



LABOR UNION JOURNAL

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VOL. I.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

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FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

No. 15

THE JOURNAL.

Peter Johnson, of Murray, Utah, sends 25 subscriptions in 50 days. Who will beat this?

Read Martha Moore Avery's splendid article in today's Journal. It is written especially for the Journal.

How did you like Debs' article last week, "The Anthracite Arbitration?" Wasn't it a dandy? Others equally as good are to follow.

James A. Mills, St. Regis, Montana: "I want to say we are well pleased with the Journal. It is getting better every issue. Let the truth come out. That's what we like to read."

There has been so great a demand for yearly subscription cards that we have decided to have 10,000 printed at once. Let us see if we cannot use all of them before June 1st. Everybody lend a hand. Buy \$5 worth now, at 50 cents each. You can easily sell them to their friends.

This week we commence publication of a series of articles, descriptive and historical, of our unions. This will be followed each week with well-written articles concerning a local, district, state or national union of the American Labor Union. The Journal correspondent for each affiliated union should use this matter in hand, with a view to furnishing the history of its union as soon as possible. Pictures of officers and union halls will serve to brighten these articles, and we shall be pleased to publish them. Help to make this the most interesting paper interest ever.

SPOKANE NEWS LETTER.

Hughes Writes Labor Doings of the Falls City.

Spokane, Wash., Jan. 10, 1903. American Labor Union Journal: Federal Labor Union No. 222 expects to be able to make another advance of 5 cents an hour in their wages with the opening of spring.

All the local unions are looking forward with a great deal of interest to the coming of Father Hagerty. He will be greeted by a large crowd here.

The new lumbermen's union at Priest River, Idaho, initiated several new candidates at its meeting Saturday night and its future prospects are very bright.

Sunday night the Hack, Bus and Transfer Drivers' Union gave an enjoyable smoker at their meeting room in Central Labor Hall and a most enjoyable time was had. Brother O. T. Terwilliger gave the boys an interesting talk on Socialism which was greeted with applause.

The United Steamfitters' Helpers, Plumbers' Laborers and Shopmen were organized here New Year's. The boys affiliated with the A. L. U., and the outlook is that they will have a good little union.

Everybody here is highly pleased with the Journal. The New Time of last week says:

"American Labor Union Journal has come out permanently as an eight-page paper, still keeping the price at 50 cents per year. It is par excellence the finest labor paper published and should command the admiration and support of every union man."

The Socialists have called a convention for January 18 for the purpose of nominating a full city ticket. They have also issued an invitation to the labor unions to co-operate with them in the campaign, and the indications are that the boys will now come with their friends and refuse to be longer duped by the capitalistic parties as they have in the past.

H. L. H.

A Sure Cure.

A man who was troubled with unemployment at night asked a how he could prevent them. The Socialist replied: "Well, par-ticularly remedy would be to be a laborer."

LABOR EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK

Employers of Germany are organizing against the labor unions.

Paper mill workers at Appleton, Wis., will strike against long hours.

Bakery workmen in Holland secured a law prohibiting Sunday work in bakeries.

The Great Northern railroad has refused the demand of the trainmen for a 20 per cent increase in wages. Trouble may follow.

The plant of the Georgia Glucose and Sugar Refining company has been closed for want of coal, 800 men being thrown out of employment.

Officials of the Santa Fe system have refused a 20 per cent increase of wages for conductors and brakemen. A strike may ensue.

Carpenters of Cheyenne, Wyo., are on strike for an increase in wages. They have been receiving 40 cents an hour, and now demand 50 cents.

Typographical Union No. 2, of Philadelphia, obtained an injunction restraining city officials from having tax lists printed in non-union offices.

A new factory law has been passed, in Switzerland, which will prevent reduction of wages in many cases, and will abolish "fining" and the "truck" system.

The Pennsylvania state factory inspector will prosecute for perjury parents who swear falsely that their children are of an age permitting them to work in factories.

The Cleveland Citizen, Max Hayes' paper, says several A. F. of L. organ-

izers are creating more trouble than anything else, and suggests that their commissions be revoked. He refers particularly to Pierce, of Denver.

