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ONLY SALVATION

POLITICAL ACTION THE ONLY HOPE.

TRADES UNIONISM HAS SO FAR FAILED IN ITS PURPOSE, SAYS PRESIDENT MOYER, OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, IN HIS ADDRESS.

The address of President Charles Moyer, delivered before the annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, was, in part, as follows:

"After the adjournment of the tenth annual convention it was predicted by a great many that the policy adopted had sounded the death knell of the Western Federation of Miners. That in advocating a policy of independent political action they had done that which meant the disruption of your organization. I assure you that it is a pleasure for me to be able to report to you that at no time since the inception of the Western Federation of Miners has your organization been more prosperous than at the present. The report of your secretary will inform you that the number of initiations during the past twelve months exceeds that of any year in the history of the organization.

"Notwithstanding the wonderful increase in the ranks of organized labor during the past year, we find no improvement in the condition of the wage worker. While true that a few have received a slight increase in wages, thousands have been engaged in a fierce struggle to even maintain their present condition, and many have gone down to defeat. We need but recall the five months of privation and hunger experienced by the thousands in the coal fields of Pennsylvania in their struggle for the opportunity to live, to be convinced that pure and simple trades unionism is inadequate to insure permanent relief for the toiling masses. The 147,000 members of the United Mine Workers have nothing to look forward to under the present system other than a repetition from year to year of the fierce struggle for the God-given right to existence.

With Regard to Mitchell.

"Can the leader of this army of men expect to hold his organization intact, when he advises them to continue a policy which offers nothing for the future but strife and destitution, and commends the findings of a board of arbitration selected by the representatives of capital which binds the chains of slavery more securely around his membership and deprives them of even the privilege of appealing to their masters for a period of three years? Bitter, indeed, must have been the hour when the thousands of tried and true union men were informed that the organization for which they had fought was not worthy of recognition. John Mitchell need not be surprised should his membership turn their faces to the West, seeking affiliation with organizations which have sent out their message to the world, that as labor produces all wealth, such wealth belongs to the producer thereof.

"Trades unions have had a fair trial, and it has been clearly demonstrated that although their ranks have continued to swell from hundreds into millions, we are no nearer to the solution of the industrial problem than we were at the beginning.

"I believe that the most important action which you can take during this convention will be to reaffirm the policy adopted by the tenth annual convention. We can expect nothing from the old parties.

The Legislature.

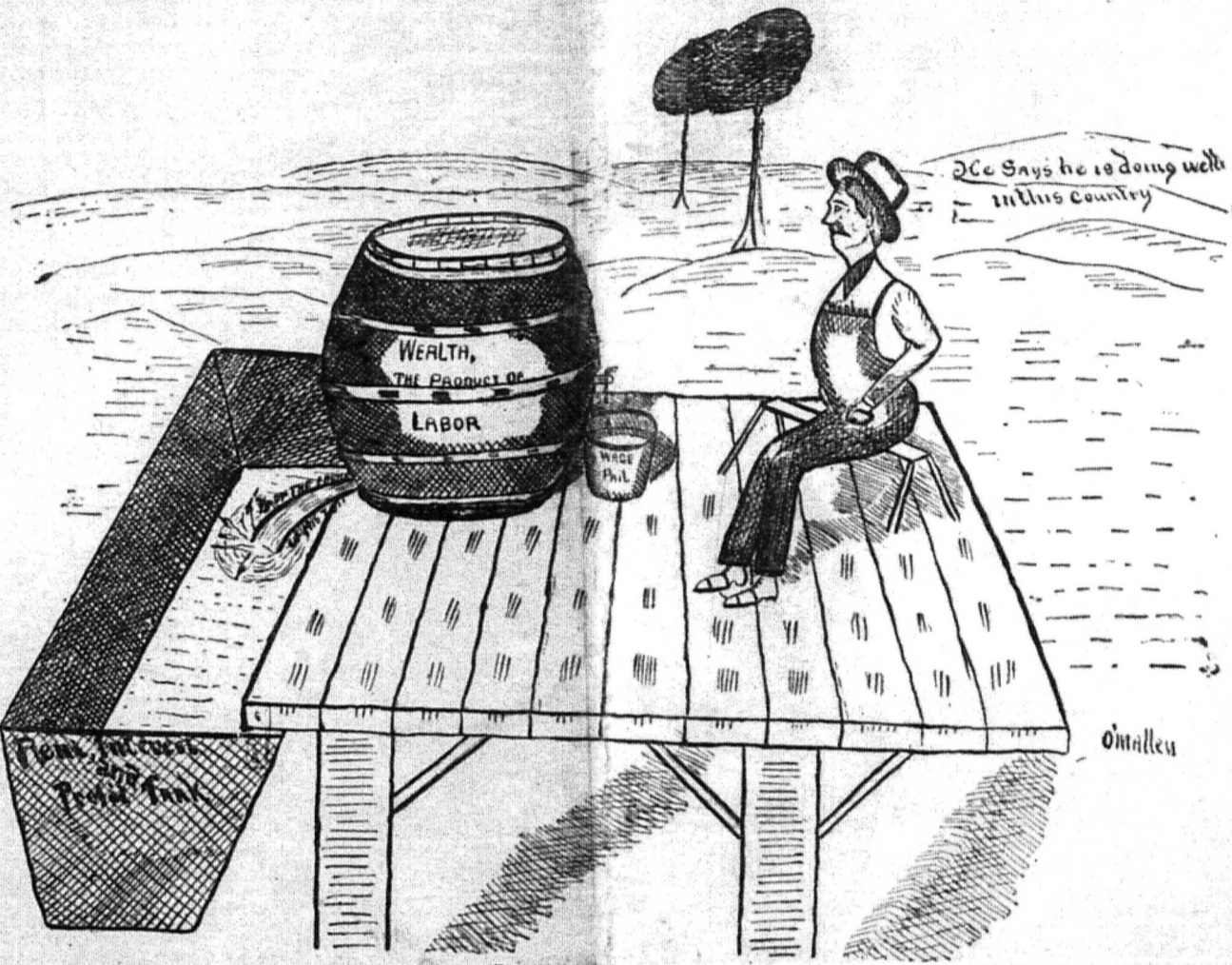
"It would seem that no further argument would be necessary to convince organized labor and the working people in general that they have nothing to expect from such legislators as composed the fourteenth general assembly of the state of Colorado. On the fourth day of November, when the ballots were counted, it was found that a majority of 40,000 ballots instructed their representatives in that assembly to embody in the constitution a law providing that eight hours should constitute a day's work in and around mines, mills and smelters and other hazardous occupations. Both political parties pledged themselves that if placed in power they would frame such a law. After a ninety days' session capital had gained another victory and labor once more realized that their franchise had accomplished nothing.

"I desire to call your attention to the fact that many of our members are still compelled to labor long and unreasonable hours. I believe that the time has arrived when the Western Federation of Miners should declare for the eight-hour work day, and that this convention should specify a definite date for the establishing of a universal eight-hour law throughout the entire jurisdiction.

Mr. Moyer recommends more power for the executive board, and suggests that the convention consider the advisability of biennial sessions as an economical move.

Binding Contracts.

"On the matter of contracts he says: 'I desire to call your attention to the matter of locals entering into time contracts with representatives of corporations. Although your constitution is very specific in regard to this matter, unions will insist upon binding themselves down with these agreements...'



The bung of private ownership of the tools of production and distribution drains the worker of seven-eighths of the fruits of his toil. The "pure and simple" laborer has no thought of aught save wages. If an extra drop falls to him he is elated over his success, but is ever unconscious of the immense loss which is occurring on the other side.

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

Reports of Officers--Growth of the Organization--Plans for the Future--Due Card System Recommended--Affiliation of Central Bodies Urged--Success of the American Labor Union Journal.

The American Labor Union convention opened at in Denver, Col., at 3 o'clock Monday afternoon in Odd Fellows' hall. The large attendance spoke for an increase in membership and consequent growth of the organization during the past year.

After President Daniel McDonald called the assemblage to order, and Secretary-Treasurer Clarence Smith assumed his position at the desk addresses of welcome and cordiality were made by President John C. Sullivan of the Colorado State Federation of Labor; David C. Coates, president Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, and Edward Boyce, ex-president of the Western Federation of Miners.

A committee from the Waiters' Union requested delegates to eat at no houses except those displaying the union cards in their windows.

The convention then listened to addresses by George Estes, president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and R. E. Crosby, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

President McDonald, in behalf of the American Labor Union, thanked the speakers for their presence and counsel.

A committee on credentials was then appointed by President McDonald at 4:15 p. m. as follows: R. G. Moser of union No. 158, E. E. Thornburg of union No. 253, William Ahern of union No. 50, Benjamin Wheeler of union No. 359, Fred Minor of union No. 164, F. M. Watson of union No. 217, Charles Hilditch of union No. 2.

Delegate Davis of Helena Federal Union No. 199, introduced a resolution asking the Montana Text Book Commission to live up to the spirit of the Montana law requiring the union label on text books. The resolution was adopted.

A communication from Hack Drivers' Union No. 206, requesting delegates to use only union hacks, was read.

Socialist meetings were announced as follows: Monday evening, May 25th, at Tabor Grand opera house; speakers, William H. Wise and Frederick Strickland. Wednesday evening, May 27th, at Tabor Grand opera house; speakers, William D. Hayward, H. L. Hughes and Walter Thomas Mills. Friday evening, May 29th, Tabor Grand opera house; speakers, Edward Boyce and J. Stitt Wilson. Tuesday evening, June 2d, Coliseum; speakers, David C. Coates and Walter Thomas Mills.

Moved and seconded that delegates meet with delegates from Western Federation of Miners at 625 Mining Exchange building at 7:30 p. m. and march in a body to Tabor Grand to hear speaking. Carried.

Tuesday was taken up in settling contests over delegates.

Report of the President.

Denver, Colo., May 26, 1903. To the officers and Delegates of the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Labor Union: Brothers and Sisters--Again we meet to participate in the transaction of the business in the interest of our organization. The welfare of your union is to a large degree delegated to your judgment and the responsibilities assigned you are special

marks of confidence and ones that you will keep in promoting.

I will not attempt to go into detailed report, but desire to call your attention to such suggestions as I believe to be judicious and wise and to the welfare of our organization. Neither is it my intention to enumerate the number of difficulties that our organization has had to contend with. Our official paper has presented this side to our members in an honest and intelligent manner, and I do not desire to suggest anything that would be in the way of a repetition.

City County and State Bodies.

