federation. It is clear that as industry is carried on to-day we certainly need the tradeless man in the ranks of organized labor to help us win. The financial assistance the Federation offers to strikers is almost nothing, because it has but a trifling income. The efforts of President Gompers and his executive board do not seem to be put forth to make strikes more successful, but really seem to be altogether directed to settling strikes, and oftentimes resulting disastrously to labor.

I feel that organized labor must take a new tack. It must espouse the victorious principles of the American Labor Union if it hopes to meet the conditions of to-day. Its principles, in a few words, means the organization of the workers as a class; a proper recognition of trades lines; the supreme authority to lie in collective membership, and to be expressed through the referendum vote; when the collective membership decide on a course of action there is

to be a direct execution of the plan, without begging and pleading with each international; a central defense fund, and no strikes or other movements to be entered into without the most thorough preparation for the contest.

The principles of the American Labor Union exactly meet the industrial conditions of to-day, and may be designated as industrial unionism.

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

No sooner had the Chicago conference of industrial unionists issued its manifesto for the purpose of effecting an adjustment of the American labor movement to the changed industrial conditions, than efforts were made on various sides to create a prejudice against the new movement. On one side, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance began to proclaim the alleged fact that the new organization was to be an endorsement of their tactics. On the other hand, some Socialist Party editors tooted into the same horn with the De Leonist organizations and sought to prejudice the organized workers by the cry that the new organization would be nothing but a revival of the S. T. and L. A. And finally, the reactionary labor press, such as the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, edited by Samuel Gompers, reiterated the oft-repeated slander that this new organization was another attempt of the Socialists to disrupt the American labor movement.

It is, therefore, time to meet these insinuations by a statement of the actual facts.

First, let us examine the claims of the De Leonist organizations. A reply to them is at the same time a reply to all the other would-be critics of the new movement.

The origin and history of the S. T. and L. A. are intimately connected with D. A. 49 of the Knights of Labor. At the time immediately preceding the formation of the S. T. and L. A., in 1894, the following men were the active spirits of the D. A. 49: W. L. Brower, District Master Workman; Patrick Murphy, Secretary; Daniel De Leon, editor of the "People," national organ of the S. L. P.; Hugo Vogt, editor of "Vorwaerts," official German organ of the S. L. P. Associated with them was Lucien Sanial, a literary contributor to the S. L. P. press and a member of the Central Labor Federation of New York.

All these men played a prominent role in both the S. L. P. and the subsequent S. T. and L. A., some for a longer, some for a shorter time. And since both of these organizations have always exhibited the influence of a few individuals, it will be worth while to say a few words about their personalities, before we deal with their historical activity.

The diplomatic leader among these men, and the most far-seeing in matters of historical development, was Hugo Vogt, a German Socialist. It was he who was familiar with the European Socialist movement, with its principles and history. It was he who had become familiar with labor organization through the German trade union movement. It was he who made the plans for these men in critical times. And it was largely due to his knowledge that De Leon became familiar with the history and principles of Socialism. Vogt had been national secretary of the S. L. P. from 1883 to 1885.

De Leon, born of Latin parents in a South American republic and brought up in a Jesuitic atmosphere, was a lecturer in Columbia College, New York, before he became editor of the "People." The step from the college to the editorship of a Socialist paper did not involve any financial sacrifice for De Leon, nor did it involve any sacrifice of social position. His subsequent acceptance of the Socialist principles and philosophy was but a logical evolution out of the Henry George labor movement. Endowed with a strong intellect and a turn for study, De Leon became a close Marxian student, and is without doubt one of the few Socialists now living in the United States who have a thorough grasp of Marxian economics. But he has inherited the fatal Latin quality for intrigue, and this, coupled to the influence of his early Jesuitic training, gave him an irresistible instinct for ruling and a fanatical dis-

regard for fairness and honest methods in trying to accomplish his ends.

Lucien Sanial, a French Socialist, was no doubt the economist among these men. He and Vogt were the scientific Socialists among them, and most of the scientific work in the S. L. P. is due to them.

Patrick Murphy was the fighter in this group, and he, together with W. L. Brower, did most of the rough work required in the carrying out of Vogt's plans.

It is almost impossible to correctly appreciate the personal motives of men without a knowledge of their natures, based on long personal association with them. I shall, therefore, leave aside all personal insinuations. Nor shall I cast any reflections upon the sincerity of any of these men. No matter how disreputable and dishonest some of their actions may appear to others, we have but to understand that these men were firmly convinced of the correctness of their position. If this premise is granted, then the fanatical nature and early training of a man like De Leon are sufficient to justify any act on the ground that the end sanctifies the means.

D. A. 49, K. of L., was at that time in the control of the Socialists by the narrowest margin. And the Socialists in the K. of L. held the balance of power and were strong enough to call the re-election of Sovereign to the presidency of the K. of L. into question. Just at that time there was considerable dissatisfaction in the K. of L., and a strong opposition against Sovereign made itself felt. It was, therefore, necessary for Sovereign to placate the Socialists, and since the prominent men of D. A. 49 were the leaders of the opposition, negotiations were entered into between them and the officers of the General Executive Board of the K. of L. at the New Orleans convention, in 1894. The Socialists finally agreed to support Sovereign for the presidency of the K. of L., provided Sovereign would use his influence to swing the editorship of the Journal of the K. of L. to the side of the Socialists, who had selected Sanial for this position. Sovereign agreed to this.

But as soon as he had been re-elected, he suddenly forgot all about his agreement and refused to consider the matter of the editorship of the Journal of the K. of L. for Sanial. The Socialists never forgave Sovereign for his treachery, and used all their influence to turn the rank and file against him.

Another cause for general dissatisfaction with the officers of the K. of L. was the collusion of the men in control of the Journal of the K. of L. in a project of some capitalist politicians to graft on a scheme for a municipal gas plant in Baltimore. The columns of the paper were used to back up this scheme, and all the evidence pointed to the probability that the men in control of the paper were to be personally rewarded for the success of the steal. This added force to the opposition of the Socialists.

General Assembly 1895 was to be held at Washington, D. C. It was a foregone conclusion that Sovereign's position would be in jeopardy, if the Socialists could rally the opposition against him, and especially if D. A. 49 sent its full quota of delegates. Something had to be done to meet this danger. And Sovereign was equal to the occasion. He had the constitutional power to suspend or expel any local. All he needed was a convenient pretext for the suspension of Local 1563, to which the leaders of the S. L. P. belonged. This pretext was given through some trouble in the New York organization, which led to the adoption, on the part of Local 1563, of a resolution turning its point against Sovereign. Without going into further details, it is sufficient to say that Sovereign promptly suspended this local, in the hope of keeping De Leon out of the Washington convention. Nevertheless, D. A. 49 elected De Leon, Patrick Murphy and W. L. Brower as delegates. A furious fight ensued at the convention over the question of seating De Leon. The main fighter was Patrick Murphy. He was supported by Arthur Keep, representing the tailors of the District of Columbia. For three days they fought over this question, until twenty-three of the forty-six delegates voted in favor

of seating De Leon. Nevertheless, the Socialists were unable to unseat Sovereign from the presidency.

On December 6, 1905, the delegates of D. A. 49 reported the result of the convention to their membership. In the meantime, Vogt had prepared the cradle in which the new organization was to see the light of day. He was instrumental at this meeting in launching a discussion of the question of secession from the K. of L. He had prepared a resolution declaring that the Socialists would sever all connection with the K. of L. This resolution was carried, against the protests of Sovereign, and the meeting broke up in a riot.

Vogt now came forward with his plan for a new labor organization, which was to be a united political and economic movement, under the leadership of the S. L. P. On December 20, 1895, the S. T. and L. A. was launched in Cooper Union, New York. The prominent speakers were De Leon, Sanial and J. F. Tobin. This is the historical genesis of the S. T. and L. A. It was endorsed by the S. L. P. on July 4, 1896, and from the report of the proceedings of this convention it appears that the main speech on this question was made by Vogt.

So far as the economic side of the organization was concerned, it was but a duodecimo edition of the K. of L. The same District alliances, with the same intellectuals as leaders. The same local craft organizations and the same mixed locals, the same centralized autocracy at headquarters, with the same powers and willingness to suspend and expel any opposition. In all other respects, the S. T. and L. A. was a deteriorated edition of the K. of L., and if this organization was unable to withstand the influence of the historical environment of that year and of subsequent ones, the S. T. and L. A. was still less equipped to take up the struggle for existence. Even without all its shortcomings, it would still have been born prematurely and with the germs of early death in its veins.

Not enough with all the weaknesses just mentioned, the S. T. and L. A. added still another, and the most fatal of all, to them. This was the political feature of the organization. Affiliation with a truly American Socialist party would still have been a mistake. But when political affiliation meant affiliation with the S. L. P.—that is to say, with a party which has never been able to shed its foreign character, vocabulary and mannerisms—there was no possibility of gaining ground among American-born workers. Thus the S. L. P. vaccinated the S. T. and L. A. with its most fatal poison.

But this is precisely the point of which the apostles of De Leonism are proudest. For them, the closest affiliation between the S. L. P. and the S. T. and L. A. appears as the most glorious consummation of revolutionary socialist science. They point with pride to the fact that Article IV., Section 2 of the constitution of the S. T. and L. A. provides that each section of the S. L. P. affiliated with a district alliance of the S. T. and L. A. shall be entitled to representation by one delegate at the conventions of the economic organization, and that the national organization of the S. L. P. shall be entitled to representation by three delegates.

However, it is easy to see that these provisions, coupled to a few others of a similar nature, placed the economic organization under the control of the political one. And since none of the officers of the various locals and district alliances of the S. T. and L. A. was a match for the combined intellects of the S. L. P. leaders, both the political and economic organization were controlled by a little clique of men, most of them not even of proletarian extraction.

That is the sort of industrial unionism for which the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. stand. History has passed sentence upon them. The career of these two organizations was marked by a series of coups d'etat, committed by this clique against the membership, and finally against one another, until the membership of the S. T. and L. A. declined from a membership of 15,000 to a few hundred, and the S. L. P. dwindled down to a little sect of fanatics, with De

Leon as the only intellectual leader. It is notorious that, since the convention of 1900, when only seventeen delegates represented the entire membership of both the economic and political organization, a motion has been made year after year to transact business behind closed doors, in order to conceal the pitiful weakness of both organizations.

This weakness is due, first, to the tactical mistake of uniting the political and economic movement under the control of a political party; second, to the fact that the emphasis was laid, not on the industrial character of the S. T. and L. A., but on its political affiliation; and, third, to the foreign character of the organizations and the autocratic natures of their leaders.

These facts stand out in bold relief, and by their own evolution, both the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. have been proven unscientific and inefficient.