It is stated by officers of the United States Steel Corporation that employees have already subscribed for

their strike for recognition of the union. Only union men will be employed by this company hereafter.

Announcement has been made by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers that no member of that organization can be a

scale of wages was decided upon and adopted to go into effect at once. The scale as adopted is as follows: Painters, \$4; two-horse teamsters, \$2.50; tanners, \$4.50; laborers, \$2.50; porters, \$2.50; plumbers and steamfitters, 60 cents an hour; building laborers, 30 cents an hour.

Replying to Minister Balfour's statement that he had no evidence to show any unusual amount of distress in London or the provinces, Keir Hardie, Socialist member of parliament, produced figures showing more than 27,000 British unionists alone out of employment in addition to those on strike or locked out. This is 50 per cent more than last year at this time.

Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland, Ohio, is determined that President Parry, of the National Association of Manufacturers, shall not evade the challenge to debate on unionism and Socialism. Brother Hayes has replied to Mr. Parry's last letter to the effect that a boycott against Mr. Parry will not prevent the debate, and will not prevent union men listening to it. It is not believed that President Parry will dare meet Brother Hayes publicly.

A petition indorsing Emperor William's attitude in the Krupp case, signed by employes of the Vulkan works, was sent the emperor last week. Now comes a monster meeting of these employes, at which they declare these signatures were secured through coercion. A resolution adopted at this meeting says the petition entirely misrepresents the honest sentiments of the men, and that they only signed through fear of the loss of their positions. The petition complained of is supposed to be an attack against Herr Krupp.



The Kerosene Consumer—See here, if I furnish the cash, why don't I get my name in the papers, too?—Chicago News.

more than 30,000 shares of stock, in order to avail themselves of the newly inaugurated profit-sharing scheme.

After being out but three days the woodworkers employed by the Los Angeles Planing Mill Company won

stockholder in the works in which he is employed, and at the same time retain his full membership in the association.

At the last meeting of the Hay Federation of Labor of Hayre, Mont.

NOTES OF THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION

A labor temple project is under way at Kallispell, Montana.

Sand Point Union subscribes for 100 extra copies of the Journal for distribution among the unorganized.

Many individual memberships are being issued by the American Labor Union to aggressive unionists in localities where the A. L. U. is not organized.

Secretary Gildea, of Federal Labor Union, No. 175, at Kallispell, Montana, reports that the movement for a free employment bureau in that city is likely to be successful.

President Inman, of Tonopah Union, No. 124, reports that his union is growing fast. He says he proposes to unionize the whole district before his term of office expires. Tonopah

Union is composed of some of the very best men in the country, and they are a credit to any labor organization.

Miners at Mace, in the Coeur d'Alene district, in Idaho, have been notified that they must hereafter board at the company boarding house or lose their jobs. This rule will apply to all unmarried men.

Crescent City Federal Union was organized December 27th and in two weeks has more than a hundred members. This is one of the many new and rapidly growing locals in the American Labor Union.

Chas. Simon, of San Francisco, is preparing an article for the Journal that will give a history of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and which will show a comparison of

this new and rapidly growing organization with the old line brotherhoods. As the United Brotherhood has just voted to affiliate with the American Labor Union, our readers will be deeply interested in Brother Simon's article.

The American Labor Union has just endorsed a new scale card for Heel Makers' Union, No. 282, of Rowley and Ipswich, Mass. We hope, soon, to have a substantial, wellmade shoe on the market bearing the A. L. U. label.

Local unions are requested to take notice that Riberdy, Montana, postoffice has been discontinued. Communications intended for St. Regis Lumbermen's Union, No. 50, should be addressed to St. Regis, Montana, hereafter.

Denver's new packing plant will

employ several hundred men, and will be a strictly union concern, employing only members of Denver Butchers' Protective Union, No. 162. All the products of the company will bear the label of the American Labor Union.