The influence of central bodies can not be over-estimated. Their usefulness is unlimited. They are an agency that is constantly on duty and working diligently for the cause, and no obstacle should be placed in the way of their affiliating with the American Labor Union, but every inducement possible should be extended for their co-operation and affiliations. Many of these central bodies in small towns and isolated communities are not in shape financially to pay the dues provided for in our constitution. This is constantly used as an argument against central bodies affiliating, and, appreciating this, I would suggest that the element of objection be removed, and that the dues for district unions, city, county and central bodies be reduced at least to \$12 a year. By securing the affiliation of central bodies our organization becomes more effective and in closer touch with the elements essential in extending our influence and power, so necessary to the program of our

organization. We must not consider the central bodies an institution by which to raise our finances, but as an organization of usefulness, an agency of service to the movement, and by its effectiveness secure the advantages accompanied by its success and affiliation. A central body does not necessarily have to be subordinate in the sensitive term, or as is generally understood, but it must be loyal to the cause. This movement needs their association, and too much stress can not be put on the importance of their affiliation.

Organization.

Since the last convention the work of organization has been pressed as vigorously as our finances would permit, and our efforts in this direction have met with great success. It would suggest the continuance of the active effort and a liberal expenditure of energy in the future. The added membership to our organization has amply rewarded this work. Unions organized have been benefited by our activity, and the members enrolled on our list have been profited by their membership. But our rapid growth and unexpected success, which has come up to our most extravagant expectation, leaves the work by no means complete. The coming year is equally as promising as the last. In fact I believe that our organization will take on larger proportions this year than ever before. Its possibilities are unlimited unless some unusual unforeseen calamity occurs, or some reckless blunder committed by our organization should happen. It is needless to call the attention

AGREEMENT VIOLATED.

The agreement made for the settlement of the Denver strike last Friday has been violated from the first by employers covered by the agreement. Outside of the agreement, it was pledged by the Chamber of Commerce committee after consultation with the executive committee of the Citizens' alliance and the employers concerned, that the locked-out candy makers and teamsters should each and every one be reinstated in their former positions of employment. This agreement has been totally disregarded by the employers in the candy industry, and none of the locked-out employees have been given employment, while but few of the teamsters have been reinstated.

Other employers under the agreement agreed to take back former employees as fast as business would permit. This has been violated in many instances, especially by employers of cooks and waiters and grocery clerks. Former employees are being told that only on their severing their connection with labor unions can they go back to work. At the same time employers are advertising in the newspapers for employees.

There seems to be a deliberate plan, on the part of the employers, under advice from the executive committee of the Citizens' alliance, to refuse employment to all members of labor unions. The general labor committee has taken up these violations, and plans are being arranged to picket and boycott the business houses of all employers who violate the agreement. The agreement was a general one and these violations will be considered as nullifying the entire agreement.

Most of the other employees who came out on the general strike order have gone back to work without any friction with employers, and with the exceptions noted above the industrial situation in Denver has returned to its normal condition.

The labor committee is taking care of the employees who have been refused work. A large sum of money is required for this purpose and a call to all labor unions for voluntary subscriptions has been sent out.

of the members of this convention to the pressing necessity of a more perfect affiliation of labor unions, a better and more competent organization of wealth producers. The bond of our friendship and sympathy among the working people must be cultivated until their hearts beat in unison, until they think, act and work in harmony. To accomplish this is the aim of our organization. The interests of the working class are identical. They are the only useful members of society. Theirs are extravagant burdens. They are not responsible for this condition. Who are? We are vastly in the majority and can eliminate these accumulated burdens. If we would be guided by class welfare we must stand together for a union of the workers and for a union of the instruments and agencies of production. For a union of its source and means; for a union to unionize unionism that will individually give each union man or worker that which his brains, genius or labor produces. A union to increase their income without additional expenditure of effort, labor or energy. Economically, we organize on distinct class lines. We have to. Socially, we associate on class lines. We are obliged to. Politically, we join the four hundred. They invite us to. What a sweeping, thundering protest would be heard from the members of this organization if this convention were to select a committee of railroad magnates, bank presidents or corporation lawyers to represent them. We do it politically, but must quit it. We organize unions and work on the economic fields together and achieve remarkable results. If the same harmony of action and concentrated effort could be put into execution politically the working class could capture the legislature, the judiciary and executive departments of government.

The proposition of organizing is one of the most important matters to come before this convention. Careful and well-organized plans should be arranged to prepare for our future campaign. The organizing work must be urged with all the vigor and vim we possess.

Organizers.

We maintained as many organizers in the field, from time to time, since the last convention as our revenue would permit. Their faithful and intelligent performance of their duties causes us to remember them, and I highly appreciate their effective work. Their name will be inscribed on the tablets of our memory. The task of an organizer is by no means an easy one, and to be a lasting success it requires a great deal of fact, force and determination. Had we the finances at our command, we could have successfully managed a great many more organizers for the opportunity for organizing work is almost without limit, and it has been our constant regret that we have not been able to fully comply with our ambition in this direction.

Individual Membership.

The matter of individual membership is a proposition that has been called to my attention this year a number of times, and it is one that

(Continued on Page Five.)

DEATH STRUGGLE

UNIONS TO BE CRUSHED OUT OF EXISTENCE.

MANUFACTURERS MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR THE ANNIHILATION OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS--DELEGATES FROM 20 STATES CONFER.

The Examiner of recent date contains the following:

According to the views expressed by the representatives from twenty of the leading manufacturing states in the Union, who met in executive session at 170 Broadway, in the rooms of the National Association of Manufacturers, May 22, capital is preparing all over this country for a death struggle with labor.

The meeting was that of the executive committee of the association, and beyond announcing the selection of committees to work on this line this summer and report at the next stated meeting here in September, no formal statements of what was done was made, but it is known that subcommittees representing widely diversified industries were appointed to go to work systematically all over this country to unionize employers so that special steps may be taken to engage eminent legal counsel in the several states to protect the manufacturers against boycotts, injunctions and the activity of walking delegates.

The president of the association was authorized to select additional legal counsel, and the general officers were instructed to report a plan of legal defense against picketing, boycotting and the obtaining of injunctions, such as several labor organizations in the West have obtained recently, to the embarrassment of their employers.

The special committee on reorganization of the National Manufacturers at the New Orleans convention a few days ago, appointed a subcommittee of seven, to which the president and the general secretary were added, as a permanent commission on organization of employers throughout the Union.

Another result of the New Orleans convention, which was furthered was the systematizing of the work of the special committee which is to devise and put into effect practical plans for bringing about the co-operation of the many state employers' associations.

It is understood that the sharpest sort of watch is to be maintained at the national capitol at Washington as well as at the different state capitols.

A year ago this new organization comprised 978 firms. The secretary proclaims that it numbers 2,264 employers and manufacturers, representing every state in the Union.

D. M. Parry, president of the association, after the meeting adjourned, said:

"Neither the labor agitators, the proletariats, the ecclesiastics, those who are seeking to arrange arbitration meetings, nor the press have any idea of the tremendous movement that is under way among all classes of employers all over this country. Without regard to politics, religion or petty rivalries, the men who have their money and their interests centered in manufactures of every description have reached the conclusion that they must act as a unit in a great national movement insuring them the control of their own capital. They have granted shorter hours and cheerfully conceded higher wages, but they will not yield the right to decide how they are to conduct their own business."

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly.

Whereas, there is and has been several national organizations working separately and independent of each other.

Whereas, such an independence is commendable in so far that each trade and calling should manage and conduct its own affairs and by its own members.

Whereas, many of its organizations working separately and not jointly with the others has caused much trouble to labor and its organizations; therefore, be it

Resolved by the Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly and all unions represented therein, that we recommend to all organizations, when sending delegates to their national convention to instruct them to work for the passage of a resolution for the affiliation of all labor organizations, of whatever trade or calling, under one head.

Be it further resolved, That each organization affiliated with this assembly send to their official journal for publication a copy of these resolutions, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy be sent to President Samuel Gompers, and the executive board of the A. F. of L. and to President Dan McDonald and the executive board of the A. L. U.; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this assembly, and a copy be given to the public press for publication, and to each organization affiliated with this assembly after adoption.

C. M. PLEGER,

President.

J. J. GILLIAM,

Secretary.

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Socialism vs. Paternalism

Written for the Journal by A. T. CURZON

"And God said 'Let there be light.'"
The stupendous growth of the Socialist vote, out of all proportion to its organized membership, emphasizes the fact "that Socialists are discovered, not made"—that they are the result of a growth mentally in consequence of the present political conditions of the masses and the classes.

those of capital. Unionism will never completely emancipate wage slaves from the throes of capital; therefore, they evidently are fast becoming Socialists. The unions out west have joined the Socialists bodily. The Democrats knowing these facts, and being a party of expediency, have relied largely in the past on the vote of the union men, and by doing so have been successful in gulling them out of their votes.

the land. The Republican party met and nominated Abraham Lincoln, the late antagonist of Stephen A. Douglas. Well, the time of the battle of the ballots arrived, and the result—the election of Lincoln—which had been foreseen by the pro-slavery party, and the consequent irrepressible conflict prophesied years before was provided for and precipitated by the attack on Fort Sumpter. Next year we will have another political crisis.

GEORGE H. TURNER,



National Committeeman of Socialist Party of Missouri.

It behooves the Socialists (who are the "heirs of the ages" of efforts to obtain freedom of the masses as against the oppressions of the privileged classes) to be up and doing, educating and organizing, preparing for the struggle which is evidently now near at hand. There are three well-recognized and distinct political parties in the United States today. The first and most dominant is the Republican party (the capitalist party), which has been in power so many years and is so strongly entrenched, that it seems almost a foolish move on the part of the weakest party in numbers to attempt to overthrow it.

grey-heads who remain from that period, but we refrain from want of space. The active opposition party of that time was the young and untired Republican party, commonly called the "Abolition party," which had fallen heir to the old opposition "Whig party"—now dead and buried, but of whose followers many still remained and allied themselves, some few to the Democrats, many to the so-called "Know Nothing" or native American party—but the bulk constituted the rising, forceful and energetic Republican party. Well, the eventful period of 1860 arrived, likewise the time of the conventions. The Democrats met and split. One portion—the pro-slavery—seceded and met in a separate convention at Charleston and nominated Breckenridge, while the Douglas faction nominated him, and that political hash calling themselves the "Union party" and composed mainly of what was at that time called dough-faces, or men who tried hard to obtain compromise when great principles were at stake, and who were largely made up of members of the just dead "Know Nothing." They met in convention and nominated John Bell. These last wanted to avert war at any price, for the air was full of threats and the war god was abroad in

them through. But the labor unions are learning fast, and are not to be lured for suckers much longer. While we Socialists are masters of the situation we have the only reasonable and logical plan to end this—otherwise endless—conflict between capital and labor. Paternalism has been tried both in Europe and the colonies, and while it has alleviated somewhat the hardships of the toilers' lot, yet it can not prevent the exploitation of labor while the capitalist system rules this earth. Only when the wealth producers own the tools of production—capital and machinery—in common and consume all they produce can we have a solution of the labor problem and mankind learn to war no more. "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."
Fortunate it is that this great conflict of the ages is to be fought with ballots, not bullets—and that the conflict will be precipitated before the ballot can be much restricted. This latter plan has been contemplated, but the conflict will be on before it can be perfected, else we would see the bloodiest war the world has ever known.