Now these same elements talk of capturing the convention to be held on June 27, in the interest of a truly industrial labor organization. That convention should be, not a revival, but the funeral, of the S. T. and L. A.

The new organization, if it is to be in accord with the requirements of the present historical conditions, must not be affiliated with any political party. It must not be controlled by a clique of middle class politicians, as the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. are. The mistake of these two organizations must not be repeated.

The framers of the manifesto recognized this and stated emphatically that the new organization shall not be affiliated with any political party. And the manifesto states furthermore that only those are invited to attend the proposed convention who are in agreement with the principles expressed in that document.

The representatives of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. have publicly declared that they are not in agreement with those principles. They will come to the convention for the avowed purpose of identifying the new movement with their defunct and disintegrating organizations, whose spirit and tactics are contrary to those of the proposed organization.

In other words, they will not come to co-operate with those who have been instrumental in calling this convention. They will come to disturb all practical work, and seek to waste the time of the convention in useless oratorical fulmination.

It is evident, from the foregoing, that the representatives of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. have no business at this convention, and they should not be seated unless they indorse the principles of the manifesto. Nor should they be permitted to spread the falsehood that the new organization, unless it accepts the S. L. P. tactics, will be nothing but a pure and simple labor movement. The fact that the new organization does not affiliate with any political party does not imply that the discussion of politics will be barred from its meetings. Nor does it mean that the signers of the manifesto are all in agreement with Comrade Hagerty, who exaggerates the importance of the economic over that of the political organization of the working class.

It has ever been considered the strength of scientific Socialism that it sees all sides of a certain question. The scientific Socialist is as far from regarding the political organization of the working class as sufficient for the requirements of the class-struggle, as he is from flying to the other extreme of pinning all his faith to the economic organization and the general strike. Under capitalism, the economic organization and the political organization of the working class each have different duties to perform. And although they have for their common aim the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery and the building up of the co-operative commonwealth they must march on separate roads and must learn to fight side by side as well as to work side by side.

These statements show the shallowness of those Socialist Party editors who have been so prone to pass sentence upon us. As for the charges of Samuel Gompers, I leave

him to others who are better equipped to deal with him than I am.

Unable to get registered letter, sent by you, in time. I could not glance over Comrade Untermann's article before to-day.

Mark Note 1. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was formed in 1895 in the Cooper Institute, but prior to that, four central bodies, comprising about 20,000 workers, were organized on the principles and lines of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, and allowed delegates from the Socialist Labor Party branches as fully accredited delegates to participate in the work of those central bodies.

Comrade Untermann also forgets to dwell on the Boehm affair, and he fails to lay stress on the fact that the "People," prior to the A. F. of L. convention, held in New York, 1895, had an appealing editorial, calling upon the class-conscious workers in the A. F. of L., and that body as a whole to be awake to its duties towards the general labor movement. The orgies of ill-repute, in connection with the underhanded work done by the Gompers supporters, to assure his election for president against McBride, who was defeated by six votes majority only, gave the impulse for calling that memorable meeting in Cooper Union, where the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was launched. In the reasons for the utter failure of that organization, Comrade Untermann does not consider the now well-established fact that the jobs of officers of the existing unions, who called themselves Socialists, too, were in jeopardy; and the personal quarrels between Ernest Boehm, the first general secretary of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, and Kurzenknebe, which led to the attacks of even sincere Socialists upon the organization for having at its helm men of obscure character, such as Boehm and Waldinger were.

However, all other points are correctly given, only Untermann evidently has not followed up the later developments of the S. T. and L. A. We find, for instance, that the Hartford, Conn., convention of that organization, held three years ago, goes on record as favoring and urging the industrial form of organization by which the workers within a given industry, organized in respective departments, become members of one industrial union. In this move apparently Kinneally's workingman's knowledge and experience upon the industrial battlefield asserts itself, and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, though weak in numbers, commences to propound a right analysis of the necessities of and requirements of an economic organization of the working class, although the political attitude of the organization was still the same as when it was founded, in 1895, and on that point Comrade Untermann is fully in accord with my views, and all active members in the economic organizations of the working class. But note also that most of the contributors to the "Weekly People's free discussion column" are seeing the mistake of this position, and while few accentuate the political predominance in the class struggle, others, correctly claim that the new industrial union movement, as outlined in the manifesto, will avoid the errors of the S. T. and L. A. I am satisfied, if good judgment is used, that we will not have a talk-feast in Chicago, but that we, with all the experience of the past fresh still in our minds, will be able to convince even De Leon's followers of their own mistakes.

Please give this comment to Comrade Untermann. If he has no objection, let this brief compilation of his timely article follow his. If he has objections, and wishes to investigate these exceptions taken, this letter may be at his disposal.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

The attempt to preserve the autonomy of each trade and segregate it within its own independent jurisdiction, while the lines which once separated them are being obliterated, and the trades are being interwoven and interlocked in the process of industrial evolution, is as futile as to declare and attempt to enforce the independence of the waves of the sea.

A modern industrial plant has a hundred trades and parts of trades represented in its working force. To have these workers parceled out into a hundred unions is to divide and not to organize them, to give them over to factions and petty leadership and leave them an easy prey to the machinations of the enemy. The dominant craft should control the plant or, rather, the union, and it should embrace the entire working force. This is the industrial plan, and the modern method applied to modern conditions, and it will in time prevail.

The trade autonomy can be expressed within the general union, so far as that is necessary or desirable, and there need be no conflict on account of it.

The attempt of each trade to maintain its own independence separately and apart from others results in increasing jurisdictional entanglements, fruitful of dissension, strife and ultimate disruption.

By BURKE MINERS' UNION, No. 10, W. F. M.

Burke, Idaho, April 4, 1905.

Whereas, At a conference held in Chicago Jan. 2, 1905, a manifesto and call for convention was issued, for the purpose of solidifying the forces of labor upon the economic field to the end that the present defects and weaknesses of the labor movement as now constituted be removed; and

Whereas, The men taking part in said conference and issuing said manifesto and call have been and are the foremost champions of the cause of labor, and as such command the confidence and respect of all true friends of labor in the United States; and

Whereas, The unions in the Coeur d'Alene district have in the past felt the effect of economic war, and the need at present of relief from the dominance of our economic masters, therefore be it

Resolved, By Burke Miners' Union, No. 10, Western Federation of Miners, in regular meeting assembled, That we do indorse the aforesaid manifesto and call for convention as a timely step in the right direction; and be it further

Resolved, That we do hereby appropriate the sum of fifty dollars (\$50) from the treasury of this union towards defraying the expense of sending a delegate to said convention to be held in Chicago June 27, 1905; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Western Federation of Miners' locals forming the Coeur d'Alene Central Union, to make a like appropriation, towards defraying the expense of sending a representative from this district to said convention; and be it further

Resolved, That the nominations for such delegate be made by the local unions and sent to the Central Union, and that the delegate be elected by the said Central Union from the nominations so made; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, upon adoption by this union, be furnished to the locals in said Central Union to the Central Union and to the Western Federation of Miners for publication in the Miners' Magazine under seal of this union.

J. W. VINCENT,

Recording Secretary.

(Seal.)

RESOLUTION NO. 57.

By Interstate Convention of Districts Nos. 14, 21 and 25, United Mine Workers.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Interstate Convention that the time is opportune for all organizations of labor to come together, and as there is a movement on foot by the Western Federation of Miners to call an international congress of all trades and callings, whether affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or not, and that

we, the delegates of Districts Nos. 14, 21 and 25, heartily indorse such a move, as labor is confronted with grave conditions that must be faced, and as past methods are totally inadequate to bring better results; therefore we believe something must be done. Such questions as co-operation, collective contracts and all economic questions of industrial unions to be discussed so that we can come together and outline an expansive policy. At present we cannot get this through the splitting of our interests by each different organization; therefore we want this congress to be called as soon as practicable. A copy of this to be sent to the secretary of the Western Federation of Miners and published in the United Mine Workers' Journal.

JOHN L. BRITTON.

Concurred in by committee.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

By LABORERS' UNION, 9105, A. F. of L.

Brockton, March 31, 1905.—President Samuel Gompers: Dear Sir and Brother—I am instructed by Laborers' Union of this city to acknowledge receipt of your communication advising us to no longer lend material aid to the Western Federation of Miners. We regret to say that we are so financially situated that a donation to the Colorado sufferers now, while not an impossibility, would be an extravagance on our part.

When our members get down to work, however, with the coming of our season, we hope to prove practically our sympathy with the suffering and heroic miners, than whom no better body of workingmen ever unfurled a flag of revolt against their industrial and political oppressors.

We regret that the American Federation of Labor deems it wise to train its heavy guns on our brothers in the industrial battlefield, and we consider it more becoming to use all the weapons at our command against the common enemy. When the constitution was trampled upon and all law defied by the judicial, legislative and executive branches of the law in Colorado to punish and to crush the miners' organization, we made up our minds that the upholders of the capitalist system dreaded the Western Federation of Miners, and we immediately concluded that this organization had somehow or another struck the keynote of the industrial situation, that they had the solution of the labor problem—in short, that they were our friends, and the vanguard of the army of industrial liberty.

We also acknowledge receipt of your Federationist editorials, and regret that you fail to send us the leading one—your masterpiece—in which you seem to exult in the "satisfactory settlement of the Fall River strike"—that settlement which you said "would have a tendency to check any further cut down in wages." We wonder if you ever heard that the next morning after this glorious and satisfactory settlement almost every cotton mill in New England cut wages twelve and a half per cent.

No, sir; Laborers' Union, No. 9105, of Brockton, Massachusetts, has neither the time nor inclination to make war on the Western Federation of Miners, and we beg to be excused. Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM D. DWYER, Secretary.

By LOCAL LOUISVILLE, Socialist Party.

To preach working class solidarity on the political field and preach working class division into rival and often antagonistic, autonomous crafts and trades on the economic field is only to confuse, delude and ensnare the workers to their injury.

The duty of the Socialist is clear. He cannot advocate political solidarity of the workers on one field of action and economic division of the workers on the other. Such a policy means serving the workers or pretending to serve the workers, on the political field, and serving their exploiters, the capitalists, on the industrial battlefield.

We cannot serve two masters. We cannot serve the capitalist class and the working class at the same time—and render faithful service to both. We cannot account for the conduct of Socialists who assert on the political

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Published by the American Labor Union.

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At some postoffices where the Voice of Labor is sent individually to each member of the unions, some copies are undelivered or uncalled for. Secretaries of local unions are requested to call at the postoffice on or about the 10th or 15th of each month and request the postmaster to deliver uncalled for or undelivered copies directly to him as Secretary of the union. These copies can be used to good advantage, where otherwise they would be destroyed.

field the antagonism of interests between the working class and the capitalist and on the economic field support an organization of labor that supports capitalism and the wages system only at the expense of their intelligence or sincerity.