The board of directors of the Tribune Publishing company met at Wallace, Idaho, Monday last for the purpose of considering plans for the future conduct of the Idaho State Tribune. This paper is owned by the locals of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, and the plant is one of the best in the state. For several years the paper has been conducted under lease by J. R. Sovereign, and its policy has been entirely at variance with the principles of these two organizations. It is to be hoped a lessee can be found this time who will make a labor paper of the Tribune.

IN THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM

Erie, Pennsylvania, Socialists will establish a daily paper.

Tennessee Socialists are organizing that state thoroughly.

Socialists of Rome will establish a large reading room and library.

Union men of the Ohio oil fields are rapidly embracing the truths of Socialism.

Socialists have carried Aldine, Texas, receiving as many votes as both old parties.

"Today" is the name of a daily paper in Detroit, which now supports the Socialist party.

The Belgian government is compelled to admit that the Socialists had nothing to do with the attempt to assassinate the king.

Related returns from Aldridge, Montana, show the vote for representative to the legislature to have been:

Socialist, 62; republican, 25; democrat, 13. These miners knew the real working class party.

At the recent election at Amsterdam, Holland, the Socialists cast 2,476 votes. A second election will be necessary.

In Spain the General Labor Union is based on the Socialist platform and is making splendid progress. There are now 267 branches, with 43,000 members.

Wallace Labor Union, No. 150, A. L. U., appreciates the value of an educational campaign for the working class, and has voted to contribute \$5 a month to the Socialist lecture and propaganda bureau established at Butte. Wallace is the second union to prepare for an aggressive campaign in a practical way, as St. Regis Lumbermen's Union No. 50, last week voted to contribute a like amount monthly. Next!

January 16 (tomorrow) there will be a debate on Socialism at Cooper

Union, New York, between H. Gaylord Wilshire, the "millionaire Socialist," and E. R. A. Seigman, professor of political economy of Columbia University. See the fur fly!

The regular annual meeting of the stockholders of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing House of Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, is being held today in Chicago. Three directors will be elected for the ensuing year, and other business will be transacted.

Benj. F. Wilson, the eloquent young Socialist speaker, of Berkeley, Calif., commences a two months' campaign of Idaho, Washington and Oregon, at Idaho Falls today. He will return to his home at Berkeley the latter part of March, and after a brief rest will enter the Montana field again.

An entirely new set of officers has been elected by the Deer Lodge Socialist Club, as follows: President, M. H. Whalen; vice-president, F. Le-Grande; recording secretary, Gerald Sullivan; financial secretary, Michael

J. Walsh; corresponding secretary, Barney Oates; treasurer, H. A. Denney. At past Wednesday evening's meeting standing committees will be elected and it was agreed that the campaign for the spring election should be taken up and vigorously prosecuted from this time forward. Every effort will be made to perfect the organization of the party by bringing in as many of the laboring vote as is possible.

Senatorial elections in thirty-four departments in France were held Saturday, Jan. 3. Reports from 82 out of 98 senators to be elected show that the Socialists elected 24, the Republicans 59 and the Radicals 18. This is a splendid gain for the Socialists.

Carl D. Thompson is conducting a big Socialist campaign in Wisconsin. He reports a strong American Labor Union sentiment in that state, but says Czar Gompers is using the lash and has many real friends of our movement intimidated. The light is breaking.

HAGERTY'S LECTURE TOUR.

People Everywhere Gladly Listen to the Socialist Message.

At Billings, Montana, last Saturday Rev. Father Thos. J. Hagerty filled the first engagement of what promises to be the most important and effective Socialist campaign ever carried on in the Northwestern states. The largest audience that ever greeted a Socialist in that city assembled to hear the doctrine of Independent class-conscious workingmen's politics expounded by the eloquent priest.

At Livingston the following night the meeting was a tremendous success, and at the Auditorium in Butte Tuesday evening Father Hagerty addressed a meeting that could scarcely be equalled in interest and enthusiasm.

From Butte the noted lecturer went to Anaconda, where he spoke to a big audience in Turner Hall last night. Tonight he will deliver another lecture at the same place.

Futura Dates.

Future dates that have already been definitely arranged are as follows:

Hamilton, Mont., Saturday, January 17th, Opera House.