Current Comment

Written for The Journal by Adam P. Skirving

Remember there are two sides to even a dog fight; don't run away with the idea that you are the best dog until you have seen the other dog.
There are also two sides to prosperity under our present way of dividing it—inside and out. Which side is tickling you in the ribs at present?
"Even a worm will turn when trodden on." But you have to "yump" on some of these human worms with both feet before you can get a turn out of them.
Do not under rate yourself; remember that because another man is richer in this world's goods it is no criterion that he is richer than you either mentally or morally. Frequently it is simply because you would not stoop to the methods he employed or you might possess as much.
The "element of chance" that, according to the Boston Post, makes life so "fascinating" under our present system of exploiting the laboring class, should be condemned by the church like any other form of gambling; more especially so as it is a gambling where human life is the stake.
Comrade Havemeyer, president of the sugar trust, believes that the art of working is a talent given by God, and we sin not to use it. We infer from this that Comrade Havemeyer does not possess this talent himself.

but those of us who do should use it exclusively to pile up dividends for Havemeyer, Baer and Co.
Comrade Havemeyer asks the unions if they think a man has a right to run a lawful business without being dictated to by delegates from an unlawful union. Comrade Havemeyer seems to be "between the devil and the deep sea." If he is not running a scab outfit, he must be trying to run a lawful business with unlawful union men. Boys, hadn't we better hire some lobbyists and see that we have our unions made lawful in the near future?
President Roosevelt's view in regard to large families is all right if he will only give us a tangible solution to the problem of finding the "where-withal" to keep 'em after we've got 'em. Most of us have the divine right to get 'em, but only the Baer right to keep 'em.
"The poor ye shall have always with ye" is made use of by some of these self-styled Christians to make it appear that Socialism is a devilish doctrine because one of its aims is to do away with a good deal of unnecessary poverty. These same Christians (?) are very apt to totally ignore God's commandments "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not covet," putting such trivial (?) matters aside with a Pecksniffian wave of the hand when they stand in the way of any of their ungodly desires.
A tie-up is threatened at Oakland, Cal., by the Laborers' Protective Union. The trackmen, some time ago, made a demand for an increase in wages and were discharged in conse-

The conductors and motormen on the Connecticut Railway at Bridgeport are on strike for an increase of wages and recognition of the union. A slight increase was offered, but recognition of the union denied. The men are still out.

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MEN Who are just realizing the responsibilities of manhood and who find themselves handicapped in life's battle by reason of the errors and dissipation of early youth unfitting them for the station in life that is the goal of every able-bodied man, should not hesitate a day, but call or write for the advice of our physicians. WE UNDERSTAND YOUR AFFLICTION and can restore you to strength and vigor.
MEN Who find themselves growing old before their time, who find the fire of youth burning low, the aches and pains of the aged slowly creeping upon them—with that pain across the small of the back and grows worse instead of better; that IRRITABLE, NERVOUS, DESPONDENT FEELING that WILL NOT be shaken off. It means you need our treatment. Consult our physicians, avail yourself of our FREE CONSULTATION and rid yourself of your ailments before it is too late.
MEN Who realize that they are not as strong as they used to be, and those who are suffering from Kidney and Bladder Troubles, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Impaired Digestive Organs, Constipation, Faulty Circulation and the Kindred Diseases THAT COME WITH YEARS, can obtain relief quickly and surely by consulting us. Remember, there is no charge for consultation, either at our office or by mail.
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Evolution of Industrialism

Written for the Journal
by
C. CHRISTENSON

In the historical development of society certain contradictions have formulated which, with fuller growth, have become more and more apparent and intolerable. Classes have sprung into existence, namely, the proletarian and the capitalist, the material interests of the two being in direct opposition. The political movement of the present and future generation must, therefore, continue divided until economic harmony is fully established, which, however, cannot take place before the entire capitalist system is overthrown, for the obvious reason that the exploitation of the one is the very life of the other class. Capital cannot generate, or even exist, without the proletarian, whose necessities force him to sell his labor power (his very life) on the installment plan. For the middle class there is no longer room in the economic or political world. His property will go to the capitalist, and his members to the working class. Such is the destiny of what was once the predominating class. The only hope for its existence (being without a mission) is the turning back of the wheels of progress, which pretense could only cause a maiden's blush to appear on the cheek of students of the material history of the world.

However, a struggle for life is maintained and appeals for help to the working class through the political party that represents it is heard in voices "down with the trust, municipal ownership, labor union friendship, etc." Laboring men, beware; do not retard your deliverance by following off the band.

The Socialists of the world have discovered the laws that underlie all the previous economic and political changes, and, governed by the past, have placed the entire movement into absolute harmony with the interests of the working class. Socialism is the product of all past developments, and aimed at, and longed for, by all class-conscious workers of the world. The capitalist system does not live on retrogression. It is essentially revolutionary. It must conquer and constantly calls into its service more and more of the economic forces it must dominate. The society in which it lives it must control—the press, the pulpit, the school, the universities, the labor, the market the shops, the ships, the mines, the tools, the art and the stage; but, above all it must have in full control the governmental forces—the navy and army, the police and judiciary. Capitalism has developed slowly from its origin, but has become stronger and developed so rapidly with the times, until now the economists and the social scientists proclaim it from the housetop to be the only everlasting economic system of the world, from which, therefore, there is no escape. Now, listen to the sweet concord of all the voices singing the praises of the class that own them. Thinking of the lawyer, as I am writing, pleading the capitalist's pitiful side of a case between and homeless widows and orphans.

Oh, how sweet, how sweet the sound of the cannon shooting salvation into semi-barbarian races, at the same time compelling them to give a first mortgage on the country of their nativity in return for trust-made whisky or bibles. But we must pass over the ground in haste, as we cannot enter into details.

Socialism, like capitalism, is not retrogressive, but revolutionary. It stands for the reconstruction of society on a co-operative basis—a democratic management of industries. Its three fundamental pillars are the materialistic conception of history, surplus value and the class struggle, none of which are invented, but discovered and understood by Socialists. The material history of all past societies reveals the fact that the predominating economic class has at all times shaped all the other institutions, political, religious or social; in short, everything must conform to economics. Each of the previous economic systems have had its stages of struggle—so has capitalism.

It is well known to all students of history that a class firmer entrenched than the feudal lord, backed by feudalism, never existed, but the economic condition that produced the lord made him a necessity only so long as the feudal system conducted itself in conformity with the economic interest of society. The despised mechanic became of more value by the development of new fields for commercial exploitation, and he was enabled to place himself therein, and the feudal lord, out of harmony with the economic interests of the respective countries to which they both belonged, by finding a larger market was discovered the shortage of exploiting material or commodities, he appealed not for material aid, but political, for the reason that certain legal requirements hampered him in free production, the guild, a part of the feudal

system, protecting the mechanical industries was removed, and free competition instituted under which the guild master became a laborer, and was promised the millennium. Indeed, it appeared that his means was not sufficient for independent production with economy, and was, therefore, compelled to sell his labor power. For the first time in history, then, do we find two classes, one exploiting the other, apparently of their own free will. All former exploitations were based on force direct; this new exploitation is based on indirect force, and only by manipulating and converting to his own use the new opportunities, and the new commodity, i. e., labor, power, could the commercial capital grow into an industrial capital and expand and force the feudal lord out of economic and political power. Their principle was not production for the purpose of satisfying human necessities but to create a surplus (value) which should belong to the new capitalist.

During all former stages of economic development, at least among free people, the rule was "to the creator belongs the product," but under capitalism that rule suffered total collapse. Now, in order to reinstate the old laws, not of production, but of appropriation, it will be necessary to own the means of production, not as the guild masters did, but co-operatively. But, before going on to explain how to go about it, let us examine the inner workings of capitalism. It has passed through many stages, but we will mention but two, the manufacturing and the factory. During the manufacturing period of capitalism labor alone constituted the working organism, and the instruments used by the laborer were simple hand tools. A certain amount of skill in handling them was required, so he could not, therefore, be so easily replaced by a competing laborer, and a certain degree

rules from their employers. Now, as a Socialist, as one of the class whose interests demands restitution, let me urge the workers of the world to unite for the purpose of capturing political control, the same to be directed in the interest of the working class, only as a means to an end. The Socialists advocate class legislation for the abolition of classes. All history bears us out in the correctness of our stand. Much as Socialists long for a time and condition under which it would be possible to deal with his fellow workers on the high plane of the golden rule, they nevertheless cannot adopt such tactics. It is the great glory of capitalism to have found the scientific principles of all economic and political revolution, to have discovered the class struggle as the means through which to accomplish the impending revolution; of the delivering over of all the earth contains to the class who alone assisted nature in their production.

Capitalism has produced but one thing in abundance, and that is the wretchedness of the class whose historical mission it is to overthrow the entire capitalist system and establish a co-operative commonwealth over its grave.

The laborer no longer, under the present system, either produces his own necessities of life or commodities; he only produces a part of the commodities. The social or combined labor of a number only are capable of producing a full commodity. Socialism in production is, therefore, already established, but anarchy in distribution still holds sway, however. The condition of production largely controls distribution. My assertion, is, therefore, but half true, but no great change in industry need take place, for the present industrial system is already an economic automaton. It is a working organism within which the capitalist plays no other part than that of a sponge as his functions seem to be stock jobbing only. He buys and then goes abroad, well knowing that the social organism will, in obedience to his "divine right" of all the earth's resources work on for eight, ten or twelve hours a day that that monster may receive his dividends, or he may cause a panic, or discharge his manager. The capitalist no longer plays any part worth six-sevenths of the working life of the proletarian class.