The conduct of the pure and simple unionists in supporting the pure and simple craft form of organization of labor which divides and weakens the workers and to that extent strengthens the hands of the capitalists is not so open to criticism or condemnation, for they are committed by every official utterance of the American Federation of Labor to the perpetuation of capitalism and the wage system, while Socialists who are committed by every official utterance of their party to the overthrow of capitalism and the wages system, in supporting a form of unionism that supports the capitalist system, are running counter to their professed principles and are in reality supporting on one field of action (the economic) a system of society which on another field of action (the political) they are pledged to overthrow.

Here is where performance does not square with profession. If we are in fact for the overthrow of capitalism we are for its overthrow whether we look at it from the economic or political point of view. Capitalism looks the same to us, whether we view it from the industrial or political battlefield.

We cannot be honest with ourselves and faithful to our class if, while advocating the overthrow of capitalism on the political field we lend our influence and support on the industrial field to its perpetuation. Therefore, we, the Socialist Local of Louisville, declare with the framers of the Chicago manifesto that a bona fide organization of labor must "be founded upon the basis of 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"; "that universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working class movement"; "that 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 the personal aggrandizement of union officers"; "that a movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries."

We hail the Chicago manifesto as an evidence of the growth of the class feeling and a consciousness of the necessity for working class solidarity whenever and wherever working class interests are affected. We regard this manifesto as an encouraging sign of the times. We hope and believe this new movement will mark an epoch in the history of trades unionism in the United States; that it marks the beginning of the end of pure and simple unions run by labor fakirs in the interest of the capitalist class, and that we are to have a genuine economic organization of the American proletariat built upon the solid foundation of the class struggle, and committed to the overthrow of capitalism and the rearing of the co-operative commonwealth. And we deem it the duty of every Socialist and especially the duty of every editor of a Socialist paper to give this new movement his active and moral support so long as the organization remains true to its declaration of principles."

## TWO NEWS ITEMS NEEDING NO COMMENT.

### *Tries to Freeze with Baby---Woman Evicted on Coldest Day of Season.*

Special to the Record.

New York, Jan. 27.—Evicted on the coldest day of the season and weak from hunger and exposure, Mrs. Elizabeth Dietz, with her four small children, sought death by freezing shortly after midnight under a factory stoop in Moore street, Brooklyn.

"I had no home and could not bear to hear my babies cry," she told a policeman who found the starving family, "so I thought the best thing to do was to freeze. I got the children as warm as I could, so they would go to sleep, and I hoped that none of us would waken alive."

Policeman Mahoney heard the faint whimper of a child and found the family under the stoop of a molding factory at No. 250 Moore street. Three of the little girls were unconscious from the cold, while Mrs. Dietz lay huddled in front of them with her 15-months-old baby clasped to her breast. It was the baby girl's cry that saved the family.

### *MRS. FISH'S SOCIETY SHOW.*

#### *Vaudeville in an Apple-Blossom Ballroom Orchard*

Special to the Record.

New York, Jan. 27.—Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish amused society to-night with one of the most original entertainments ever given in New York. One hundred and sixty guests enjoyed a roof-garden show in the white-and-gold ball room of the Fish house.

Mrs. Fish planned an artistic decoration for the occasion, and her florist had a contract to transform the ball room into a garden with artificial apple trees in blossom and with trellises hung with wistaria. The details were perfect, and even the polished floor was covered with artificial grass. Tables and chairs, painted green, were sprinkled about, and supper was served to the guests while the performers sang and danced.

It was 11:30 when the green velvet curtains that hid the stage parted. Not since Mrs. Fish had the Chinese Honeymoon company at her house has such an elaborate vaudeville been given privately. Her guests said the apple-blossom orchard was a triumph in floral decoration.

## CO-OPERATION IN LEGAL PROTECTION.

Much has been said and written on the subject of the abuses practiced in the justice courts of the city of Chicago and vicinity, and much has been done to call public attention to the fact that the so-called "poor man's court" has fallen far from the place it is in theory supposed to occupy. Instead of being an institution for protecting the rights and property of the working man in whose interest it was created, its functions have been so perfected and its powers so misdirected that it has become more of the character of an engine of injustice and oppression than a means of enforcing justice and fair dealing. The methods used in some instances under the cloak of the law have become so notoriously flagrant in their violation of its intent and spirit that public sentiment refuses to be content so long as such things are possible, and to this is due the movement now on foot to revise the antiquated statutes under which these legalized wrongs are perpetrated. The matter has been the subject of general discussion for several years, and the demand for reforms has grown more insistent each year until it has finally crystallized into definite form as evidenced by the various bills pending before the Legislature providing for an entirely different system of handling this class of litigation.

The writer has for some time past represented a large number of workmen, members of organized labor, in their legal affairs, and has had an excellent opportunity to observe the quality of justice dealt out in these "poor man's courts," as they are conducted under the laws of Illinois.

For instance, the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace extends over the entire county in which he is elected, which, no doubt, seemed a reasonable provision to the minds of our forefathers who framed the law. However, let us see how it works. A man living in South Chicago is served with a summons commanding him to appear before a justice in the northwest corner of the county at eight o'clock in the morning on a certain day to answer in a suit involving perhaps only a few dollars, which some one claims he owes. Whether he has a just defense or whether he never had any dealings with the party suing makes no difference, he must be there or judgment will be entered against him by default. He finds, which frequently happens, that in order to get to the court room in time for the trial, he must start the day before, which often necessitates an expense, including loss of time, greater than the amount sued for. Without the assistance of an attorney he is sure to lose, so that it is often cheaper to allow a default to be taken regardless of the merits of the case and settle the judgment rather than fight it, as it often is the case that the expense of winning is greater than the amount involved. The effect of this state of affairs is that the justice court can be used to further a systematic practice equivalent to blackmail, and the results produced are such that if they were accomplished in any other manner would land its followers behind the prison bars. Instances have also come to my attention where constables have served a summons upon defendants for a certain day and hour, and upon their

appearance at the time stated they find that judgment had been entered up the day before and the constable ready to swear that he read the summons returnable at the time the case was called.

There is then no alternative but to settle or appeal the case which, of course, involves expense and attorney's fees. Other cases have been known where summons are served on parties with the knowledge that they are not the proper persons, and judgment entered by default against defendants who had no knowledge of the suit being filed. In other cases attempts have been made to secure judgments by default upon claims already settled. In one case which came to my attention, a member of one of the woodworkers' unions was sued before a justice on the opposite side of the city from where he lived on a doctor's bill for dressing an injury, and the bill had been not only paid by the man's employer, but more than five years had elapsed and the bill was outlawed even if it had not been paid. The man narrowly escaped having a judgment entered against him by default, which he would have had to pay or laid himself liable to garnishee proceedings or a levy upon his household property.

It is not surprising that a great majority look upon the law as an institution created not for them, but a privilege to be enjoyed only by the favored few whose wealth enables them to command its services. It is not surprising when we hear of cases of gross injustice accomplished through the medium of courts by means of default judgments secured because parties have not the means to secure counsel to defend their rights, that confidence and respect for our government is displaced by suspicion and distrust.

These instances make it clear that the fair and impartial justice guaranteed to our citizens by the Constitution is guaranteed only to those who are able to employ attorneys to protect their interests. That every workman with a family to support is individually unable to retain a lawyer is obvious, and it would therefore seem that the principle of co-operation and mutual assistance which forms the basis of unionism should be extended sufficiently to cover this subject also. The enforced payment of an unjust claim is as much of a drain upon the already strained resources of the average workman as the payment of doctor bills and the losses covered by sick benefits in many organizations. The cost of a competent legal department for labor unions, according to plans now being worked out successfully in the city of Chicago is so slight for each member that it is not felt, but nevertheless it entitles the organizations and their members to the services of capable attorneys at any time on any matter. It will, no doubt, seem absurd to say that a man can get all his legal difficulties attended to for the sum of sixty cents per year. And yet that is exactly what several thousand union members are getting, and more unions are signing up contracts each month.

W. A. FLANEGAN.

Chicago, March 21, 1905.

### 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.

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## LETTERS FROM LOCAL UNIONS

### PEACE IN COLORADO.

The political struggle between the different capitalistic interests which was begun at last fall's election, has finally been settled by the servants of the capitalists who are members of the Legislature. The struggle at the polls and in the Legislature was entirely between the different interests of the capitalists. The struggle between the workingmen in the mines and smelters on one side and the mine owners' association, citizens' alliance and State government on the other, which had been going on during the two years of Peabody's administration, played no particular part as to who should be governor of the State, because that struggle was practically ended before the election, although the labor unions took a very active part in supporting the Democratic nominee for governor, Alva Adams, in opposition to the Republican nominee, Peabody.

The ways and means committee of the labor unions and the organization of Liberty Leagues prior to the election for the purpose of throwing the strength of the labor vote to the Democratic nominee availed practically nothing, as was shown by the final result. The strongest corporations and capitalists decided the question in their favor as against other capitalistic interests, but all the effort of the labor unions, as well as the farmers and other small taxpayers, who were dissatisfied with Peabody on account of the heavy military expense, was only to change from ten to twelve thousand votes in the State.

The Republican candidate for lieutenant governor received less than twelve thousand plurality, while the Republican candidate for secretary of State received about fifteen thousand plurality, while Adams, the Democratic nominee for governor, defeated Peabody by nearly ten thousand votes, which shows that only from eleven to twelve thousand who would otherwise vote the Republican ticket voted for the Democratic nominee in order to down Peabody. This independent vote cannot all be credited to the effort of the wage workers, as there were many persons in other ranks who were thoroughly dissatisfied with Peabody's administration. Governor Douglas said after election that there was no such thing as a labor vote of any consequence; that he was elected by the votes of the small business men who were opposed to high tariff and monopolies.

The same thing may be said of Colorado. The last election was not a fight between the capitalists and the laborers, although many of the wage

workers were made to believe that by supporting the Democratic capitalist, Alva Adams, for governor, they would be rewarded, but just how was never explained. They were simply fooled once more by the political tricksters who control and manipulate elections in the interests of the ruling class. There were only twenty-five hundred voters in the State who voted for the interests of the working class, while forty-three hundred were partially class-conscious and supported Debs for president. In 1902 over seven thousand votes were cast for the Socialist State ticket.

The Legislature, after a contest over the governorship, which cost the people over \$70,000, has finally decided that in order to satisfy as nearly as possible the warring factions amongst the capitalists, that neither the Republican governor, Peabody, nor the Democratic governor, Adams, should be seated, but that the lieutenant governor should be the governor for the next two years. He was a compromise between the two political factions representing different capitalistic interests.