Lothrop, Mont., Sunday, January 18th, Union hall.

St. Regis, Mont., Monday, January 19th, Union hall.

Mullan, Idaho, Tuesday, January 20th.

Wallace, Idaho, Wednesday, January 21st, Masonic Temple.

Burke, Idaho, Thursday, January 22nd, Miners' Union hall.

Spokane, Wash., Saturday, January 24th, McKinley hall.

Other dates are being arranged, and will be announced definitely next week.

PROTECT EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Attempt to Defeat it Will Be Made By Colorado Legislators.

Denver, Jan. 7.—The executive officers of the state federation of labor have passed the following resolutions: It has incidentally come to our notice that the same elements which are now determined to overthrow the Rush amendment are also bent on overthrowing the eight-hour amendment, and if they should be successful in defeating the Rush amendment, it will be only a forerunner to like attempts to defeat any measure proposed by labor.

We deem it necessary for all organized labor bodies to pass these resolutions at once:

Whereas, The enemies of organized labor and mankind in general are using every method known to the ingenuity of tyrants to defeat the will of the people, in this (a popular movement); and

Whereas, Such action will lead to revolution, if persisted in, we, members of organized labor, citizens of Colorado and the United States do most solemnly protest against such unwarranted and anarchistic attack upon popular sovereignty and the rights of the people to make whatever constitution they choose; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we will do everything in our power to defeat any man for public office who is connected with this outrage.

JOHN C. SULLIVAN, Pres.

HARRY B. WATERS, Sec.-Treas. Colorado State Federation of Labor.

LESSON TO UNIONS.

Prominent Officer Found to Be Traitor and Spy.

Frank Elliot, financial secretary of the Miners' Union at Morrissey, British Columbia, has been expelled from the union and driven from the camp. A few weeks ago Elliot went on a protracted drunk and for the proper transaction of business, other officers of the union opened his mail. Let ters were found from nine officials ordering Elliot to attend meetings of various miners' unions in the neighborhood and report their doings. Other letters proved him to be a private detective under regular pay of mine owners, and the wrath of the miners made short work of Elliot's connection with the union. This should be a lesson to all members of organized labor to look closely into the character and actions of men trusted with official duties. There are a number of these paid spies doing work in the unions and the fact that they are not able to substantiate charges of lawlessness against the organizations or their members is the best answer to such slanders continually made by the mine operators and their hirelings.—Colorado Chronicle.

The Journal is the best labor-socialist paper. Subscribe for it.

The New Time of Spokane, Wash., says: "The American Labor Union Journal has come out permanently as an eight-page paper, still keeping the price at 50 cents per year. It is par excellence the finest labor paper published and should command the admiration and support of every union man."

Mongolian Question in British Columbia

Written for The Journal
By C. M. O'Brien

The Mongolian question is now and has been for a number of years attracting a great deal of attention here in British Columbia. Hours of valuable time have been spent in union halls and in labor conventions, discussing the Mongolian question. Volumes of articles have been written; resolutions after resolution have been adopted, and petition after petition has been circulated and signed and presented to the Dominion and provincial legislatures, beseeching them to enact exclusion laws. Royal commissions have been appointed and have spent months of time and energy obtaining evidence, and in writing reports on the question. The people of British Columbia have watched the every move of this royal commission, read their reports, and their evidence, expecting the government to adopt a law excluding from this country the very people it has been instrumental in bringing here. For, be it understood, the government is the capitalist class, and the capitalist class has been instrumental in bringing to this country every Chinese and Japanese that is in competition with white labor.

So-called independent political men have harped on this Mongolian question, and now the old conservative and liberal parties are taking it up as party issues.

I have arrived at the conclusion that the Mongolian question should be classed with the imperial, the tariff, the prohibition, the compulsory arbi-

tration, the government ownership, the alien labor contract law, "all of which are kept before the people, especially the trades unionists, for the purpose of diverting their time and energy to these questions, at the same time keeping their attention from the only real issue before the people not only of British Columbia but the whole world, the scientific solution of the labor problem, the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, the abolition of private property in public necessities and the substitution for wage slavery of co-operative industry.