Workingmen, examine the labor reports, incorrect and incomplete, as they are; they nevertheless suffice for serious reflection. The labor time necessary in return to the capitalist for the privilege of being his obedient servant constitutes much the largest part of our working life, but it is necessary that it should remain so long as capitalism lasts, for the accumulation of property is of no avail if there is no poor who are compelled to work for wages. From the beginning, therefore, it becomes obvious that poverty of our class is the only condition upon which capitalism can live. Perpetual poverty of the laboring class, therefore, is the watchword of capital, and that all in the name of liberty and progress! Justifying the poverty and wretchedness of the workers as a means of the glorification of the capital class. The proletarians may well be thankful for the capitalist's abstinence, thus enabling him to give labor a chance to work. Now let me remind the reader of this feeble effort to organize, not only into economic labor unions, but political labor unions as well, for both are needed badly. Judging from the past, it would clearly be the duty of the laboring class to quit scabbing, both in the economic and the political field; do not in the name of your own children, and all that is near and dear to you, elect your bosses to office. Capitalism is an economic institution, but can not live without political power. Be as the capitalist, governed by your class interests, both economically and politically, and victory is yours. The move on the part of the American Labor Union marks an epoch in the intellectual development of the working class of America. The trouble of the unions in the past with the political machinery controlled by the capitalist class have done its work; the lesson is learned and we now proceed to correct our past mistakes by supporting our own class for a change. The procedure is already outlined in the Social platform, which document is heartily recommended for the careful study of the working class.

First of all, get political control. "Seek ye first the Kingdom," and all the rest shall be added. With political power capture the industrial machinery, which is the product of your own hands, and convert the use of it to your own interests, and like the feudal lord, the capitalist will find himself out of harmony with the material interests of the world, and will no longer dominate. The kingdom will then be yours, and there will be no longer any contradiction in the material existence of the human race. To the creator belongs the products, and he shall receive them.

C. CHRISTENSON,



Socialist National Committeeman for Nebraska.

of independence could, therefore, be maintained on the part of the laborer; neither was it entirely impossible for him to come into the possession of the means of self-employment, but by slow, but continuous progress of capitalist appropriation of the surplus value, the tools of production have nearly all passed into the hands of the capitalist class. In the meantime what was formerly "tools" have become giant machinery, and the factory has now taken the place of the manufactory—instead of a compact organization of human beings doing detail labor, there is a compact system of machinery in large buildings, adapted for the purpose, with men as feeders—man no longer plays the part he formerly did, as he can be easily replaced by his competitor. A woman or a child may do the work formerly done by the man, and his independence is, consequently, a thing of the past, and he must submit, for the skill necessary for handling tools has passed to the machines which is now doing his work. The mechanic can accept the capitalist's terms or go out in search of other employment; the constant state of formation from hand to machine labor has reduced life to an uncertainty. And such has been the permanent condition in the economic world. Capitalization has thus reduced the working class to a mere commodity which must be sold, or the laborer perish—the value of labor power is its cost of production, and is as frequently sold below as above its value.

Often in industrial centers it is necessary to send the whole family to the factory in order to live—the women and children must do the work, and strong, able-bodied men join the army for the purpose of compelling foreigners to buy the products of labor, or collect debts, or kill men for disobedience of galling

BISHOP SPAULDING'S HOT SHOT.

Says Capitalist Class Live On Blood of Human Beings; Wages Never a Full Equivalent.

The Cleveland Citizen declares that Bishop Spaulding will lose his job if he is not careful, and quotes the following extract from his May Day speech at Peoria, Ill. Bishop Spaulding said:

"We have means enough. We can do without capitalists who come among us and live on the blood of human beings. The cause of labor, if rightly understood, is the cause of humanity. What labor desires first of all is not charity, but justice. We Americans are using up too rapidly the resources of nature and we are using up too rapidly human lives. One of the greatest fallacies of the age is that money is equivalent to human lives.

"The spirit of commercialism is sinking deeper and deeper into us. Whatever a man sets his heart on must increase or it ceases to satisfy him. What we need in America is a realization that best things in life are not procured by money. Wages are never the full equivalent for human

work. There is a quality in all men which goes far beyond the question of wages.

"We can do without capitalists who come among us and live on the blood of human beings.

"Wages are never the full equivalent for human work."

It was for uttering such truths as these that Father McGrady was forced to resign his pastorate. Father Hagerly was not ousted, it is true, for the reason that he happened to have resigned to devote himself to scientific pursuits, but should he resume his connection it is safe to say he would be compelled to leave unless he should be fortunate enough to find a bishop as broad as Spaulding. Nor is this hostility confined to the Catholic clergy alone. Myron Reed, of loved memory, felt the weight of capitalistic displeasure because he saw fit to lift his voice in behalf of the strikers of Bull Hill.

The hope of the church lies in men

of the metal of the Bishop of Peoria. Just as the inhabitants of Virginia would be ashamed to admit that any of their ancestors were ex-convicts, just as the Australians would be ashamed of the same thing, just so will the American of two hundred years hence be ashamed to acknowledge that he sprang from men who did not support themselves by their own labor, and just so will the church be ashamed to admit that it ever opposed the emancipation of mankind, and in those days the names of McGrady, Hagerly and Spaulding will be cited as a proof that the church did not do anything of the kind. To be sure, Spaulding has a long way to travel yet, but he has started right. Another coal strike commission will fetch him.

The cracker trust has locked out in Chicago over 30,000 workmen. We have not yet attained the millennium, and must work with such means as are at hand. While not relaxing our efforts to attain the goal of intelligent ambition, let us also be sure to place our label on those things we buy.

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THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1903.

THE VERY LATEST CRITIC.

The Rev. C. M. Van Aken has begun the publication of a series of articles, the first of which appeared in the Butte Miner of May 31st, by which he hopes to show that Socialism is a false doctrine, resting on false principles. This action on the part of the reverend gentleman will be keenly welcomed by the Socialists who delight in nothing so much as a scrutiny of the principles for which they stand. It is a refreshing change from the tactics usually indulged in by their clerical opponents whose former stock in trade seemed to be made up of sophistry and a general condemnation without the faintest approach to an analysis of that which they condemned.

Father Van Aken announces it as his purpose to handle the question on its merits, apart from personalities, and suggests that Socialists have not always observed the proprieties in this respect. It is true that many Socialists have not shown the nicest regard for the feelings of those who have assailed them, especially those who have shown more malice than logic in their assaults. It should be remembered, however, that Socialists do not pose as diplomats; they are not politicians in the American sense. No one who stands for principle can be either one. He has only one name for a spade and only one for a scoundrel. While denying no man the right to differ with him, he has only contempt for him who indulges in sophistry to maintain a false position and only loathing for those who would use any position to which chance may have elevated them to blind and coerce a people in opposition to their own interests and their own welfare.

In the opening statement of the proposed refutation of Socialism, the charge is made "that Socialism is opposed to private property." Nothing is farther from the truth. Socialists believe in "COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF THINGS COLLECTIVELY USED IN ORDER THAT WE MAY HAVE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THINGS PRIVATELY USED." We believe in the collectively owned factory in order that whosoever is willing to work to obtain them may have privately owned houses and furniture and wearing apparel and books and all other things which man uses privately.

We are opposed to a system which permits one man to dictate to another, in many instances his mental, moral and physical superior, on what terms he shall live. We are opposed to a system which permits one man to take possession of the surface of the earth and thereby levy tribute on the rest of the human family. We are perfectly content that each man shall have and enjoy every single thing which he has created and saved by his industry and thrift, but we are opposed to his taking that which has been produced by some other man. Though all the laws ever framed by human wisdom should say that such a thing is right, we should still proclaim it wrong. False promises lead to false conclusions. Private ownership of the natural wealth of the world was permitted and recognized in the belief that "public good would be furthered by the incentive which came from private gain. Blackstone declared "there is no warrant in natural law for the granting of private title to land." Private ownership of the things all must use has continued until the hand of the money baron has grown so strong that it has fixed itself with a death grip, not alone on the throat of the propertyless man, but on the throats of those agencies on which men are wont to rely for the equal protection of all, the powers of government. Every student of economics is agreed that things are not as they should be; that a change of some kind is imperative.

"Let us have municipal ownership" say the middlemen. But that simply means a change of masters. If a man is to be deprived of the fruits of his toil what difference to him whether it is done in the name of a city or of an individual. Another prefers the election of "honest men to office." But it is not a question of honest men, but an honest system. Attempt to disguise it as we may the fact remains that MAN is the product of his environment, and so long as we continue a condition of things which places a premium on wrong doing just so long will we have the wrong done. The religion of Jesus Christ has been taught many, many years, yet "man's inhumanity to man" continues as keen as ever, not because there was anything wrong or false in the teachings, but because it is profitable to be inhuman.

The attempt of churchmen to make man contented with his lot here on the promise of Glory is the keenest arraignment of our industrial hell that could be well imagined. It may be in keeping with the spirit of love and mercy to teach that the oppressors of men shall burn in the next world because of their pleasures in this, but the Socialist, bearing no man hatred, declines to be consoled for present injustices by the thoughts of another's future misery.

It might be in order to give at this time a definition of Socialism taken from the writings of Prof. Albert Schaffle, German ambassador to Austria, who was one of the most scholarly of men. He says: "The economic quintessence of the Socialistic programme, the real aim of the international movement, is as follows: To replace the system of private capital (i. e., the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition (?) of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital; that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or "collective") organization of national labor, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive method of production, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively) as well as the distribution among all of the common product of all. ACCORDING TO THE AMOUNT AND SOCIAL UTILITY OF THE LABOR OF EACH.

The trouble with many workmen is an acute attack of Jackassitis.

It is reported that a bear growled at Terrible Teddy in Washington state. Another anarchist discovered.

A Michigan legislator advocates the killing of idiots. If his plan should be adopted he will have devised a novel method of self-destruction.

Wearily Willie Hearst is still moaning about the trusts. It is suspected that Willie's objections to the trusts are, first, it is popular to roast them, and, second, he is not on the inside of any.

The archbishop of Canterbury left an estate valued at \$91,320. It is profitable to serve the Lord, but on second thought, perhaps it was not to the Lord that he was rendering the most effective service.

Stand by the old party tickets. Stand by so-called labor tickets. Stand by any old thing but your interests, and knowing that while you are striking and starving, some "good fellow" is holding down a nice, fat job. But where do you get off at?

And brainy Bishop Potter has discovered that the petty boss is the one most to blame for labor wars. He also thinks that the time is coming when organized labor will not be able to stay in New York. Our only comment is that when that time comes it will be very bad for Bishop Potter and for New York.

"When rich men conspire, poor men should combine," said Abraham Lincoln. This is generally accepted as good logic, but nowadays the rich man's conspiracy becomes merely "consultation" and the poor man's

combination becomes a "conspiracy." But the poor man evidently likes it, since he works and votes for the continuance of a system which makes him a criminal in the eyes of the law every time he tries to make his organization effective for good.

We are determined that every man who has subscribed for the Journal shall get it regularly, and are using every means at our command to see that he does get it. Our friends will confer a favor by reporting to us the name of any one who does not receive his paper. If you kick once and it does not come, kick again and keep kicking until it is straightened out.

