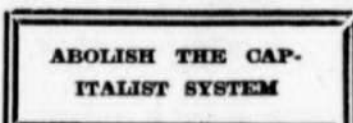




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NO. 26

CONVICTS WORKING ON STATE HIGHWAYS

Governor Norris and Attorney General Galen Violate Law—Contempt of Court by Highest Officials in State—Work of Convicts Helps Reduce Wages of Common Laborers

NO DISSENTING VOTE IN STATE SENATE

Organized Labor Opposed to Obnoxious Resolution which Was Introduced by Request of Moss, a Billings Capitalist

Last week 50 convicts from the state penitentiary were placed at work on the construction of state roads between Deer Lodge and Helena and Deer Lodge and Missoula. Fifty more convicts were put at work just outside the prison walls making brick and another crew of forty was sent out to the site of the proposed power plant which will be constructed for the purpose of supplying light to the state insane asylum at Warm Springs and to the penitentiary here.

The convicts on road work are picked men who are serving short terms. They are not closely guarded and are considered as "trustees." They are housed in tents and each of the three crews has a commissary department.

The state roads which they are to build, are to be 24 feet wide, with a surface of gravel. The engineering work is in charge of James S. Keerl, a civil engineer who is serving a term for manslaughter. The brick to be manufactured by the convicts will be used in the construction of various buildings in connection with state institutions.

The power plant to be erected by the state on Race Track will be constructed under the supervision of State Engineer John W. Wade, who has been inspecting the site and looking into the engineering problems in connection with the project during the week.

To Kill the Unions.

The last session of the legislature a bill was introduced providing for the working for the convicts on the highways of Montana and the bill passed the senate without a dissenting vote, but the House by an almost unanimous vote rejected the bill.

said that the resolution was introduced by request of Mr. Moss, a Billings capitalist. Now comes the governor and attorney general and do something that he legislature refused to legalize.

The courts of the state through judges and juries sentence men to spend certain periods of their life at the state prison, but Governor Norris and Attorney General Galen have contempt for the courts and show it by ordering the prisoners to be sent to various parts of the state under guard and to live in tents. There is nothing on the statutes of Montana that decrees a man shall spend certain portions of his life in a tent for violating the laws of the state. Neither have we heard of a judge or jury sentencing any man to live in a tent for violating laws, much less to cut some poor wage slave out of a job or to help the corporations reduce wages in Montana.

The fact of the matter is, there is a scheme on foot to enrich the exploiters of the workers at the expense of the convicts and a plot being worked out to make the convicts the tools to reduce the wages of common laborers.

A prominent insurgent republican of Eastern Montana in a Fourth of July speech, made last summer in Glendive made the statement that organized labor was the curse of Montana and it was the high wages that common labor was demanding that was keeping the natural resources of the state from being developed. This kind of talk is heard among the business men of Montana everywhere and if the convicts can be put to work on the highways of the state and extended to the cities, common labor would be minus a job on the street and the labor market would be flooded with idle men and the capitalists, contractors, etc. would secure hod carriers and building laborers at a lower price.

The building of the good roads in Powell County between Garrison and Deer Lodge is not going to benefit the farmers much, there is very little farm traffic in that section of the state. All the land being taken up in large bonanza farms. There is sixteen miles of straight fence running

out of Deer Lodge belonging to one of the feudal barons and a company has all the land fenced in alongside of the public highway on which the convicts are working between Garrison and Deer Lodge. The small farms in Deer Lodge valley are composed of 13,000, 16,000 and 20,000 acres of land.

The whole business scheme is by building fine roads through the feudal estates of the Deer Lodge valley the value of the land will be increased at no expense of the land lord. The labor in this case will not all do to

Conley & McTague but will be equally divided among the Bielenbergs, Kohrs, Conleys, McTagues and the Camerons, and the land values will be increased through the labors of the convicts. There are more ways than one to carry on a graft.

Here we have a case of the land values being increased through the labor of the states prisoners and a few individuals getting all the unearned increment. That is where the graft comes in.