The joint assembly in the Legislature was composed of sixty-six Republicans and thirty-one Democrats, while there were about twenty Republicans who would not seat Peabody for the reason that they did not believe that he was elected and also that it would not be for the best business interest of the State; that the latter reason played a prominent part is proven by the fact that all but ten of them voted to seat Peabody after he had signed a resignation to take effect within twenty-four hours. Adams was ousted at five o'clock on March 16th and Peabody took the position while his resignation was filed and accepted and on the afternoon of March 17th McDonald, the lieutenant governor, was sworn in at 4:25 o'clock. After two years of war and turmoil Colorado is now at peace, but it is the peace of the Russians in Siberia, the Boers in the Transvaal and the Filipinos in the Philippine Islands.

The metalliferous miners, the coal miners and other union wage workers have been "benevolently assimilated" by the bayonets, the bull-pens, and finally have been chloroformed by the ballot, but the revolutionary feeling is still there and some of these days it will wake up and with a giant's strength overturn the temple built by the capitalists in Colorado.

The result of this last election and the bargaining away of the governorship by the Legislature regardless of the votes of the people shows how demoralized men have become under this system. It was not a question as to

who was elected governor; it was a question as to whether the capitalistic interests represented by the Democratic party on the one side or the capitalistic interests represented by the Republican party on the other side should have its way. On the final vote there were just ten Republicans who did not stand by their party program. It was a surprise that there were that many, for as a rule a man may prove a traitor to his constituents, or to his country, but very rarely to his party's program as dictated by those in whose interest the party is maintained.

The interests of the wage workers or the farmers were never referred to during the whole contest. The fact is that the vote of the wage workers and the working farmers is entirely obscured as long as they vote with the class that does not represent their interests. The only protest against what has happened was the twenty-five hundred votes for the Socialist ticket. The rest of the working men who spent their energy in supporting Adams got just what they voted for.

After fifteen months of struggle in Telluride, my former home, the eight hour day, for which the miners struck, was granted in November, while Peabody was still governor. This concession was an economic necessity, as the mine managers had discovered that they could not operate their mines unless this was granted, but as soon as they were getting plenty of men to operate the mines they inaugurated the system of blackmail, which is known as the mine owner's card system. This was done in February, while Adams the Democrat, was governor. This card system prevents any union man from being employed in any of the mines or mills unless he renounces his allegiance to the union and is otherwise satisfactory to the mine managers, and receives a card, which allows him the privilege of asking for a job.

It would seem to me that the working men ought to be able to see that the economic conditions under this system is where their trouble comes from and that concessions to the workers may be granted, while their greatest enemy was governor and the blacklist may be applied while their pretended best friend is governor.

The working class has simply been fooled again and cast their votes in vain. Two years hence the cry will be on the part of the small capitalists, to avenge the wrong done to the Democratic party in stealing and robbing Mr. Adams of the governorship and the workingmen and women will be asked to assist in avenging the wrong by voting for the interests of



the middle class, and from the experience of the past, they can be depended to help out in the avenging, just as the working men of Russia are trying to avenge the wrongs of the Russian capitalists and the Japanese are endeavoring to do the same for the Japanese capitalists.

A. H. FLOATEN.

### BODIE, CAL.

Will you publish in the Voice the fact that W. F. Gunn, former foreman for the Standard Consolidated Gold Mining Company, is no good. He is a plausible rascal and will borrow all that he can get from men who have need for all of the money that they can earn, but is never known to repay borrowed money. He has just decamped from this place leaving debts behind him for borrowed money for more than \$600 and an unpaid board bill. Please ask other labor papers to publish. The secretary of this union was instructed to give this man's record as great publicity as possible so that our brothers in toil may not be made the prey of this rascal.

Respectfully yours,

S. C. EASTWOOD.

Secretary Bodie Labor Union No. 99.  
A. L. U.

### PHOENIX, B. C.

Brother Riordan, former secretary of this union, is now with you. I succeed him as local secretary.

There appears to be an awakening among the workers of the Province of British Columbia, and some organizing can probably be done in this country during the next few months.

The steam laundry workers of Greenwood (five miles distant) will be taken into Phoenix Federal Labor Union No. 155. The spirit of solidarity is moving among the cooks and waiters of Phoenix, who may unite with the Federal. They now have a separate local, but a small one. Uniting all these forces into one body would make the Federal an effective union.

We are much interested in the approaching Industrial Union convention, and wish the movement every success.

WEBSTER ROGERS.

Secretary Phoenix Federal Labor Union No. 155. A. L. U.

### THE FARMER QUESTION.

I have been carefully studying the principles of Industrial Unionism with a view to organizing the farm hands and common laborers. I believe that Industrial Unionism is destined to become one of the greatest factors in the coming revolution. But I find that pure and simple craft unionism has but little attraction for the average farm worker, for the reason that his position in life differs in some respects from that of the city wage-worker. In this part of the country there are but comparatively few farms where more

than one hand is employed, and the result is in keeping the farm hands apart and more directly under the influence of the employers. Then, too, a great many farm hands are young unmarried men, who have never been "up against" the worst of the farm life.

One thing the farm hands and common laborer needs is a means of reaching an agreement upon wages, so that they will not be constantly underbidding each other. They need a means of helping each other secure employment, and of protecting themselves against the schemes that are constantly being concocted by the railroads and other agencies for "graft." Some of these are advertisements like these: "Big wheat crops and high wages in Kansas;" "Large fruit crop in California and no pickers," etc., for no purpose, of course, except to get the laborers to spend their scanty savings for railroad fare, and probably to cheapen labor in a certain part of the country.

I have a plan I have suggested to a number of farm hands and laborers in different parts of the country, and which, I believe, will meet with almost universal approval. It is to organize the farm hands and all common laborers into an Industrial Union; to establish employment agencies in such places as the union shall see fit, say, in each county seat, these agencies to be supported by the general tax of the union, and all members in good standing to have free access to them. By this means the members could learn at any time the exact conditions in any part of the country, where he now often spends his money in a fruitless search for employment. Then, too, a man often holds a job at poor pay and bad treatment because he does not know where he can get a better one, or one at all, in fact.

The farmers and farm workers certainly need organization, and I hope soon to see them at least commence to organize on the right lines.

F. C. STRONG, Johnson, Neb.

(In the coming working class revolution the farmers and farm workers, industrially organized, are destined to play an important part. First, in protecting the wage laborer in the enjoyment of the best conditions that collective effort can enforce under capitalist farm exploitation; secondly, to use the union as a weapon of offense and defense in the battles between the farmers and railway companies and other agencies of exploitation of the land and its products, so that more can be saved from the maw of capitalism, leaving a larger share for the worker to contest for; and last, but really most important of all, to use the farmers and farm workers' union as a supply base for the army of organized workers in the actual physical conflict that may be precipitated by capitalism at any time, and that probably would have been precipitated as

a result of the late Colorado outrages if the workers had in any way been prepared for siege and battle. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the farm workers be organized soon, with an intelligent idea of the purpose of industrialism, and with a full understanding of the duty of the agricultural worker to his brother worker in the mine, shop and factory. A free discussion of this question is invited in the columns of the Voice of Labor, only asking that writers be as brief as a proper treatment of the subject will permit.—Editor.)

### SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

To-day (April 12) the A. F. of L. painters employed in Fred Hummert's paint shop struck against working with Brother Reed, a member of the American Labor Union, United Brotherhood of Builders No. 509.

There is no grievance whatever against Brother Reed, except that he refuses to longer pay tribute to Gompers and his crowd. Brother Reed is a splendid workman, enjoys the confidence and respect of all who know him and commands the highest union wages. On this account the strikers were slow to obey the dictates of the A. F. of L. "leaders" who ordered them to quit work.

The foreman refused to ask Brother Reed to forfeit his principles, and every striker got his time and was told to quit the job.

This is but one instance of the cowardly extremes to which the A. F. of L. will go in its effort to destroy and disrupt the American Labor Union, and thereby to retard the victorious principles of industrialism.

C. F. DENYS.

Agent Division No. 24, U. B. R. E.

### BEST FOR THE WORKERS.

Let me tell you that, to my notion, the Voice of Labor is one of the best advocates of the toiling class that I know of, here or in the Old World.

Doubtless the Industrial Unionism for which the Voice of Labor stands is the only effective organization for the workers, and if I'd be allowed to give advice, I couldn't do better than to ask those who oppose industrialism to study the economic organization of the capitalist class—the trusts.

For a Socialist, the Industrial Unionism is no more nor less than an historical necessity—the economic organization of the workers along the lines marked out by the actual existing degree of development of capitalist society. This seems to me so clear that I really cannot understand the position of those pretended Socialists who resist the spread of the A. L. U.

"Timely warnings" were made, "pointing out the certain division of the Socialist party by this unwise action." As a true economic organization of the working class, the Industrial Unionism cannot divide a true political organization of the same class.

just as the trusts do not divide the Republican party.

The Chicago Manifesto has the future with it. Its first sentence, "Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions," always reminds me of the first sentence of the everlasting Communist Manifesto: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

LEON VASILIN.

San Francisco, Cal., April 9, 1965.

#### SILVERTON, COLO.

You will see by my report that we have been doing some business in Silverton. The cooks and waiters' union is now merged with the Federal, giving us a good, strong local.

The question of membership cards has been extensively discussed. This union favors the stamp system, believing it will be less expensive to operate, just as safe as the card system, and much simpler and easier for the local secretaries. We recommend this to the attention of the next convention.

B. FREEMAN.

Secretary Federal Union No. 112. A. L. U.

#### HELENA, MONT.

Unionism is in better shape here again since M. Grant Hamilton left the State. All unions in Helena worked in harmony before he came, and will again. Union men, regardless of affiliation, have stood together shoulder to shoulder here, with the result that we have whipped the Citizens' Alliance to a finish. The A. L. U. locals are in good shape. J. J. BACKS, Secretary Bartenders' Union No. 221. A. L. U.

#### TANNEHILL, LA.

We received our charter, and we are very much pleased with it. We expect a nice little local here, as the boys are much interested. You will hear from us again. J. R. D.

#### KNOWS WHAT HE WANTS.

Send me the Voice for a "spell." Yours for Industrial Unionism and class-conscious Socialism—no d—n purchase clauses, land grants, old age pensions, or other Berger opportunistic "dope" for me. HENRY LYNCH.

Madison, Wash., April 23, 1965.

#### ROCHELLE, LA.

To give an idea of what we are "up against" in this country, when it comes to organizing, I will tell something of the way the employing mill owners have tightened their grip upon this country and its people, for the purpose of squeezing out dollars in profits.