The hand of a young blacksmith, severed at the wrist, by a blow from a trip hammer in the factory of Baron Shibawasa, the multi-millionaire of Japan, was sent through the express by the workmen to the baron as a hint that he should do something for those who became helpless or were incapacitated from work while in his employ. Were this practice to obtain in this country the average express office would discount any morgue in the Union.

Five millions of people have died from starvation in India since 1896. These deaths were due not to the inability of the country to support its people, but to their production being grabbed by the exploiting class. It is another case of robbing the hive of its honey. It was necessary of course. Every thick-headed apologist for the wholesale murder of a nation knows, that, as it is necessary to plunder the bees in order that they should produce anything, just so it is necessary to give the people of India, as well as the workers of the world, "an incentive" by depriving them of the fruits of their labor and starving them to death.

What sort of a union man is he who casts his ballot for a system which keeps his fellowman in bondage, sends his widow to the county for aid and his children to the orphan asylum? What would be the present day opinion of a black man who advocated organization of the slaves before the war for the purpose of regulating the hours of toil or to demand a larger slice of salt pork or corn pone but who opposed doing anything to wipe out slavery itself? Would not the present day opinion of such a man be that he was an unmitigated jack-ass? Yet would he have been more so than is the "pure and simple" trades unionist who opposes political action on the part of the masses at this time? Why are trades unions organized? To protect the interests of the worker. Against whom? Against the employing class. Why should the workers, who outnumber the employers three to one, need any protection from those who are much weaker from a standpoint of numbers? Because the laws are made in the interest of the employing class. Does this imply dishonesty on the part of the lawmakers? Not necessarily, the constitution is founded on the theory of the divine right of property and any

measure in opposition to the rights of property is therefore unconstitutional.

The Democratic party of Virginia permitted, without protest, the drafting of a constitutional amendment, by a committee made up of bankers, manufacturers, railroad magnates and merchants, which provides for the disfranchisement of every man who does not own three hundred dollars worth of property. In spite of the storm of criticism which it is arousing, there is really nothing astonishing in this. A man does not cease to be capitalist because he becomes a Democrat or a Republican. He lives under a system which puts a premium on his getting rid of the dispossessed as becoming so numerous as to threaten the continuance of his graft he would not prevent anything of the sort. Disfranchisement is the easiest form of keeping the masses in subjection yet a little longer. When the workers awaken to their class interests as have the capitalists there won't be enough of the competitive system left to make a grease speck.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Some people have queer ideas of what Socialism means. They confound it with anarchy, disorder, dividing up property and free love and other absurd statements. For the benefit of such, the definitions from dictionaries and world famous men are here appended:

The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity.—Encyclopaedia Britannica.

The abolition of that individual action on which modern societies depend, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action.—Imperial Dictionary.

A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.—Webster.

A science of reconstructing society on entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry.—Worcester's Dictionary.

A theory of policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public, collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: "Every one according to his deeds."—Standard Dictionary.

Any theory or system of local organization which would abolish entirely or in greater part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor and would make land and capital as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the community.—Century Dictionary.

Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every day life.—Prof. Ely.

The deepest depth of vulgarism is that of setting up money as the ark of the covenant.—Thomas Carlyle.

Socialism being the product of social evolution, the only danger lies in obstructing it.—Rev. F. M. Sprague.

Socialism is the idea and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forthrightly, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

No thinking man will contradict that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production and that the principles of association are susceptible of further and beneficial development.—John Stuart Mill.

Socialism does not wish to abolish private property or accumulation of wealth; but it aims to displace the present system of private capital by a system of collective capital, which would introduce a unified organization of national labor.—Prof. Schaffle.

The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him just as society now does without the slave owner and the feudal lord; both were formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the very existence of society.—Prof. W. Clarke.

The citizens of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached their happiness when the producing, distributing and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes, while he obtains the means of satisfying all of his desires.—Herbert Spencer.

Socialism has in view as the ultimate end the public or collective ownership and management of the means of production and distribution.—Walter Thomas Mills.

Socialism, as taught in America, is the substitution of co-operation in place of competition. It advocates the gradual absorption of industries by the government. We propose to make the government the sole capitalist, the agent of the people, to manage the industrial system for the benefit of all. Socialism does not propose to interfere with the home, family or religion. It does not propose to interfere with private property or to make a new distribution of national wealth. Above all, it never advocates violent methods.—Rev. Father T. McGrady.

Capital has been defined as "That part of surplus labor which is used in the reproduction of values THROUGH EXPLOITATION. Accepting this definition—and it is the correct one—it follows that capital, however honestly acquired, becomes, in the very nature of things, an instrument for robbery. No criticism of the individual is implied in this since, "after all, men do largely as they must." Self-preservation is the first law of nature and the capitalist is simply complying with the requirements of this law. Many of the thinking members of the exploiting class, appreciating that competition means annihilation would be glad to change things were they not disheartened by the apparently unconquerable mass of stupidity which confronted every effort for the betterment of conditions and the advancement of the human race. When one is tempted to rail at Morgan or Rockefeller it would be well to re-

member that not these men, but the people themselves are responsible for the powers which these representatives of plutocracy wield. Their existence as an economic factor is due to nothing else than the continuance of a kind of government which permits and encourages the very things these men are charged with. Instead of denouncing the bull on the end of the nose of the body politic, would it not be better to purify the system of those humors of which the bull is but an outward manifestation?

Willshire's Magazine is after a circulation of 200,000 per month. As an encouragement to the workers they are offering several valuable prizes, among which are automobiles, pianos, organs, typewriters, cameras, billiard tables, phonographs, bicycles and gold watches. The price of the Magazine is now \$1.

Ancient Fables Modernized

No. 16

Written for The Journal by Marcus W. Robbins

The Bear and the Two Travelers.

Two men were traveling together. One Bear suddenly met them on their path. One of them climbed up quickly in a tree, and concealed himself in the branches. The other, seeing that he must be attacked, fell flat on the ground, and when the Bear came up and felt him with his snout, and smelt him all over, he held his breath as much as he could. The Bear soon left him, for it is said he will not touch a dead body. When he was quite gone the other traveler descended from the tree, and accosting his friend, jocularly inquired "what it was the Bear had whispered in his ear?" He replied, "He gave me this advice: 'Never travel with a friend who deserts you at the approach of danger.'"

Misfortune tests the sincerity of friends.

The Coal Miners of Pennsylvania had long been accustomed to vote for

A Correction.

To the Journal: New Orleans, May 23, 1903.

Dear Comrade—I wish to call your attention to a typographical error in my contribution in reply to Broadell. The sentence reads "they have practiced and encouraged free love for 1,000 years," which conveys the idea that the abuse continues to the present time, whereas I intended to say

candidates from one or other of the "too" Capitalistic parties. But in the summer of 1902 a Bear suddenly met them as they were trying to better their condition. Forthwith they went on a strike and the Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" immediately lost all interest in the Coal Miners beyond their fear of how the strike would affect their political prospects. But a new political and economic doctrine was coming into prominence called Socialism, composed of workers and pledged to the emancipation of the working class. These Socialists immediately went to the aid of the striking miners and gave out of their scanty store money and provisions. Whereupon "Common Sense" whispered to the Miners: "In the future you will vote for the party and principle that stood by you in the hour of your adversity. That gave you money for food and not deputy sheriffs; moral support and not injunctions."

MARCUS W. ROBBINS.

"they practiced," meaning the period extending from the Sixth to the Sixteenth century. During this period the Church reprobated clerical immorality, but the bishops dispensed from the enactments of council in consideration of a pecuniary fine called the "cullogium." I wish you would correct this error. With my very best wishes, I am Yours fraternally, T. McGRADY.

Breezes from Saltaire

Written for the Journal

The future soldier will "shoot to kill" fast enough. When ordered to fire, he will fire—on the assassin who gives the order! The fool in uniform is learning his economic lesson as rapidly as the fool in overalls. His brothers are in the "enemy's" ranks, and some of the bullets in the riot cartridge will find lodgment in the paunches of their designers. The average blue-bellied lackey is feeling the sting of his degradation and the crime of authoritative butchery; and he is not particularly stuck on his \$13 per week and blankets and hard tack and maggoty meat and official despotism. He hates his West Point martinet, and the menial slavery of his lot worse than a Pennsylvania mine ox hates Baer. The man with the gun is no more exempt from the law of economic determinism than the man with the hoe; and the autocrats of America will find it out in the same way that Louis XVI. found it out—by that tired feeling in the region of the neck. The camel's back is bending, but the Arabs of plutocracy are still piling on straw with a steam shovel. When it breaks, the Arabs will be without jobs other than furnishing material for obituaries.

The confiscated food that empty bellies produced is dangerously near falling into some of the bellies, the emptier the belly the greater the danger. Eating other men's bread in the sweat of other men's brows is getting to be what insurance agencies call extra hazardous occupations, and the policies will all expire in 1904; after that the ratio between bread and sweat will be reducible to a mathematical equation.

If you can neither read nor "figger" ask any kindergarten kid to compare the statistics of 1890 and 1900; ascertain the present rate of increase of ownership of wealth and of the number of unemployed voting males; and ask him to "figger out" the life of this nation. He will show you that by December, 1905, plutocracy will own

all of the wealth of the United States, and the army of unemployed will number just 5,000,000 men. This is just one year after the election. If plutocracy carries the election of 1904 you may as well begin laying in fireworks appropriate for celebrating the little anniversary of 1905, for your hot air Socialistic victory in 1908 will be just three years old when it is born.

In 1901 16,000,000 families owned 4,700,000 homes.

In 1905 18,000,000 families will own 1,249,000 homes.

One family will live inside and seventeen will roost on the fence with the chickens.

Be careful, therefore, not to destroy the 17,000,000 "homes" that capitalism has already destroyed; for it is dangerous to burn ashes. It will also be dangerous to furnish 5,000,000 idle men who neglect to starve in one place long enough to get on the registration lists, with 5,000,000 ballots earmarked for 1908; for they can't digest them, and might contract the unhealthy habit of using them for gun wads. Don't forget the 1,100,000 ladies of the red light brigade, whose ranks are recruiting 300,000 per year; 2,600,000 of them in 1905 ought to be able to cook plutocratic hams for the 5,000,000 Coxeys guards, and put up full knapsacks for papa, and hubby and brother out on the skirmish line; and when you bivouack 'mid the crimsoned lilies of the Potomac, you can rest your war-worn limbs upon a warrior's earthen couch and dream away the dragging hours with visions of 1,890,127,379 gallons of booze you so gayly guzzled in the damp and drinkable days of 1901, and the \$2,000,000,000 you threw at the bartender, which would have bought arms for 100,000,000 men. The band in the Virginia pine woods has not ceased. It is only waiting for the Hussars of the Hungry Army.

SALTAIRE.

Coalville, Utah, May 19, 1903.