(Continued on Page 2.)

MEN SAY BOILERS ARE DOPED

Washington, D. C.—Fighting not only for the protection of their own lives but for the safety of the passengers as well, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has produced evidence, in support of Senator Burkett's bill for the government inspection of locomotive boilers, that reads like the unearthing of a great national scandal.

Senator Burkett's questioning of H. S. Jeffrey, boiler expert, brought forth these startling facts:

"You spoke a moment ago of the cracks occurring, broken stay bolts, and steam escaping," demanded the Senator, "do you know of artificial means being used to stop leaking water by introducing something into the boiler?"

The boiler expert glanced covertly at the row of superintendents, managers and legal advisors in the pay of the railroads which crowded one side of the committee room and, as he answered, their faces, in turn became tense and white:

"Yes. When the stay bolts are leaking it is nothing unusual to put half a barrel of bran or fine sawdust in the boiler, or, if that is not available, to go to a stable and get horse manure, charging the boiler with that, also with sal ammoniac. That is what we call the 'dope cure.' Many of our boilers, or practically all of them on hard runs, get the 'dope cure.' The leaks are taken up temporarily, but as soon as the boiler is washed out the dope is washed out and then it is a case of 'doping up' again."

Owen Ruedy, a boiler maker of twenty years' standing, followed Jeffrey as a witness and explained how the introduction of sal ammoniac into the boiler made a rust that stopped the leaks, a rust that was fatal to the strength of the boiler.

Fearful of the effect of the evidence being offered by the employees the railroad representatives brought forward Theo. H. Curtis, superintendent of machinery on the Louisville and Nashville railroad, who after giving

it as his opinion that the failure of the men to maintain a proper supply of boiler was the cause of most explosions, wound up with this pointed statement:

"This bill puts into the hands of rogained labor the power to run our railroads. Give them the control of locomotive sand they will control our railroads."

Smiles of assent from the railroad lobby greeted this sally on the part of the superintendent, but Senator Cummins, chairman of the committee, objected, stating curtly, "These inspectors will be appointed by the Department of Commerce and Labor and not by organized labor."

The gentlemen of the railroads then became solicitous for the welfare of Uncle Sam's treasury. "Government inspection will cost you over a million dollars a year," asserted A. W. Hendricks of the Santa Fe lines. According to Hendricks everything is O. K. with the boilers, and the government will be wasting its money foolishly if it passes the bill.

He was brazen enough to tell the committee that explosions seldom occur on the Santa Fe, much to the amusement of the labor men present who were familiar with that railroad's record to the contrary. Jeffrey's testimony hurt. The railroad lobby knew this and it took no chances. Everybody spoke. The Pennsylvania railroad representative argued that 300 inspectors provided in the bill were not enough and what's more you can't get even 300 competent inspectors. They all like to work for the railroads and certainly would work for the government, even for more money, was his modest opinion.

The bill is dangerous and revolutionary according to the mouthpiece of the Missouri Pacific and other Western lines.

Four others also spoke for the "persecuted" railroads. They, like the ret, argued along this line: "We are running the railroads as we think best and it is none of the government's business."

MILWAUKEE SOCIALISTS

IN ACTIVE WORK

Wage Workers for the First Time Get Cood Taste of What Is Coming to Them—Socialist Administration Is Making Good

While the new Socialist administration has not yet been in power long enough to adopt any very radical Socialist measures, it has already proved one thing. It has given many proofs that it is a workingmen's administration.

One proof of this is that since the Socialists went into office in Milwaukee, every piece of printing done in the city hall, in every department whatever, bears the union label.

The Social-Democrats fought for the label in vain for many years, while they were in the minority. The old party politicians always refused their consent to its use.

The new Socialist administration has also instructed the Board of Public Works to pay competent wages to all skilled mechanics. The City attorney gave it as his opinion that union labor could not legally be required in any city contract. But while the union scale is not named, nor is it specified that these skilled mechanics shall be union men, this is the tacit understanding. The wages for the mechanics employed on the Sixth Street viaduct have accordingly been raised to the union scale, that is, from \$3.00 to \$4.50. Thus when there is a well there is a way around all these little legal technicalities.