This is a sawmill town, pure and simple. The company owns the mill, runs the logging camps, and hires and discharges everybody about the country. There is a company store; also a company boarding house. The post office is kept in the company store, and the mill manager is postmaster. We can only guess if the postmaster considers all mail coming to the post office as company property. We do know, though, that when Tom Scanlon, of Minden, president of District Union No. 14, was discharged, he was told that the manager of the Minden mill had in his office copies of all correspondence between the district president and the local unions and the general office, including both letters mailed by him and received by him.

J. W. M.

## REPORTS FROM ORGANIZERS

#### NEW YORK, N. Y.

Nineteen locals are now united in District Union No. 10, A. L. U., covering this district. Regular meetings of the District Union are held every first and third Tuesday evening at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street.

Four new charters were issued last month to class-conscious industrial workers by the general office to locals in this district.

District Union No. 10 has established headquarters, reading room and employment bureau at 214 East Forty-first street. Our telephone number is 1095 38th. A cordial welcome is assured all members and friends of the A. L. U. who call.

Excentric Association of Engineers No. 308, A. L. U. of New York, has again grown to such proportions that it must look for a bigger hall to hold its increased membership. This shows the A. F. of L. behind time, as usual. They have delayed killing Brothers Keough and Traynor, as they threatened to do in their official journal for December, until it is now too late, for No. 308 now has members without number who are in the fight for industrial unionism to a finish. In fact, if reports are true, there are hardly enough honest members left in the New York A. F. of L. engineers' local to pay for a decent funeral, and those few are only waiting for an opportunity to "leave the poor old stranded

wreck" and pull for the true unionism of No. 308.

Firemen's Local No. 290, A. L. U., is having increased attendance at meetings and is increasing membership weekly, which will in time put an end to brown stone tenement houses for certain "labor leaders" of New York. Brothers Connolly, Callahan, Kunold and the old war-horse Rock are among the hustlers. When the A. F. of L. "leaders" try to destroy industrial unionism by murder, then these men must be included in the list of condemned.

Our recently organized local, Excentric Association of Engineers No. 547 of Brooklyn, has had its first strike and lost, thanks to the established scabbery of the Gompers crowd. The capitalists and employers of New York, seeing how easily Belmont turned the trick, are imposing on the organized workers all over the city, among them the National Lead Company of Brooklyn. In this plant the engineers, firemen and oilers are members of the American Labor Union, and when the fight started there our boys took a hand. Eight hours has heretofore constituted a day's work in this plant for this class of work, but last week the company notified the men that they must work twelve hours. Our men refused the increased hours and walked out. Their places were at once filled by A. F. of L. mem-

bers of Engineers' Local No. 20, and A. F. of L. Firemen's Local No. 56, who took to the scabby work like ducks take to water.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 41, I. M. U., is one of the growing A. L. U. locals in New York, having now 200 members. To celebrate the establishment of their new headquarters they gave a complimentary entertainment and ball at Beethoven Hall Tuesday evening, April 25, to the members of the American Labor Union. Admission was granted upon presentation of an A. L. U. card. The result was the gathering together of one of the most orderly and intelligent crowds ever in this hall. The hall seats 1,200, and was filled. A band under the direction of the noted composer and Italian band leader, Signor G. Scarano, gave the concert, after which refreshments were served and dancing engaged in for a number of hours. One of the pleasant surprises was the presence of a visiting band from our Kearney local, which attended and took part in the parade.

German Engineers' Union No. 334, A. L. U., is adding to its membership slowly but surely. Feeling the need of funds, this local gave a smoker, at which it raffled a few presents. A general good time was had by all present. District President Smith and Organizer Shurtleff gave short addresses. The party broke up in the morning

with the singing of the "Marseillaise" and other patriotic songs.

'Clothing Cutters' Local No. 466 is also holding good meetings and receiving new members weekly. Our other locals are all growing. During the month we had a little trouble, but it was soon settled when those in authority found that every part of the industry was organized, and every branch ready to stand by another.

During the month the New York Central Federated Union, the A. F. of L. central body, indorsed the usual number of bills, condemned the usual number, appointed the usual committees to beg of the politicians, holding in all a total of four meetings. The most important thing that came before the body was the Industrial Union Manifesto, calling for the convention in Chicago June 27, which was received and filed.

Here is another A. F. of L. victory: Feb. 26, Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union declared a strike against the Brooklyn Eagle, and the members of the union got out and carried on the strike in good old Western style. In spite of the arrests of their mem-

bers time after time, there was a doggedness in their resistance, their sisters even taking part in the fight. Later on the pressmen got into the fight, putting their treasury of \$17,000 back of the struggle. March 5, Delegate Debs reported that the Eagle had a million dollars to make this fight, but that they were giving the Eagle people all the fight they wanted. So the battle went on, the mailers and the pressmen standing together, until it began to look as if a real victory would be won. But here is where the beauties of the A. F. of L. system again displayed themselves in actual operation. The printers stepped in and signed a contract with the bosses, thus deserting the mailers and pressmen in the thick of the fight. So when you hear of the great victory of Typographical Union No. 6, of New York, remember that the mailers, deliverers and pressmen paid the penalty for the printers' victory, and those men who had been fighting and going to jail for two months were left stranded on the outside, and are still keeping up a helpless and hopeless struggle.

W. SHURTLEFF, Organizer.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Gompers is to pay us a visit. The Minneapolis Tribune, under big headlines, says the head of the A. F. of L. and right-hand man of Employer Belmont is alarmed at the growth of the American Labor Union in Minneapolis, and will come here to check us. We also read that he is going to open a branch office in Chicago, and give his personal influence to crushing the A. L. U. in the windy city. Denver, too, is to have him, according to the capitalist press. He is going to Colorado, office and all, for the purpose of exterminating the pest of industrialism in the Rocky Mountains. If the vice president of the Civic Federation can have his personal and official headquarters in all the other big cities of the North, East, South and West at the same time, not overlooking St. Louis and the central district, he ought to be able to give us a "run for our money." Well, he's a good advertiser, anyhow, even if his labor methods are a curse to the workers.

W. J. BRADLEY, Organizer.

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 SCHMEIZER .....Silverton, Colo.
- JAMES KIRWAN .....Terry, S. D.
- JAMES A. BAKER .....Slocan City, B. C.

BLOCKS AND WEDGES.

BY W. D. HAYWOOD.

Twelve hours is a bad habit.  
 Industrial unionism is Socialism with its working clothes on.  
 Some managers could not make a mine pay if they had a four foot ledge of gold with a good gouge.  
 The labor union is a lyceum for the discussion of political economy.  
 The fullest expression of the word fraternity will be found in industrial unionism.  
 The wealth and position of capitalists are the result of hard work—not their work, but yours.  
 The soldier is a boil, the policeman a pimple on the body politic, both the effects of a diseased system.  
 The interests of capital and labor are identical. Yes, so is the motive power of the automobile and the wheelbarrow.  
 Charge, vagrancy, sentence, thirty days, time served, still broke, a vagrant, crime, poverty, penalty, life imprisonment—under capitalism.  
 Smelter fumes kill horses and cattle, trees and plants for miles around the works. The operators would have their employes believe that the noxious gases are the elixirs of life for human beings.  
 The miner blazes the trail. He is the pioneer in the onward march of civilization. Without the product of his toil society would soon revert to the garb of a breech-clout.

STRIKE IS STILL ON.

Headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners.  
 Denver, Colorado, April 11, 1905.

To all Members of Organized Labor and Those who Desire to Maintain Their Honor:  
 The Mine Owners' Association of the Cripple Creek District, with its lawless ally, the Citizens' Alliance, have been sending out fabricated reports to the effect that the strike has been declared off by the Western Federation of Miners. This brazen lie has been hatched and circulated by the same mob that bull-penned and deported miners, that even murdered in cold blood men who refused to yield their allegiance to the principles of the organization of which they were members.  
 The Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance have discovered that while thugs, gunfighters, rape fiends, outlaws, and convicts from the penitentiaries may be of valuable assistance to mine operators, in upholding a reign of terror, yet these debauched and depraved degenerates are practically useless in the production of dividends.  
 The members of the Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance have had an experience for which they have paid an awful price. The dividends of which they have boasted have been on paper and not in the vaults of banks. In their desperation they are attempting to deceive through the circulation of a lie, hoping that the old miners will return to the Cripple Creek district and once more become inmates of the mines.  
 The Western Federation of Miners has not declared the strike off, and never will as long as the mine operators are unfair to organized labor—as long as they continue shipping

their ores to the scab mills of Colorado City, and as long as the card or blacklisting system is used to discriminate against members of the Western Federation of Miners.

Hundreds of men have been driven from their homes in the Cripple Creek district, and are still exiles from their wives and children. Many of these men bear the scars that were inflicted by the brutal orders of a Mine Owners' Association and a Citizens' Alliance. These men and their wives and children who have borne the insults and outrages of a hired soldiery, would scorn a compromise or a surrender to that "law and order" combination that revelled in a carnival of brutality, to subjugate and enslave the best blood and brawn of the Cripple Creek district.

Men of honor, of spirit, and of independence, will shun the mines of the Cripple Creek district as they would a pestilence. Men who have any conception of the principles of unionism will not be used as tools of a Mine Owners' Association to assassinate justice.

Stay away from the Cripple Creek district, and the time will come when the miner in Colorado's greatest gold camps can enjoy some of the liberty that is guaranteed to him by the law and the constitution of the State.

Anyone who goes to the Cripple Creek district and accepts employment in the mines, will be recognized as a scab by the metal miners throughout the United States and British Columbia.

Whenever the strike is declared off, or a settlement effected, an official notice will be issued from the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners.

CHAS. H. MOYER, President, W. F. M.

W. D. HAYWOOD, Sec.-Treas., W. F. M.

N. B.—Secretaries please read this notice at meetings of the union.

### W. F. M. TAILINGS.

A Mine Operators' Association has been formed in Vivian, Arizona. The first work of the organization was to adopt a scale, reducing wages fifty cents per day all around. A strike is the result. Gold Dust and German-American mines are shut down.

Reports from the iron country, Michigan, indicate that the miners are beginning to realize the necessity of organization. A first-class miner makes from \$45 to \$60 per month. They receive thirty cents per ton, ore loaded on cars. One mine is now operating on the eight hour basis with entire satisfaction. Organizer Kennison is among the iron miners of Minnesota.

The fifty-eighth Congress, third session Senate document, number 122, is an exhaustive report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado from 1880 to 1904, inclusive, prepared under the direction of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, compiled by Walter B. Palmer.