Official Department

AND NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

Denver, Col., May 29, 1903.

Mr. Clarence Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, A. L. U.

Dear Sir and Brother: Replying to your verbal notification that I have been nominated for the office of member of the executive board of your organization.

I respectfully accept this nomination, and if elected will co-operate with the majority of said executive board for the good and welfare of

the A. L. U.

My understanding of the principles and objects of the A. L. U. are as follows:

To secure for all men and women who labor the full product of their labor, and the greatest measure of happiness regardless of the avaricious system of rent, interest and profit inaugurated by politicians and shysters. Fraternally yours,

EDWARD BOYCE.

THE ONLY SALVATION

(Continued from Page One.)

ments. After years of experience we must admit that no permanent relief to the wage-worker can be brought about through trades unionism; therefore, it behooves us to be free at all times to take advantage of any opportunity to temporarily better our condition. Nothing affords the majority of corporations more satisfaction than to realize that they placed you in a position where you are powerless to act for a period of years. If this practice is permitted to continue, the time is not far distant when it will result in the destruction of your organization.

Leasing of Mines. After paying a tribute to the Miners' Magazine and its editor, the president says regarding a co-operative mining property.

The advisability of levying an assessment for the purpose of securing control of mining property to be operated in the interests of the organization was submitted to the various locals for a referendum vote, and, although the result showed a majority to be against such action, after visiting different unions and talking with the members I found that a large number were misinformed as to the real object of the movement, believing that it was the intention to send out

a number of prospectors for the purpose of locating and prospecting claims. Notwithstanding the action taken by your members I still believe that if the delegates to the eleventh annual convention make provision whereby the Western Federation of Miners may secure control of valuable mining property, either by purchase, lease or otherwise, they will have done that which will prove of more benefit to its members than any action that will be taken during the convention.

Fight Coming.

In closing he says of employers' organizations:

"At this time about 2,000 members of your organization are on strike, with every indication that the number will be greatly increased in the near future. Employers of labor are organized throughout the entire United States. They are carefully outlining their plans of campaign before making a determined assault upon your organization. When the order is given, you need look for no quarter. The battle begun with annihilation for its purpose must be met by the Western Federation of Miners with intelligence, determination and united action. The duty devolves upon you to outline a policy for your officers during the coming year, and after the adoption of that policy, there should be no faltering in the ranks, for only through unity of action can you expect to retain the few privileges granted to you by your masters."

R. Anna German, C. M. D. Sixteen years' experience in practice and teaching Christian Advanced Thought and Metaphysical Healing. Dispensary—work free every afternoon from 2 to 4. All are welcome. No. 322 West Broadway. You should secure at once our highly instructive correspondence course, "How to Heal," which I have prepared at very normal price for the next 60 days only.

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25 Cups of Tea

A trial package (makes 25 cups) of our finest tea, mailed for 10c., stamps or coin. Mention kind used and name American Labor Union Journal.

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ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

(Continued from Page One.)

SOUVENIRS OF BUTTE

OUR LINE IS LARGE. WE HAVE

Sterling Silver Souvenir Spoons, 75c to \$3.00. Copper Souvenir Spoons, 35c to 65c. Copper Paper Knives, \$1.00. Copper Match Holders, 50c. Golf Hat Pins in leather bag \$1.25. Our Souvenir Spoon, which we call "The Montana," leads all others.

Our Copper Paper Knife is 9 1/2 inches long and sells at sight, and we plainly see it's to be the most popular souvenir we have ever brought out.

Hight & Fairfield Company BUTTE, MONTANA. Inspectors of watches for the Oregon Short Line Railroad.

BIG SALE OF BRUSHES

For three days ONLY, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, we offer a 20 per cent discount on every brush in our store. This includes Tooth Brushes, Hair Brushes, Clothes Brushes, Flesh Brushes, Nail Brushes, and all other kinds. We desire to sell every brush that we have in stock. Not that any of them are not desirable brushes. That isn't the reason at all. We want to sell these brushes; we bought them to sell; we didn't buy them for any other purpose. We want to sell more of them than we are selling now, and want to see, at this special price, how many we can sell in three days' time. It will be worth your while to buy a stock of brushes. Even if your tooth brush isn't entirely worn out, you had better get a new one during this sale.

Paxson's Dentals, the tooth powder, is an elegant preparation for cleansing, whitening and preserving the teeth. It is the most perfect tooth preparation that we ever handled. This powder is so smooth that it cannot scratch even the softest enamel. It is a happy medium; not foaming too much, or being too dry. It is just right. Price, 25c per bottle. Slater's Antiseptic Tooth Wash is an extremely nice antiseptic liquid preparation for cleansing and preserving the teeth, and for purifying the mouth and gums. Some prefer it to the powder. However, the best authorities say that the powder should be used twice a week. Price, 25c per bottle. Let us fill your prescriptions. We do it as your physician wants it done.

PAXSON & ROCKEFELLER Red Cross Drug Store 24 West Park St. Butte, Montana Phone 74.

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this convention ought to make some provision for.

I find that in many instances that individuals secure membership in our organization as individual members who are not permitted to join local unions by reason of their ineligibility. I can see that this proposition will lead to serious, if not unnecessary complication, if it is not properly regulated by this convention. The convention should say who are eligible to individual membership in our organization, and under what conditions and circumstances they should be admitted, and what regulations they should be subjected to. The provision to govern this case should be so construed and designed as to make it absolutely impossible for it to interfere, in any way, with the local union, and be so rigid in its application that it can not be construed to conflict, in any way, with the jurisdiction of the local, and that a person can not secure individual membership in a locality where there is a local union. That such a membership can not be used to evade any local union laws, rules, wages scale or schedule of hours, and that such a member has no right to act in the capacity of authority for the American Labor Union unless specially authorized.

Stamp Book.

For the convenience of our members I would ask the attention of the convention for the consideration of the adoption of a uniform book and stamp to be used by our local unions and issued to all our members. The book to be of convenient size and made of durable material, and designed so as to cover a reasonable length of time in order to reduce the cost to a minimum, and thus make its introduction as cheap as possible. The stamps to be of a uniform size and color, and denominated in such a way so as to cover one month's dues. This stamp and book to be only issued by, through or from the office of the American Labor Union. The monthly due stamp to be recognized as the only proper and official monthly due certificate. The introduction of this stamp will be of great convenience to members, and its fitness is so apt that there can be no question as to its practical application and successful operation. The stamps to be issued through the secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union to the financial secretary of each local union, and each stamp to represent the amount of the monthly per capita tax to the American Labor Union and the monthly dues of the local union. By the introduction of this system each stamp in possession of the financial secretary will represent the amount of the dues of the local union. If this plan is adopted it will make the work of auditing the accounts of each union more simple, and will have a tendency to promote the individual member with a desire to pay his dues to his union the first of each month, for the reason that this system will give a continuous account of each member's standing. So under this plan each member would naturally want to have his stamp book in such shape as would record him as being prompt in paying his dues and in continuous good standing in his union.

Under the system of individual monthly working cards, there is nothing to show regarding a member's former standing. The fact that the proposed plan would give a record of the member's standing would naturally have a tendency to make him want to have that record of such a character as would confer credit on him as a union man. If this stamp plan meets with your approval, it should be so arranged as to apply and govern individual members.

Journal.

In establishing the American Labor Union Journal there seemed to be a radical misunderstanding on the part of some of our local unions, and a few of them seemed to labor under the impression that it was arbitrarily established and published by the executive officers. This was a gross mistake, as the executive board was instructed by the last convention to submit to a referendum vote to all our members the advisability of our paper, to be owned by the American Labor Union and edited under the

management of the general officers in the interest of that organization.

The responsibility of establishing the Journal is entirely with the majority of our members voting for it. The executive board followed the instructions of the convention, and submitted it to a direct vote of the local unions, thus affording each individual member an opportunity to register his vote for or against establishing the Journal. A vote for it meant and carried with it an assessment of 50 cents for its maintenance. The circular letter that the board sent out fully and plainly explained this and it seemed impossible for it to be misunderstood. They seemed to think that if their particular union registered a majority vote against the establishing of the Journal that they would not be subject to the aggregate vote for it, which was a wrong and unwarranted conclusion. So you can easily see that much of the complaint arose from the fact of a misunderstanding.

The publishing of our weekly paper is not indispensable. This weekly visitor going into the homes of our members keeps them in close communion with the purpose of our organization and its development. It is a vehicle through which is carried the weekly labor accounts of the country and conveys to our membership the thoughts of the greatest minds in the land on social and economic subjects, which stirs a constant interest in the movement and fans enthusiasm with its breath of inspiration. It is an agency of instruction to those who are new in the work of organized labor. It is an aggressive advocate for the principles of our organization, and boldly defends the rights of our members and the welfare of the people. Considering the length of time that it has been in existence it has been more than a success and never has been a financial burden. The future prosperity and perpetuation of our organization requires it and I hope that our members desire it. The per capita tax should be so arranged as to cover the subscription fee, and carefully constructed in order to have it safely come within the purview of the postal laws, which, no doubt, can be arranged and done.

Local Dues.

There is a disposition on the part of local union to make their local dues so low that it is impossible to accumulate any money, so much so that they can not meet their legitimate obligations with proper dispatch and promptness. This makes the union ineffective, for the reason that a local never has any money to do anything with, and when they establish their dues at a very low rate, the remedy for the evil is never thought of until it is too late.

Some recommendation along these lines should be made, say that adult male members' dues should not be less than 50 cents a month for local dues.

Now, there are a number of our unions that have dues established at a much lower figure, and they may strenuously object to a change. But I believe that as a general policy it would result in doing our organization a great good. Funds in a local treasury have a tendency to establish active interest and determination.

Local Bond.

The proposition of this organization making a strict provision for the bonding of all officers in local unions who handle money is essential. By this organization making this provision, it would shoulder the responsibility on the general organization and would be a great protection to our local unions. I have watched this matter for some time, especially this year, and the information secured urges me to call to the attention of the convention its importance.

Strikes and Walkouts.

During the past year in organizing new unions they met with the usual opposition, and in some instances positive opposition of the employers. However, it affords me pleasure to inform the delegates of this convention that we have scored a complete victory in most instances and have permanently established our organization.

There are still a couple of difficulties pending which will be called to the attention of the convention by the executive board.