Moreover, the Socialist city attorney of Milwaukee has discovered a technicality on the side of labor. A certain law had been passed forbidding the raise of salaries except at the 1st of January. Our city attorney discovered a technical flaw in the law, which leaves the Social-Democratic administration free to raise the salaries of its workingmen whenever this is desirable. Thus with the Socialists in power, the shoe is on the other foot, and the laws can be interpreted in favor of the working class.

All which goes to show two things. First, that the Socialist party is what it claims to be, the political expression of the working class movement. Second, that when trades unionists talk about the necessity of establishing a Labor Party, they are greatly mistaken, since there is already a class-conscious Labor Party in this country, and it already has control of one of the largest of our American cities.

At the same time the Milwaukee Social-Democratic administration is disproving the old charge that if the Socialists get control of the government they would permit the workingmen to "soldier." Some of the old city employees are viewing with dismay the new order of things. It seems to them very hard to be compelled to work eight hours a day. This rule is weeding out the lazy and undesirable employees at the city hall. Here is a ocular proof that one of the old stereotyped objections to Socialism, one on which many doleful Anti-Socialist arguments have been built, is without any basis.

The Milwaukee city charter is an antiquated old document which ties the hands of the administration against introducing almost every Socialist measure. The new city attorney, however, in forms us that the charter will permit the establishment of a municipality owned and operated coal and wood yard. Accordingly a special committee of the city council will be appointed at the next meeting of the council to frame a measure of this sort. This is one of the few measures looking towards municipal Socialism for which the consent of the legislature will not be necessary. It will therefore be one of the most interesting subjects which the Milwaukee Social-Democrats will have to handle.

The Social-Democratic supervisors have been doing some investigating since they are in the majority on the Milwaukee County Board. They find the House of Correction has been left in a horrible condition by the former republican administration. There is only one doctor for this large institution, who makes only one visit daily. There is not even one nurse. The building is a fire-trap. If it caught fire it would immediately go up in smoke. A new building will be erected as soon as possible, and with all the improvements suggested by modern criminology.

Two Socialist supervisors of Milwaukee have made a novel proposition. They have volunteered to take turns for one week at the county jail.

(Continued on Page 2.)

Poet's Corner

THE TORCH OF LIBERTY.

Raise the torch of liberty!
Grasp it with a firmer hand;
Let your tyrant masters see
And its meaning understand.
Labor's hosts have sworn to be
From the yoke of bondage, free.

Raise the torch, lift it high,
And with loyal hearts and brave,
Shout the revolution's cry—
To each master, to each slave
Freedom comes and Slavery
Banished from the earth shall be.

Raise the torch! O may its flame
Set the nation's heart aglow!
Bear it high in freedom's name,
Singing ever as you go,
Workers of the World, Unite,
This is freedom's holy fight.

Raise the torch of Liberty—
Bear it onward through the gloom
Of the night of tyranny.
Shout aloud the tyrant's doom.
Onward till the world shall be
From this yoke of bondage free.
— John Spargo.

Wisconsin Notes.

The Supreme Court overrides the people.

The capitalist press is also doing stratagem. Under a hypocritical pretense of friendliness it is making more attacks on us than its stupidly brutal assaults during the campaign. The paper in which the campaign howled the most about International Socialism and the red flag, now craftily insinuates that the Social-Democratic administration will make a clean sweep of the former employees of the city hall and put Socialists in their places, and points out that salaries to the amount of \$500,000 are within the gift of the Socialist administration. Of course the object of this cunning attack is to stir up dissension in the Socialist ranks and raise up a host of office-seekers. But our men are proof even against such subtle and snake-like attacks as these. Mayor Seidel declares that not one Socialist has solicited him for office! A splendid record for Milwaukee Socialists.

Mayor Seidel has announced that he will not follow the example of former mayors of Milwaukee in keeping a policeman as his personal bodyguard. A Socialist mayor is not afraid of the people.