Judge Sloan, of the Fourth Judicial District of Arizona, is a firm adherent of "government by injunction." The last order of this nature issued from his court, restraining members of Snow Ball Miners' Union, No. 124, W. F. M., is a "model." The constitutional right of petition, free speech, peaceful assemblage, the proud heritage of a Republic is absolutely obliterated with one fell sweep.

Sligo, Missouri, is a typical corporation town, every man an American citizen working "when, where and for whom he pleases." No unions, no agitators to cause dissension and create discontent among the employes. The company owns the land, houses, hotel, postoffice, schoolhouse, store, church, minister and all other appurtenances. Wages for blacksmiths and carpenters \$1.65 to \$1.75 per day, 12 hours. Helpers, \$1.15; charcoal burners, \$1.25; blast furnace men, \$1.21 to \$1.45. Organizer Matt Wasley is sowing the seed of unionism in the virgin soil of Sligo.

The strike of Denver Smeltermen, No. 93, W. F. M., was terminated March 24th, immediately after the passage of the eight hour law by the Colorado Legislature. The strike was called July 3, 1903, and continued over twenty months with only a few deserters. In the face of most bitter opposition the union made a gallant fight. The company

which is a renegade concern, secured injunctions, many members of the union, also their wives and daughters, were arrested, ten men were convicted and served six months in the county jail. The cost of the strike to the W. F. M. for defense and relief aggregates \$30,000, money well spent for a good cause.

Governor Folk has signed a measure that enables Missouri to "show" the best eight hour law that has yet been enacted for the benefit of those employed in the mining industry. The W. F. M. made a vigorous campaign for the adoption of the law; the unions of the State swung into line. Attorney J. H. Murphy, counsel for the W. F. M., who piloted the Utah eight-hour law through the United States Supreme Court, presented an exhaustive written agreement, which probably had the desired effect in securing the governor's approval. The law is as follows:

"An act to prevent persons, companies and corporations from working laborers in mills, reduction plants, refineries, smelters, and all other institutions for the crushing, or separating, or reduction, or refining of minerals and ores more than eight hours a day in a day of twenty-four hours, and fixing eight hours as a day for such laborers.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

"Section 1. It is hereby declared to be unlawful for any company or corporation engaged in carrying on any kind of mining, mechanical, chemical manufacturing or smelting business, to work their employes in any mill or mills, or plants, while engaged in crushing rocks and mine products, containing mineral or ores, or engaged in separating the mineral or ores from rock and such combination with which the mineral or ores are mixed, or reducing or roasting, or refining or smelting minerals or ores, from and after the time such rocks, or combination of rocks and mine product, or minerals or ores are taken out of the mines, at such labor or industry, for a period of time longer than eight hours in a day of twenty-four hours, and it is hereby declared that eight hours shall constitute a day of employment, for all laborers, or employes, engaged in the kind of labor or industry aforesaid.

"Sec. 2. Any person or persons, company or corporation who shall violate any of the provisions of the preceding section shall on conviction be fined in a sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than five hundred dollars.

"Sec. 3. That section one and two of the act of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, approved March 9, 1903, entitled 'An act to prevent persons and corporations from working laborers in smelters and all other institutions for the reduction or refining of ores more than eight hours in a day of twenty-four hours, and fixing eight hours as a day for such laborers,' is hereby repealed, and this act enacted in lieu thereof."

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EIGHT HOUR STRIKE FUND.

Total donations for January, 1905.....\$3,592.05

Total donations for February, 1905.... 2,126.02

Total donations for March, 1905..... 6,114.98

Total eight hour strike fund for quarter.....\$ 11,833.05  
Donations from unions and all other sources (not including W. F. M. locals) previously acknowledged ..... 182,628.03

Total of all donations received.....\$194,461.68  
Disbursements during Jan., Feb., March, 1904...\$138,206.60  
Disbursements during April, May, June, 1904.. 116,804.69  
Disbursements during July, Aug., Sept., 1904.. 100,863.43  
Disbursements during Oct., Nov. and Dec., 1904.. 70,011.60  
Disbursements during Jan., Feb. and March, 1905 46,221.40

Total disbursements for five quarters .....\$472,107.72

**BELL'S REPORT.**

The biennial report of the adjutant general to the governor of the State of Colorado, 1903-1904, is an interesting document. Nothing like it has ever been recorded in the United States of America. Within its covers will be found an account of the murder of John Carley by the militia at Dunville, Fremont County. Also the special orders, prohibiting the distribution of supplies and relief to the

strikers' families; the searching of private dwellings and closing of the Portland mine; the deportation of citizens from Cripple Creek, Telluride and Trinidad, with complete list of the names. The numerous "proclamations" are set forth with pompousity and the various special orders have the requisite amount of red tape. Every public library should be equipped with a copy of this report, so that the reading public can acquaint itself with the details of the war waged by the Colorado militia on defenseless women and children.

*Department of*  
**International Musical Union**

*Edited by* **W. SHURTLEFF, General Secretary**

**COLUMBUS, OHIO LOCAL 33, I. M. U.**

While the road of the Columbus Local has not been strewn with roses, yet we are still in the ring and fighting the fakirs and musical grafters of the city. One of the huge jokes of our existence was the inauguration parade of our present governor. We had just been organized and had no engagement, expected none and looked for none. The F. of L. musicians saw a chance to make a four-flush play, and possibly the "push" saw a chance for a little "graft" for their President Weber. Whether it was that or not, Mr. Weber made a trip to our city, stopped at a good hotel at the expense of his dupes, and with the president of his Local Federation Union, a professional musician, who is a lawyer and politician, got into the papers, and what they were going to do to us was a plenty. What they did was—to establish our local firmly and put themselves before the public with their masks off, and incidentally run a bill for their followers to pay.

We have been organized now two years, and while we do not own the town, yet we have a membership of good, true union men who understand their class interests and against whom no charge of scabism can be placed, and we hold the respect of all those that place unionism above scabism and mere form of organization.

The life of all organization, I believe, lies in the officers they elect to conduct their business, and in the following officers of our local we have men whose energy will be used to build up the International Musical Union and American Labor Union in the capital city of Ohio.

Our officers for this year are:

President—Nathan Steele.  
Past President—J. G. Gassmann.  
Vice President—L. B. Burk.  
Secretary—L. C. DeBloom.  
Treasurer—O. L. Rogers.  
Examining and Executive Board—C. W. Burk, C. A. Knepper, C. McClane.

**INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL UNION NOTES.**

Members should remember that now is the time to go after the Park jobs. Do not leave it to your leader and business agent, but all get busy.

Gompers says: "The industrial conference called for June in Chicago has been called by a few Socialists and the American Labor Union." Well, he puts us in good company, anyway.

The Federation of Labor Musicians' official organ, in its editorials, speaks of the coming industrial convention as a "proposed Gabfest." Its brainy editor has yet to learn that "there may be such a thing as too much conscience, but there is no such thing as too much common sense."

The Musical Protective Alliance, Local 41, I. M. U., of New York, on the 25th of April, gave a parade with over 150 men in line. After the parade they gave an entertainment and ball to over a thousand of their friends in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street, New York. Members of our Kearney local were present. International Secretary W. Shurtleff was among the guests of the local.

**OAKLAND, CAL. LOCAL 30, I. M. U.**

The music business at present looks very bright in this city, our local members having many engagements billed ahead, and the prospects are bright for many more. At present we have a few over a hundred members and are the only musical organization chartered in the city affiliated with organized labor. Our officers elected for the year are:

President—W. B. Wells.  
Vice President—M. J. Bettecourt.  
Financial Secretary—W. H. Ramsey.  
Recording Secretary—F. W. Wetmore.  
Treasurer—H. P. Ross.  
Sergeant-at-Arms—T. Victor.  
Trustees and Board of Directors—F. W. Barney, Wm. Bruso, J. Hulbard, J. E. Foster, W. L. Hovey.  
Examining Board—F. N. Barney, H. W. Foster, Jos. Grayson, A. C. Parrott, J. S. Batchelor.  
W. H. RAMSEY, Sec'y Local 30, I. M. U.

**HINTS TO AMATEURS.**

Freedom of spirit and expression are not possible but with nimbleness and sureness of the fingers.—Von Weber.  
Many critics mistake the rules of the theory of music for the rules by which to criticise the beautiful in it.—Merz.

The works of all beginners teem with reminiscences; every composition reveals the model form from which it is derived; and it is only much later that they learn to act independently and to strive for the ideal.—Von Weber.

A player may be very glib with finger-passages. They all in time grow commonplace, and must be changed. Only where such facility serves higher ends is it of any worth.—Schumann.

The noisiest and most complicated music has melody, but it may be so laden with external flourishes, or so obscured by internal changes, that few only can detect and follow the golden thread.—Christiani.

Music is systematized sound.—H. W. Brown.  
Proper, persistent, prolonged practice produces perfect playing, providing pleasure, pure, peaceful and precious—preparing people for paradise.—H. W. Brown.

## Department of United Brotherhood of Railway Employees

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

### NOTICE TO MEMBERS VOTING ON RESOLUTIONS FROM DIVISION 76.

If you are a member in good standing and wish to vote on the proposition to participate in the June convention, send to your agent for a blank ballot. That is, if you are absent from your division.

Send your ballot in to the agent to reach him not later than the 25th of May.

Don't fail to sign your name to the ballot before sending it to agent.

Members of division at large will send their ballot to the General Office, sealed and marked with the words "Official Ballot" on the outside of envelope.

If you approve the resolution mark X in the square opposite YES.

If you disapprove the resolution mark X in square opposite NO.

W. L. HALL.

General Secretary-Treasurer.

### A TOAST.

BY FRANK McCABE.

There are many friends in summer,

While the roses bloom;

When autumn chills the flower

They fade with its perfume;

But on the broad highway of friendship,

Friends of worth are far and few,  
But when one has proved his friendship,

Stick to him who stuck to you.

Ballots for a referendum vote of the members of the U. B. R. E. on the proposition of the brotherhood participating in the June Industrial Union Convention, which is to be held in Chicago June 27, were sent out from the General Office April 28. If you are a member in good standing, write to the agent of your division for one of the ballots, and vote on this very important question. Don't wait for action to be taken by others and then pose as a critic. Every one should use his utmost endeavor to make the vote on this proposition as large as possible. For the reason that if the resolution is passed the vote will be the basis of representation in the convention. If it does not pass, a small number of voting members could not claim that, if there had been more interest manifested, the result would have been otherwise.

The attention of the entire labor world, especially of the western hemi-

sphere, is centered on the convention to be held in Chicago June 27.