The matter of supporting the strikers is one that has been called to our attention more forcibly this year than ever before. Just in proportion to our strength and influence we will become more aggressive. This will naturally multiply our strikes and lock-outs, and in order to give the strikers the necessary support it will require the combined intelligence of this convention to determine on a plan to raise funds for this purpose. I have a thought that I would be pleased to have you consider. That on the first month in each quarter each adult male member be assessed 25 cents, and that junior unions and female members be assessed not less than 10 cents. This fund to be set aside and be used for no other purpose other than that of supporting the strikers. This, in my opinion, will in a short time accumulate a fund which would place the general officers of this organization in a position to give the necessary support to members engaged in a controversy contending for union principles and up-to-date unionism; and this would share the responsibility of delays in the support of strikers, which seem to be dangerous. The fact that the American Labor Union will be in possession of a strike fund in itself would have a wholesome and beneficial effect upon those who might be inclined to oppose our organization. If in the wisdom of this convention they would see fit to approve of this plan, I feel confident that the results will be beneficial and profitable.

Principles Are Correct.

An earnest effort has been made to interest the laboring people in this movement, as well as those who are thoroughly committed to the policy of our organization.

During the year we have organized 149 unions, which have added a great number of earnest and enthusiastic workers to our membership. They have become permanent agencies in the work. This organization must not relax its position, nor can it afford to move backward. It must be pushed onward with all the vigor we possess. The fundamental principles of our organization are correct, and we must make an intelligent, well directed effort to present them to the laboring people of the country in such a way as to invite and warrant their favorable consideration and secure their confidence, and our action must be of such a character as to convince them of our sincerity.

Affiliation.

After a correspondence covering nearly two years we have secured the affiliation of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees. This is an organization composed of railroad men, embracing every department thereof. They are in accord and sympathy with this movement and subscribe to the principles of our organization. This will materially strengthen the American Labor Union, as it distributes our affiliated membership over a great portion of territory, and those members interested in this movement will act as agents for our organization and the next year will testify to the friendship and support.

Results.

Sizing up the entire year's work in every direction from a standpoint of organization, the increase of membership in our unions directly chartered by the American Labor Union shows a rapid, substantial growth. This applies also to affiliated organizations, namely, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees. The establishing of the Journal was a new venture for our organization. Results testify to its success. I believe that the American Labor Union and the members of the organization have every reason to feel satisfied with the growth and development of the American Labor Union in every department.

In conclusion allow me to express my appreciation of the uniform kindness of the general officers of our organization, and also my appreciation of their prudent counsel in the management of the affairs of the American Labor Union. Respectfully submitted, DANIEL McDONALD, President American Labor Union.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer.

Denver, Colo., May 25, 1903. To the Sixth Annual Convention of the American Labor Union.

Brothers and Sisters—It is a pleasure for me to submit to this convention, and to the membership generally an account of my stewardship as secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union for the past year, together with such recommendations and suggestions as will best serve the interests of the organization in the future. If any of my recommendations are disapproved of by the convention, let it be done with the fixed idea that they were made by me with a conscientious desire to bring the organization itself to a higher state of perfection, and to make the American Labor Union the most useful to the working class. Whatever I have done in the past has been done with this in view, and in whatever position I am placed in the future I shall act in the same fearless manner, regardless of personal friendships, political reasons or any other consideration whatever. I simply ask that my report be considered in this spirit.

Financial Statement.

I have compiled from the American Labor Union accounts a statement showing the receipts and disbursements for the most important items. The statement follows:

Table with columns: RECEIPTS, EXPENDITURES. Includes items like Per capita tax, Supplies, Relief fund, Miscellaneous, Total, General expense, Organizing expense, etc.

Balance in treasury, March 31, 1903. The American Labor Union accounts have been carefully audited by the executive board. The report of that board as to the conditions of the accounts will be made by the executive board itself.

I believe that I can be justly proud of the manner in which the American Labor Union accounts are handled. It has taken nearly two years to bring the system to its present perfection; but, for absolute safety and economy in bookkeeping, I do not believe a more perfect system can be devised. It is my ambition to see the Journal accounts on much the same basis before the end of the present year. As soon as the office can settle down to a two years' business, work will be commenced on the revision of the Journal system of accounting, which, although perfectly safe at present, is more cumbersome than need be.

Increase in Per Capita Tax Receipts. The statement of receipts shows an increase of just 50 per cent over the receipts for the preceding year. The increase in the membership cannot be compared to the increase in receipts, however, for the reason that over 100 new unions have been chartered in the last three months covered by the report, and tax and assessment for those unions are only charged on the charter membership, which is always very small. While the receipts show a gain of only fifty per cent over the preceding year, the membership, represented in both local and international unions, has increased more than 100 per cent. In the face of the many disadvantages against which the American Labor Union has had to work, this gain is remarkable. It is now the duty of this convention to overcome these disadvantages as far as possible and place the officers and executive board to make the American Labor Union felt in every part of American labor circles.

(Balance of Secretary Smith's report will appear in our next issue.)

EXCURSION.

\$15—Salt Lake City and Return—\$15 June 13, 1903.

Tickets on sale Butte and Anaconda on above date only; limited for return ten days. Reserve berths now at City Ticket Office, 105 North Main street, Butte, Montana. H. O. WILSON, General Agent.

A Delightful Summer Trip.

If you are going East this summer, why not see Salt Lake City and Denver and the elegant scenery through Colorado along the lines of the Rio Grande system? You can't beat it for excellent service and good accommodations. Only one change between Butte and Chicago and Saint Louis. Write for rates and a copy of "With Nature in Colorado." G. W. FITZGERALD, General Agent.

SUMMER EXCURSIONS

Via the Oregon Short Line. Denver and return, June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, \$39.50. Omaha and return, June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, \$42. Kansas City and return, June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, \$42. St. Louis and return, June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, \$49.50. Chicago and return, June 6, 7, 12, 13 and 15, \$53.50. Indianapolis, Ind., and return, June 11 and 12, \$56. Salt Lake and return, June 13, \$15. Tickets good via Salt Lake and Denver, also good on the Overland Limited, finest train in the world, which runs through Salt Lake to Chicago without a change. For limits and sleeping car accommodations, call on or address Short Line City Ticket Office, 105 North Main street, Butte, Mont. H. O. WILSON, General Agent.

COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE.

Helena, Mont., May 13, 1903. At a meeting of the State Board of Pardons, held at its office on the above date, the following business among other things was transacted: In the matter of the application for commutation of sentence, granted by the Governor, to one John O'Brien. Whereas, The Governor of Montana has this day officially notified this Board that he has granted a commutation to one John O'Brien, a convict confined in the state prison, who was convicted of the crime of manslaughter, committed in the county of Silver Bow, State of Montana, on the 8th day of March, 1901, and sentenced for a term of six years in the state prison. Therefore, be it ordered, that May 29th, 1903, be set apart for the consideration of said commutation so granted as aforesaid, and all persons having an interest therein, desiring to be heard either for or against the granting of the commutation, are hereby notified to be present in the forenoon of said day at the office of the State Board of Pardons, at the capitol of said state. Further ordered: That a copy of this order be printed and published in the American Labor Union Journal, a weekly newspaper printed and published at Butte, County of Silver Bow, State of Montana, once each week for two consecutive weeks, viz: May 21, 1903, May 28, 1903. Adopted, JAMES DONOVAN, President. J. J. RYAN, Clerk.

According to the Cripple Creek Daily Press, the joint membership of the A. L. U. and the W. F. of M. is more than 100,000.

Dr. W. H. Saunders & Co. America's Leading Specialists



Your health Dr. W. H. Saunders. Cure the worst cases of Nervous, Blood, Skin, Urinary and Sexual Diseases of both men and women, no matter how lingering, dangerous or severe. No experiments. 25 years' experience. YOUNG MEN, guilty of sins in their youth and troubled with Seminal Weakness, Nervous Debility, Loss of Memory, Dependancy, Aversion to Society, Kidney Troubles, Leucorrhoea, Gleet, Stricture, Syphilis, or any disease of the Genito Urinary organs can find a safe and speedy cure. YOUNG MEN, guilty of sins in their youth and troubled with Seminal Weakness, Nervous Debility, Loss of Memory, Dependancy, Aversion to Society, Kidney Troubles, Leucorrhoea, Gleet, Stricture, Syphilis, or any disease of the Genito Urinary organs can find a safe and speedy cure. 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"Silver Spray" aids appetite and digestion.

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"Silver Spray" case beer, pints and quarts.

USE GO-REX "THE QUICK REPAIR"

1 TO 5 DAYS \$1.00 CURES YOU WILL NOT BE SORRY

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SUGGESTIVE NEW THOUGHT CO. CLEVELAND, O.

THE PACIFIC HOTEL H. A. SAGER, Proprietor. 802 East Park St., Butte. Convenient. Steam Heat, Electric Light, Free Baths, Excellent Table. Terms, \$100 Per Day.

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All Work strictly first-class and guaranteed.

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We grind and hone razors ready for use.

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THE SOUTHERN HOTEL

25c DINNER 25c

The SOUTHERN HOTEL gives you the BEST MEAL and BEST COOKED food for 25 CENTS at any place in the city. You get as much of any and every dish offered on the bill of fare as you wish. OUR CUISINE is unequalled. Don't forget the place and you will not forget the dinner. Come tomorrow and try one of our dinners. DAN TEWEY, Prop.

"Silver Spray" for invalids. Montana Brewing Co.

Growth of Capitalism

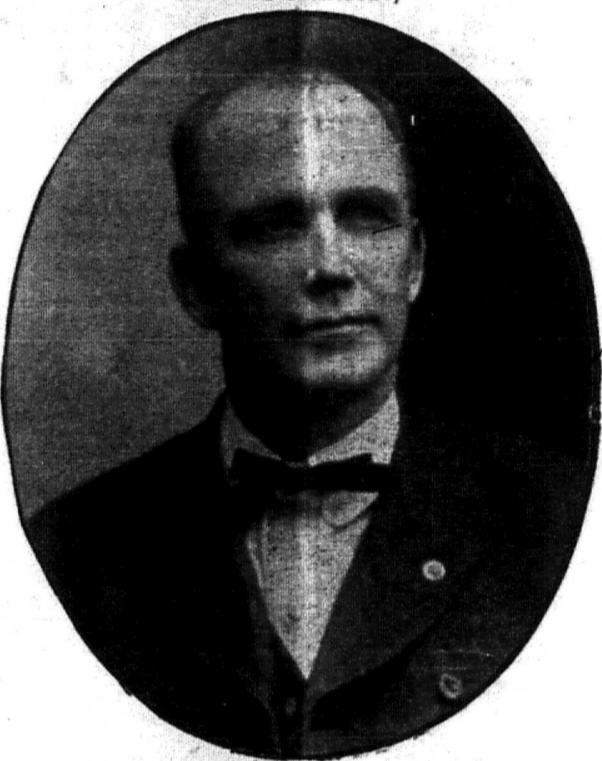
Written for the Journal by Russell C. Massey

The demand for a change in economics throughout the civilized world is becoming so apparent that even the intelligent conservative begins to concede that the present trend of events can not long continue without resulting in such convulsions in society as will shake it to its very foundations. Compare the government census reports of 1890 and 1900 and there is much food for thought to the reflective mind. In 1890 the middle class, which has been described as the bulwark of society, constituted 33 per cent of the population and owned 24 1-2 per cent of the wealth. In 1900, 19 per cent belonged to this class and owned 14 per cent of the wealth. In 1890, 9 per cent of the population belonged to the capitalist class and owned 71 per cent of the wealth. In 1900, 6 per cent were capitalists, but they owned 83 per cent of the wealth. In 1890, 52 per cent, a trifle over half the people, belonged to the laboring class and owned 4 1-2 per cent of the wealth. In 1900, 75 per cent of the people (three-quarters) belonged to the laboring class, and they owned 3 per cent of the wealth.