Victor L. Berger, Emil Seidel, W. R. Gaylord and Carl D. Thompson have been elected delegates from Milwaukee to the National Convention.

WEEKLY LESSONS FOR SOCIALIST PARTY LOCALS AND MEMBERS.

Authorized by the National Executive Committee. Prepared by Hand School.

STUDY COURSE IN SOCIALISM.

THE Socialist Ideal.

The Socialist Ideal.

The ideal of social reorganization consciously held by the Socialist parties of the world and more or less clearly indicated in the policies of labor unions and other working class organizations is not a mere project invented by certain thinkers, offered to the world for acceptance or rejection, and supported by some millions of followers. It is a scientific forecast of the social state which must result from the victory of the working class and its allies over the capitalist class and its auxiliaries in the struggle forced upon both by existing economic conditions.

Primarily a mere prediction, it becomes a goal to be striven for by all whose interest lie with the working class or who see in that class the champion of the best interests of civilization and humanity. Even though conceded as a prediction of fact, it is an evil to be striven against and postponed by those whose interest lie in with the capitalist class or who think the existence of privileged classes necessary to the progress of civilization.

The Socialist Ideal could not arise until after the introduction of power-driven machinery. It differs essentially from the communistic schemes of Plate and Moore, the communistic practices of the early Christians and of the Shakers and other sects, and even the plans of the Utopians of the early nineteenth century—Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, and Owen. All of these sought to assure harmony or equality by regulating the private lives of the people in a communal manner. Socialism takes up the problem from the side of production and distribution, not that of consumption, and does not involve interference with individual and family life.

Socialism does not attack private property as such, but only private property in the socially necessary means of production. When production was individualistic, involving the use of small farms and shops and simple tools by persons working separately private ownership was the form of property best suited to assure individual freedom and the highest economic efficiency then possible. But when production has become social, involving the use of vast aggregates of land and machinery run by the joint labor of many persons, private ownership of these things divides the people into hostile classes, deprives

the workers of personal liberty, and subjects all classes to the control of impersonal economic forces, compelling everyone to be a victim or a beneficiary of exploitation regardless of his wishes. Socialism aims to adapt the system of ownership to the actual methods of production.

The Socialist ideal of social reorganization may be stated as follows: Collective ownership of the socially used and socially necessary means of production and their operation under democratic control to produce goods for the satisfaction of human wants.

Let us calculate this definition.

"Collective ownership."—This does not necessarily mean ownership by the nation. It is not essential that the ownership of the means of production be centralized on a national scale, nor that it be organized according to any uniform and hard and fast plan. It is probable that the owning and controlling units will be many and various—voluntary societies, municipalities, states, nations, international agencies—according to the nature of the various industries.

"The socially used and socially necessary means of production" Observe first, that the Socialist ideal does not include collective ownership of use-goods—homes, and furniture, books, and pictures, clothes and ornaments, pianos and bicycles, as its parodists pretend. On the contrary, it implies that the means to acquire and the leisure to enjoy such things will be extended to all, instead of being limited to a few, as now. Observe also that the Socialist ideal does not include collective ownership of all means of production, but only the means of production which can be operated only by the joint labor of many persons and whose use is necessary to the welfare of society.

This includes mills, factories, mines, and quarries, with their engines and machinery, but not hand tools, sewing machines, and the like. It includes roads, bridges, railways and street railways, canals, docks, steamships, telegraphs and telephones, waterworks, lighting and heating plants for public industries, irrigation plants for arid regions, adequate forest and water-power reserves, but it does not include privately used wagons and carriages, boats and automobiles, etc. It includes land at least in so far as this is not used by its owners; it does not necessarily include all the land; it is conceivable that private ownership of farms might long exist within the Socialist state need not prohibit any persons from engaging in an individualistic manner, if they choose to do so and can find anyone to buy from them and work for wages for them. Its purpose will not be to suppress private enterprise, but to give every person the opportunity to share the benefits of public enterprise.