Why is this so? The answer can be found in the spirit of discontent that pervades the ranks of labor. The organized workers find that their old weapons of warfare, used so effectively a few years ago (the strike and boycott), are of no use to them at the present time. Organized labor finds itself going down to ignominious defeat whenever and wherever they find themselves pitted against the employing class, in an economic battle. The operators and machinists on the great Santa Fe system, the Stockyards strike of the Butcher Workmen, the textile workers of Fall River, the street railway employes of New York and the garment workers-teamsters' strike at present in Chicago, stands as an open book. Any one who cares to do so can scan its pages. The working people are scanning the pages of this history. Their hearts are sore. They are looking for a remedy. They are willing to listen to any one that might have a message for them; and those who will have the molding of the June convention must have a care how they mold it.

The working people are not accusing any one but the system. It is the "system" that is being weighed in the scales. It was the system and not Mr. Stone or Mr. Mahon that defeated the strike of the street railway employes in New York. It was the "system" and not Mr. Mitchell that counseled a 10 per cent reduction in the wages of the miners last year; it was the "system" and not the leaders of the Chicago garment workers-teamsters' strike that betrayed the strikers and sent them into the world hungry and without jobs; it is this "system" and not the "scalps" of the leaders that the working people are after. This is why their eyes are turned on the June convention; and it will be the reason why their heads will be in the June convention. What they want is an organization built by them, for them and in their interest.

The friends of the "system" will fight, as they never fought before, to sidetrack the vital purposes of the June convention, and even to prevent it being held; but it will be held and will mark the beginning of a new period in the economic history of the world.

Owing to the fact that the referendum vote, now being taken, authorizing the U. B. R. E. to participate in the June convention, has been begun

so late that divisions will be crowded for time in which to elect and provide for their delegate, I would suggest that divisions that propose to send delegates elect them at once, and not wait for the announcement of the vote. If the vote proves to be adverse, no harm will have been done by electing and making preparation for your delegates ahead of time. The constitution requires that a full month be given to the membership to vote on any proposition, and that the canvass of the vote be taken on the 10th of the month following the vote. Therefore, the announcement of the result of the vote cannot be made until after the 10th of June. This may not give some divisions time to elect their delegate for the convention, which is to be held on June 27. W. L. HALL.

General Secretary-Treasurer.

Two new divisions of the U. B. R. E. have been instituted during the month of April—Division 113, organized by Vice President C. J. Jones, at Havre, Mont., and 114, by First Vice President Frank McCabe, in Chicago.

Both divisions have started under the most favorable circumstances and we bespeak for them a splendid future.

The agent of Division 113, Brother Wm. Seitz, writes to the General Office as follows: "The principles of industrial unionism are well known to us in Havre, it being a stronghold of the A. L. U., and we have come into the movement to assist in the bitter struggle that the wage earner must fight against plutocracy to win its freedom."

### CHICAGO, ILL.

I desire to call the attention of all brothers of the U. B. R. E. in the Chicago district, that the District Council will give a grand ball at the Coliseum Annex, May 13, for the benefit of the District Council. Every member of the Brotherhood should do all in his power to help make this ball a success.

Bro. M. T. Lenny, president of the Council, or Bro. J. H. McCormac, secretary, will supply you with tickets, or any information you may wish regarding the ball, if you will apply to them.

On Tuesday, April 11, I instituted a new division at Grand Crossing, with twenty-three charter members; and I look for every switchman on the I. C. Ry. to come into the U. B. R. E. in the near future, for this plan of organization appeals to them. It will

harmonize the difference now existing between some of the craft orders, and the railway company will not be able to have one order working to put the other out of business, as is practiced to-day.

All divisions in Chicago are well attended, and they are securing new members at every meeting. The switchtenders have all joined during this month; and I look for a large increase from the car department in the near future. Chicago is the largest railway center in the United States; and why should not the U. B. R. E. be the largest organization in Chicago? Let every brother "put his shoulder to the wheel" and do all that he can. He can then feel that he has done his duty both to his organization and his fellow man.

I will not take up any more space this time, but keep your eye on this district and you will hear some news, very soon, that will interest every member of the U. B. R. E.

With kindest regards to all brothers, I remain yours for E. U. and P.,  
FRANK McCABE,  
First Vice President.

**"BE YE WORKERS IN THE VINEYARD."**

The signs of the present times point unmistakably to the fact that the wage earners of America are about to engage in the greatest contest the world has ever known on the economic field.

The press dispatches in the daily press show too plainly that the iron hand of the master will in a short time strike as it has never struck before. The simple statement that 80 per cent of the railway mileage is controlled by six or seven groups of capitalists should be an incentive for all employes in the railway service to enroll themselves in one compact body. Self-preservation should be ample reason for doing so, and the love that a true man should bear towards his mother, wife, sister or children should quicken him in the resolve to be ready when the battle begins.

I am no "calamity howler," but the more one reads the more and more he becomes convinced that the coming struggle will be to the death.

Though some may not think so and others may be cognizant of the fact, but heed it not, still it is the duty of each and every one to work for the advancement of the cause.

Without work there can be no progress. If you do not let others know the truths and principles of industrial unionism you will bar your own way to a better condition in life and keep yourselves on the same level as the poorly paid and badly treated non-union man.

The more widespread the principles of equality, unity and protection are sown the greater strength the brotherhood will gain, both numerically, financially and morally.

T. N. CAMPBELL.

Philadelphia, Pa., April, 1905.

Editor Voice—Division 79 held their regular meeting Sunday, April 9, although we had only half the usual force. This being our busy season, most of the boys had to work, and many others thought that on this account there would be no meeting.

In spite of this we had a splendid meeting, which shows that the boys are deeply interested. We initiated eight new members, and others that had become delinquent with their dues came and paid up.

We are going to have a grand rally in May, at which time we are looking forward for Brother Estes to be with us. Every one is making preparations for the event, and it is the one subject of gossip among the brothers.

Division 79 is noted in Philadelphia for its hospitality, and we can always be depended upon to attract a large crowd when we make the effort.

To say that we missed our brothers on the night shift from our Sunday meeting would be putting it mildly. Brothers Hutton, Higgins, Hopkins and Tracy can always be depended upon to interest the boys, and for this reason when they are forced to be absent from a meeting they are missed.

Brothers Keesick, McSwiggan and McElheny had to do all the talking, but I assure you that they did the work creditably.

A SILENT WORKER OF DIV. 79.

Roseburg, Ore., April 18, 1905.

W. L. Hall, Gen. Sec.-Treas.

Dear Sir and Brother—At the last regular meeting of Div. 1, April 12, the Industrial Union manifesto was made the subject for discussion, and seemed to meet with universal approbation. A vote was taken for its adoption, and not a single dissenting vote was cast.

This shows the sentiment of our membership towards the manifesto, but owing to the fact that many of them were not present, there was a resolution passed that we make the manifesto the special subject for discussion at our two next meetings. This is for the purpose of permitting every one the opportunity of expressing themselves.

There is no question but that the principles of the manifesto should be embodied in the organizations of the working people.

H. FAULKNER.

Agent Div. 1, Roseburg, Ore.

**I TICKLE YOU, YOU TICKLE ME.**

A view taken of the labor field, with notes gathered of the acts and misdoings of the American Federation of Labor, leads to but one conclusion—namely, that it is a case of "You tickle me and I will tickle you."

Lined up on the corporations' side of the struggle there seems to be a great many of the "tickled." On the other side there is merely an excuse of a tickle. In fact, a small "tickle" is all that seems to be necessary to bring about magnificent results.

The A. F. of L. was "tickled" a little through the U. M. W. of A., by the 'coal barons,' through the anthracite coal strike committee. To even this up a little, the beef trust was "tickled" by the "I sympathize with you" policy of the A. F. of L. in the recent Butcher Workmen's strike. This tickling business has grown to be such a necessary part of the labor union movement that it was found necessary to construct a tickling machine in order that we might keep pace with the demands. This machine (the Civic Federation) can always be depended upon to turn out tickles, when the occasion demands. That is when there is anything "in sight." "In sight," of course, is understood to mean whenever there is anything to be wrung from the labor unions.

The one-act drama entitled "We are hon-

est toilers, too," by those "horny handed" brothers, Belmont and Gompers, tickles all of the honorable some bodies and should tickle the working people, for do they not pay for the "feather and the fiddle"?

The gloom that spread over the faces of the coal barons was changed to "merry, merry sunshine" when they read the long letters from Brother John Mitchell while on his European trip on the subject of "Labor Conditions in Europe," aided by a 10 per cent cut in the wages of the miners, advised from the same inspired source, as came the letters. While the "barons" are enjoying this "tickling," the working people are "by the sweat of their brows" laboring under this 10 per cent cut in wages to pay the "fiddler."

Many instances of this tickling policy could be cited; but they are all fresh in the minds of those who have taken the least trouble to make themselves acquainted with the situation. I simply wish to ask the great masses of the working people if it is not about time that they were introducing "safe, sound and sane policies into their unions? I do not mean "safe, sound and sane" for the employing classes; I mean for the workers.

CERT. 91, DIV. 27.

Resolution adopted by Englewood Div., U. B. R. E., demanding a referendum vote on the question of participating in the June convention:

"Whereas, Having carefully considered the manifesto issued by a conference of industrial unionists, held in the city of Chicago Jan. 2, 3, and 4, and heartily concurring with its principles and the call sent out for a convention to be held in Chicago June 27 for the purpose of uniting under closer bonds of an industrial organization the working people of the western hemisphere for the better advancement of their mutual interest; and

Whereas, The principles announced in the manifesto being the exact principles underlying industrial unionism, as represented by the U. B. R. E.; and believing that the brotherhood as a whole should give its support in making the June convention a great benefit and blessing to the wage earners; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of Division 76 of the U. B. R. E., in regular meeting assembled, that the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, as a whole, should participate in the June convention, and would ask the concurrence of a sufficient number of divisions of the U. B. R. E. to demand of the President and General Secretary-Treasurer that they put out a referendum vote on the following proposition:

That the brotherhood be represented in the Industrial Union Congress of June 27 in the following manner: By the President, First, Second and Third Vice Presidents, General Secretary Treasurer and one delegate to be elected from each division of the U. B. R. E. in good standing on the first day of June, 1905. Provided there shall be no cost incurred to the Grand Division to defray any of the expenses of the general officers, hereby authorized as delegates, or any of the delegates from divisions.

Resolved, further, That a majority of all delegates present shall have the power to install the U. B. R. E. as a working part of the new organization; provided, the convention holds to the lines of the manifesto; and the delegates are hereby instructed to cast a unit, vote on all matters coming before the Congress which may have vital interest to the future of the brotherhood or the industrial union movement.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each division of the U. B. R. E. asking their co-operation in furthering its purposes; and a copy sent to the General Secretary-Treasurer for publication in the Voice.