Socialists demand, and the world will soon heed that demand, that interest, rent and profit shall be abolished. Socialists demand collective ownership of all means of production and distribution that has to be collectively used. Second, that there shall be equal opportunity for all workers. Third, that the industries shall be democratically managed by the actual workers themselves. Let us illustrate by taking one line, say the woolen industry. The people will collectively own a mill for making blankets. They give the workers the equivalent of what they produce, which means they sell the blankets at cost. Result: Their trade would be so large they could afford the very best equipment; therefore, the largest possible returns for energy expended. Second, an opportunity would be provided in collectively owned institutions for all who wished to work

owned farm, and owing to the better equipment produce so much more and get all (the equivalent) of what he produced? The self-employed farmer could not produce as much by individual effort on his privately owned small farm as he could with the same energy on the collectively owned large farms by associated effort. We believe that few would be content to stay on the private farms, yet some might, for a time, prefer to work in their own shops, or on their own farms, with inferior tools (for they could not afford the best), even if their returns were less. If so, the Socialist insists that all such shall be protected in that choice. But, on the other hand, we insist that no man shall be allowed to privately own any of the means of production that he can use as a club, to compel the producer to give him part of what he produces, before he is allowed to produce.

RUSSELL C. MASSEY,



National Committeeman Socialist Party of North Dakota.

therein, on equal terms with all other workers. Third, as the workers made the rules governing themselves and co-workers, rest assured they would have some simple rule that would prevent any one shirking. Now, let us see how fares the private manufacturer. He will not want to give his worker the equivalent of what they produce. He wants them to "divide up," take less than they produce, so as to leave him a profit. In other words, he will not sell his blankets at cost, hence his trade is small. Result: Inferior equipment, not as good returns for energy expended, not as good system to guard against shirking. Under such conditions who would work for private boss. This same rule applies with equal force to all industries. Who would work for the small farmer with inferior machinery even if he got all he produced (and that would leave nothing for profits) when he could go to the large collectively

We are not concerned much about how he got possession of the club. We simply say give it up! When we find a man with burglar tools we don't ask him where or how he got them. We don't stop to argue whether he bought them honestly, or stole them. We tell him that those tools are used generally for taking what belongs to some one else. We consider if he is going to use them for that purpose they should be taken from him, if he doesn't intend them for that purpose he don't need them very bad. Neither do we stand long on the ceremony of "how" we shall take them. We just take them and without talking much about pay. One of those fine days the producers will take away the club of "private ownership" of the means of production (burglars' tools) and may not concern themselves much about paying for them, and the possessor may count himself lucky if he is not indicted for grand larceny. RUSSELL C. MASSEY.

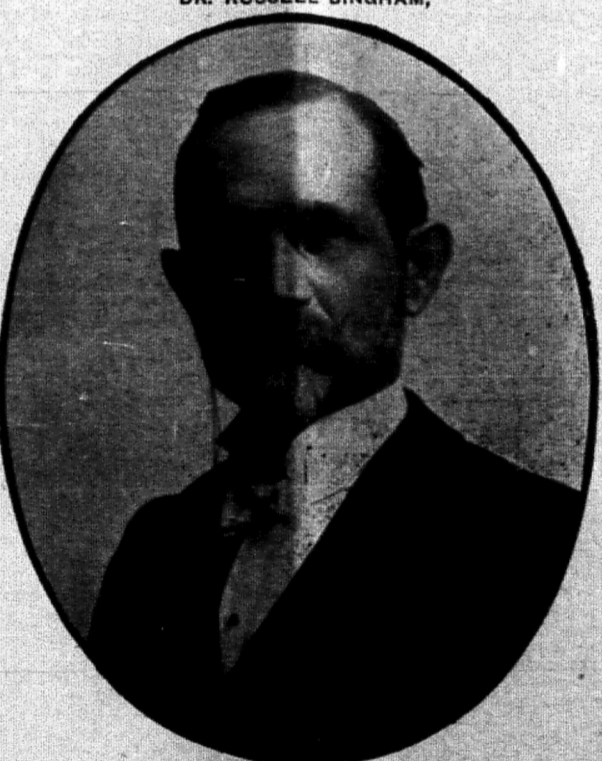
EVOLUTION

The essence of slavery lies in the power of the master to take from the slave the product of his labor and to determine the character of that labor. Slavery was manifestly impossible while production was so imperfect that the laborer could not produce more than his "keep." No farmer wants a cow or a horse that will eat more than it will produce. When a rough or polished stone tool had been displaced by more perfect ones of bronze or iron, and a few plants had been domesticated, the worker was able to produce a little more than his subsistence. Slavery was then possible because profitable. The master had only to watch his slaves while they were producing his living as well as their own.

more, and during all these hours he is working for a master. Owing largely to the fight made by the unions the wage slave is able to retain a little more of his product for his own use than either the chattel slave or the serf. Yet the most striking feature of the wage system is found in the fact that the new tools with which the laborer produces

blits, Goulds and Carnegies of today. From this point of view of the workers there is one other great distinction between wage slavery and all the previous systems of servitude. While chattel slavery and serfdom rested upon man-made legal institutions, the workers who were enslaved had no part in the formation of these institutions. But the wage slave, in most

DR. RUSSELL BINGHAM,

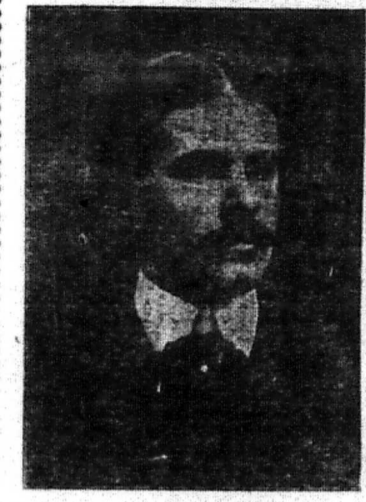


Socialist Candidate for Mayor of Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

wealth are so much more productive than those of any previous age, that the share produced for the master class is far beyond anything ever dreamed of hitherto. The fortunes of Roman patricians and medieval barons faded into insignificance beside the colossal amounts of surplus values which the working class of America are piling up for the Morgans, Rockefellers, Vander-

cases, is a voter and has the right at each election to decide whether he wishes the institutions which contribute to his enslavement to continue. Some day in the not far distant future, he will decide to change these legal institutions so as to own the things necessary to his existence, and thereby to own himself. This will be Socialism.—A. M. Simons, in "Boyce's Weekly."

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No Reconciliation Between Capital and Labor

By Prof. Geo. D. Herron

Socialism is the ownership of the sources and means of production and distribution by all the people and for all the people—common labor and common privileges being the common lot of mankind.

The term "class struggle" is offensive to many, and surprise is expressed that some of us should cast in our lives with a movement which rests its integrity upon the development of a conscious and definite distinction between classes and their interests.

The beginning of any true interpretation of life must be with facts. Not with what we would like to have true, but what is true without regard to our liking—this must be the basis of faith.

Socialism begins with this—that the history of the world has been economic. The world's sentiments and religions, its laws and morals, its art and literatures, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply.

As we have already said, history has always been a struggle between those who produce the things upon which the world lives and those who live on the things produced. There has always been a ruling class compelling a working class to support it.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We can not have the co-operative commonwealth without having the whole of it.

Ethics can not co-exist with economic inequality, nor can liberty exist. We shall live in lies and tyrannies so long as some people have privileges which other people have not; so long as some people own the things

upon which all people depend. As long as one class does the world's work, and another class makes its institutions and ideals, the class making the institutions and ideals will continue to make them in such a way as to keep the working class in subjection to itself.

But now we come to the historic test. If it were ever an open issue and fight to the finish between classes there would long ago have been but one class—the working class—which would also be the privileged and the ruling class.

No problem of the people has ever been really solved. No battle of competition has ever been fought out. No revolution has ever been gone through with to the end.

How has the ruling class always conquered? By concession and compromise. It has been the policy and successful practice of the world's masters and owners, from the beginning of history, to defeat every revolution by adopting it; to destroy the rise of the peoples by befriending them; to make concessions that would become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to new ruling-class power and glory.

KARL MARX



The famous political economist who discovered the existence of the Class Struggle and whose writings form the basis of the philosophy of Socialism. He was an accomplished scholar and one of the most profound thinkers of the age.

of the world's disinherited. The masters of the world have always first resisted the people, whether in the form of a religious movement or political revolution, and then have granted favors which made them masters of the movement or revolution when it became powerful.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We can not have the co-operative commonwealth without having the whole of it.

Thus we come to the political and spiritual as well as economic necessity of clearly defining the class struggle and its issue. Unless the workers of the world become conscious of themselves as the producing class, unless they understand that to them as the producers belong the product and the control and the privileges of their

industry, they will achieve no kind of economic freedom. No masters have ever handed down freedom to their slaves. Capitalism can not grant Socialism to the working class. The workers must achieve their own freedom through their own efforts and out of themselves bring forth their own organization of labor and distribution of privileges; out of their own struggle and labor bring forth their own institutions and ethics.

"I confess the gravest question seems to be to me, 'How can workmen and employers be helped to a better understanding of their mutual interest, and, indeed, even before that, of the fact that their interests are mutual?'"

Now the supreme evil that confronts the people lies in the danger that there is some mutual interest between the capitalist and the laborer. It is not the division of society into the clearly defined class struggle, but the lack of such a struggle, that menaces the people.

Now we shall have troops of "social reformers" of the showman type. We shall have social reforms and reconciliation boards under the benign guidance of such eminent reformers as Chauncey M. Depew, Lyman Abbott, Adam Forepaugh Jr., and the Ladies' Home Journal. We shall have municipal ownership movements and public ownership planks in capitalist political parties.

Compromise has always been the mother of tragedy, and by the favors they have received from their masters have the workers of all ages been made the inhabitants of a slave world. Capitalism knows that it is doomed the moment the workers become as class conscious as are the capitalists.

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