"Democratic Control."—This does not mean that all superintendents and foremen will be elected by those under them, nor that a referendum will be taken on every question of industrial administration. The details of the system will be worked out as they present themselves. All that is necessary to assure their arrangement in an effectively democratic manner is that the people have the power of election and recalling the officials entrusted with the supreme authority in these, as now in political matters. It is probable that there will be fewer elections than now, just as there will be less bookkeeping and less litigation.

"To produce goods for the satisfactions of human wants", as opposed to the present system of production for the sake of profit for the masters. It will be observed, that we do not lay down any rule as to the distribution of the product—whether under the form of wages or otherwise, by the use of money or time checks or public accounts, whether equally to all or with an inequality based on the unpleasantness of the work, the ability exercised, or any other consideration. It seems probable that the use of money or something similar will long be found convenient, as well as the form of wage payment, though the essential nature of wages will change with the disappearance of the master-and-servant relation. It seems probable that in order to attract enough persons to work which is exceptional-

ly arduous, unpleasant, or dangerous, or which requires exceptional preparation or devotion, special inducements will be offered in the form of higher pay, shorter hours, longer vacations, or honorary rewards. It also seems probable that eventually the productive power of society will be so greatly increased that the question of distribution will disappear, because there will be plenty for all, and that the maxim "To each according to his needs," will eventually be the general rule.

But these are mere speculations. All that can be predicted is that a democratic society, taking charge of production and distribution, will make the most just and human arrangements practicable at the time and will progressively eliminate any elements of injustice or inhumanity, none of its members any longer being driven to be unjust and inhuman in self-defense, as almost all are now.

References.

During the next week each student is urged to read at least one, and if possible all, of the following:

1. Spargo, "Socialism," Chapter Chapter IX, "Outlines of the Socialist State."
2. Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice," Chapter V, "Socialism and the State."
3. Vandervelde, "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," Part II, Chapter II. "The Administration of Things and Chapter IV, "The Formulas of Distribution."
4. Kautsky, "The Social Revolution," Part II from p. 103 to the end in the Kerr edition.

Suggestions for Discussion.

In Lesson XIII we set forth six general reasons for the Socialistic tendencies of the wage working class. In accordance with these considerations, which of the following sections of the working class will generally be most and which least susceptible to Socialist propaganda: Workers in factories and mines, workers in offices and stores, workers in sweatshops and domestic industries, workers in personal service (barbers, waiters, etc.), or agricultural laborers? Give reasons for your opinion. Do the observed facts confirm your opinion?

In accordance with the same considerations, which is more conducive to the success of the Socialist propaganda, the success or the failure of the strikes and boycotts by which working seek to defend or improve their present condition?

A CONVICT LABOR TRUST.

Workmen Awake.

The Miners' Magazine is the authority for the following:

"A Trust in Prison Labor is the latest. After months of investigation trade union officials charge that numerous supposed independent manufacturers are united in a combine that controls the contracts for the labor of convicts in 11 penitentiaries and reformatories. An Indiana judge is charger with being a heavy stockholder in the Reliance Sterling Manufacturing Co., the head of the prison labor trust, and other public officials in various parts of the country are said to be in the combine. It has been learned that by the introduction of machinery in prison workshops and the payment of as low as 26 cents a day for the labor of convicts, at least 75 per cent of the shirtmaking industry has been centralized behind prison walls. Free labor is unable to longer compete with convicts in the manufacture of chairs. Wages have been forced down from \$2 to 99 cents a day. Corduroy trousers are turned out of penitentiaries for 50 cents a dozen. Ten million handkerchiefs a year are turned out of prisons at 4 cents apiece less than can be produced by the cheapest outside labor. Hundreds of other products are secretly manufactured behind prison walls and marketed by fictitious companies that own no shops or factories and merely rent desk room in office buildings. One warden in New York state cleaned up \$10,000 a year on the side as "commissions" for selling prison-made goods and driving convicts to turn out more work."

SEND IN YOUR JOB WORK NOW.

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