D. C. WOLVERTON, Manager.  
WM. HICKEY, Agent.

**QUEBEC.**

American Labor Union has no representation here as yet except local branch of the A. S. of E. But the industrial union sentiment is gaining ground tremendously fast, and the field will soon be ripe for A. L. U. harvest.

S. GREEN,  
Organizer, Pt. St. Charles, Que.

Teacher—Arthur, I shall be obliged to detain you again to-day after school is out.

Arthur (aged 7)—Of course you understand that if there is any gossip comes of your keeping me after school every day you are responsible for it. It is none of my seeking.

## HIS PERSONAL RECORD.

Geo. Estes.

An elegant book of three hundred pages, bound in cloth with the railway colors, white, green and red in bands across the cover, has been published, in which many phases of railroading are treated upon in a way that shows the writer possessed of an intimate personal knowledge of railway work, such as can only be acquired by years of actual personal experience in the service.

The system of requiring life record from applicants for positions, the hospital and pension departments, the age limit and the black list, are dealt with in such a graphic manner as to bring the reader in direct mental contact with the practical side of railway life.

Every paragraph carries the stamp of truth and actual experience with it.

The "Old Timer" will recognize at once that a mind, trained in the subtleties of "railroading" as it appeals to the experienced man, has prepared this magnificent work, employing endless labor and painstaking care in its compilation.

It deals with the most vexed questions of railway service in a thorough and able manner, while the interest of the reader is constantly maintained by the beautiful and well worded narrative of the life and adventures of the writer on many of the railways of the Great West.

One of the most truthful and pathetic parts of the book, clothed in touching and realistic word painting, is Chapter XVI, which reads in part as follows:

## A TRIBUTE TO THE SECTION BOSS.

"There are moments, when one is speeding on a journey by rail, that flashes of impending danger, forebodings of coming disaster mar the pleasures of the exhilarating flight.

"The traveler sometimes wakes at night suddenly, as if a hand had parted the curtains of his berth, and had rudely called him back to a full and instantaneous understanding of his situation.

"Then he lies awake, his heart straining with the load of dread, sinking and quailing as the heavy train dashes in swaying, roaring recklessness over resounding bridges, across frail trestles, along narrow cliffs, down steep mountain grades; now keeling to the sudden check of a sharp curve, righting anon like a stout ship in a storm, only to be hurled again out of the perpendicular and to spin on the rim of the wheels, it seems, around a curve.

"Then the traveler's heart contracts, his hands clench and the sweat breaks out upon his brow. What if the hurling weight of the train, obeying the law of nature, should force the engine from the track at the tangent, and all should go crashing down the terrible, dark, jagged sides of some unmeasured depth! The whistle sounds, sharp, incisive, mandatory, crying to all ahead to clear the way, warning the laggard to hasten his steps across the steel-girded roadway upon which the pulsing monster is, for a moment, supreme.

"Ah! the traveler sighs. His tense muscles relax, his tingling nerves grow calm, as if an opiate had been injected into his veins, and sleep descends upon his eyes.

"A human hand has caused the blind machine to obey its touch; a human hand is upon the controlling throttle valve; human eyes peer ahead where the beams from the headlight pierce the night; a human mind, after all, is the power that guides and curbs this thing of mighty strength. Ah! sighs the traveler; all is well.

"At the end of the division the engineer steps down, another engine is coupled on, another man takes his place. He has driven the fire-fed machine a hundred miles, per-

haps, and his mind has been its mind. He has performed his task without a mistake, without accident, and much credit is due him. He has followed, with the confident trust of a child, the firm and secure roadway, so schooled by experience in the knowledge that it is safe that he has not given it thought. There is not in his heart a springing warmth of gratitude or thankfulness toward those who have trimmed the road for his passage; not a care for the humble, obscure heroes who have made sure that each spike, bolt, strap, rail was in perfect order, and each bearing its part; that every frog point was at the proper angle, each guard rail fast, every inch of the weary miles of track true to the gauge.

"And the traveler, asleep in his berth, peaceful again in his thought of security, has not been plagued by the nightmare of a broken rail or splice, of an improperly elevated curve.

"He has read much of the cool judgment of the engineer and of his heroic devotion to duty, and he believes that the safety of the train is in the hands of that person alone. He has never read in magazine stories or newspaper articles anything about the section boss. He probably has never heard of him at all. No one has ever spoken of him as a factor in the public welfare or safety; he has never been apotheosized. Yet, without reducing one candle power the radiance of the engineer's glory, it can be truthfully said that one section boss, in his relation to the traveling public, bears daily more responsibility than twenty engineers.

"The engineer has but to follow the road. All this talk of heroism and firm hand on the throttle is chaff. There is no more heroism in running a locomotive than there is in manipulating the keys of a typewriter. The engineer does not set out on his run to face continuous danger. There are no unknown, masked or unheard-of pitfalls awaiting him. The people of the train are always in the same danger that the engineer has to face. Nature seldom interposes obstructions, and when it does, the passengers are in greater peril than the engineer, because he sees the danger first and has a greater chance of saving himself.

"Run back over the disastrous wrecks of late years, and figure the percentage of engineers killed. When the dust of the impact of a collision clears away, the engineer is generally found limping around the pile. Sometimes, of course, he is beneath it. The engineer has but to obey orders, attend to his trade by keeping his eyes on the gauges and indicators, and start and stop at the right time. He is responsible, jointly with the conductor, for the safety of one train a few hours each day.

The section boss is responsible solely for every train that passes over his five to nine miles of track each hour of the twenty-four. There is no run to the division end, then rest and cessation of responsibility. It is a continuous strain; there is no respite.

"The engineer follows the road. The section boss makes it safe.

"The general conception of a section boss is that of a blunt-headed person of limited intelligence, and this opinion, it must be regretfully admitted, is shared by many railroad men who occupy better paying and easier positions. As a plain matter of fact, the section boss must know almost as much about the operation of trains as a brakeman, conductor and engineer, in addition to his own trade.

"Trade it is, or rather science. The book of rules of any railroad devotes less space to the section boss and the track department than to anything else, but the section boss is required to know the workings of more departments than his own. He must learn his trade in the hard school of experience. It cannot be absorbed from books and it is probably because the framers of books and rules are cognizant of this fact that they do not attempt to cover the duties of the section boss therein. Theory and diagrams will not put in a switch nor overcome the tendency of track to kick.

"The section boss, although looked upon as ignorant and dense, must know the proper elevation to give a curve of certain degree; he must understand the scientific principle of easements, or run offs, the gradual reduction of the elevation of a curve, which causes a car to regain its equilibrium after rounding it, and which forces the bevel of the wheel upon the short or inside rail, upon approaching a curve; he must understand the expansion and contraction of metals to such degree that he may allow, with certainty, for the stretching in summer and the shortening in

winter of the rails. Theory will not work in this. The practical knowledge of an Irish section foreman has been known to solve difficulties that stilled the entire engineering corps of a railroad.

"But this is only a bare touch of what the section foreman must know. A little carelessness, a small mistake on his part in many of the tasks he daily performs, would mean perhaps the cost of a hundred human lives. The section boss must be infallible.

"In addition to being the poorest paid man, for services rendered, in the employ of the railroad company, the section boss must bear the scorn of those in easier positions and of better pay, who imagine themselves his mental superiors, as well as their mistakes and faults in many cases. The ignorance or carelessness of many a student brakeman in running through a split switch without springs, bending the point in such a position as to leave it half open while the target shows clear, has been shouldered off upon the section boss by railroad managements time and again. "Faulty tracks," the newspapers say, quoting the general superintendent, general manager or general something, when an accident of this kind occurs. The management must blame somebody, if it cannot place the fault on Providence, and it must shield itself in its criminal practice of employing students in important positions of trust.

"Coroners' juries are always in doubt as to whether Providence or the section boss is to blame for faulty track, but no coroner's jury would hesitate a moment in fixing the blame for a student brakeman's blunder if it could get at the facts.

"Many a rear end collision has occurred of late years on account of the student brakeman's improper flagging, or failure to flag at all. Imagine the feelings of a conductor, working his way through a long passenger train, studying out the Chinese puzzles of through tickets, when he feels the emergency application. He knows there is a student brakeman in the rear Pullman car, his feet cocked up, taking his ease, but it is a question whether or not the brakeman will go back to flag against the passenger train following a few minutes behind.

"If the train has stopped on a trestle, which often happens, the conductor may have seven or eight coaches, each from seventy-five to eighty feet long, between him and the student. He must pass through the entire train, probably finding many of the doors locked, before he can reach the student and see that his train is properly protected. It may be but a matter of minutes, but the speeding of those minutes has often resulted in a harvest of death.

"On the other hand, who ever heard of the supposedly ignorant section foreman causing a wreck by failing to protect himself while raising track or changing the steel on a curve?

"There is not an instance in the history of railroading where a train was wrecked through the failure of a section foreman to properly flag when track was impassable. This is because the section foreman is required to be as well informed regarding the schedule of trains and the manner of flagging as any conductor. More, his experience has told him what allowances to make for the stopping of certain trains on certain grades and levels. No one ever heard of an engineer running past a flagman stationed by a section boss.

"That section foremen are not paid commensurate to the services they render, and the heavy and grave responsibilities they bear, is due to lack of united effort to better their condition. A section foreman's education is a matter of years, and, if they were properly organized, they could win the recognition due them from the corporations they serve. This is especially true at this time, when the use of extremely heavy engines has become general, making the constant care and watchfulness of trained trackmen indispensable."

This splendid work was compiled by Wm. J. Pinkerton, one of the best known switchmen of North America, and is published by the Pinkerton Publishing Company of Kansas City, Missouri. It should be in the hands of every railway employe in the country.

Smith—Your wife has a fine voice.  
Jones—Yes; one of the best in the world. Otherwise it would have been worn out several years ago.



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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. Horan.  
Agent, D. G. Thomas, Box 231.  
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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.

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. Kuey.  
Agent, R. W. Meadows, Benicia, Cal.

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. Engebritson, 211 S. Broadway, Crookston, Minn.

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

107. ERIE (CHICAGO, ILL.)—Meets 3d Saturday, 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, 2375 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.

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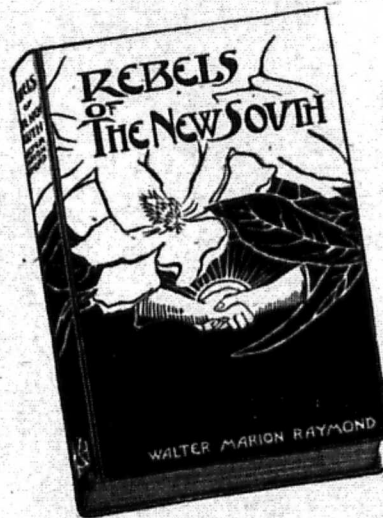
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