Socialism has been on a Utopian basis for centuries, and on a scientific basis for about half a century.

The Australian agitator spent years and years educating the people of his country to the necessity of driving the Mongolians from that part of the British empire, and then it was not accomplished by law, but by what may be called a rebellion. And are the wage-earners of Australia in any better condition today than the wage-earners of British Columbia? I think not.

In Natal, South Africa, the agitators worked strenuously for a Mongolian exclusion law, which they succeeded in getting. Are the wage-earners of Natal in any better condition than the people of British Columbia? I believe not.

I should say that the conditions of the wage-earners in Australia and British Columbia are much the same as the conditions of the wage-earners

in other parts of the world. Read the resolutions adopted about three months ago by the trades and labor organizations of Johannesburg, and you will have some idea of the conditions prevailing in that country.

After many years of valuable time and energy, the working people of the United States succeeded in educating the voters to the necessity of having a Mongolian exclusion law, and are the wage-earners of the United States any better off than the wage-earners of British Columbia? I think not.

It would have been better not only for the people of Australia, of Natal and of the United States, but for the whole world, if the agitators of the above named countries had spent this time and energy in educating the people to the necessity of being class-conscious economically and politically, and I would advise the present-day agitators of British Columbia to drop this Mongolian and all other capitalistic questions and spend their time and energy in educating the people to the necessity of being class-conscious, economically and politically.

I know that the presence of this Mongolian in British Columbia is one, and only one, of the factors that assist the capitalist class to reduce the standard of living of the English-speaking people of the country. All things are cause and effect. The presence of the Mongolian and all other factors used by the capitalist class to reduce the standard of living of the wage-earners of this country is caused

by private ownership of property. Remove the cause, and you remove the effect. We have about 50,000 Mongolians in British Columbia. Now, what are we going to do with them?

I ask the trades unionist, who is not a Socialist. That is the person who is class-conscious economically and not politically, to advise through the columns of the American Labor Union Journal what is to be done with the 50,000 Mongolians now in British Columbia, most of whom are British subjects. And suppose we do succeed in getting a Mongolian exclusion law, our experience with the alien labor contract law and other laws on the statute books prove to us that we cannot enforce any law unless it suits our masters to do so.

Again, allow me to say to the agitators of British Columbia that the time and energy we will spend in educating the people to this necessity of a Mongolian exclusion law, which when we have it, will only be used as a whip to lash us with, for we cannot enforce the laws that we have, on the statute book. In the same length of time we can educate the people to the necessity of being class-conscious, economically and politically. Then we will be in a position to practice what we preach. Do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. This world is our country, and all men and women are sisters and brothers.

C. M. O'BRIEN,
Fernie, B. C., Dec. 12, 1902.

contentment to his weary soul, and for the rest of the week leave him severely to himself. Meanwhile the capitalist who has robbed him of the fruits of his labor is living in some Aladdin-like palace where no terrors of poverty enter to blanch the face of old age. And his sons continue to take away from the sons of the people three-fourths of the product of their toil and to furnish barely enough lubricating oil to keep these human machines from wearing out too soon.

In this same preaching of content to the poor from gorgeous pulpits and well-padded editorial chair the common people are earnestly exhorted to be law-abiding citizens, to enter no conspiracies in constraint of trade—which is the privilege only of the captains of industry—and to be submissive to the men whom they themselves have elected to be, not their masters, but their servants. The sacredness of the laws framed in the interests of the monied power must not be violated by the mere plebeians of the Fourth Estate. For the millionaire laws are figments upon parchment; for the toiler, though the laws be unjust and one-sided, they are stern facts whose mandates are to be obeyed by those upon whom their injustice falls heaviest. So much so is this true that Chester A. Reed, of the Boston bar, in a paper on boycotting submitted to the American Academy of Political and Social Science, boldly asserts: "It should be stated at the outset that this discussion has no ethical bearing; I recognize it to be perfectly possible that a line of conduct may have everything to condemn it ethically which must still be admitted to be legal." (Peaceable Boycotting, p. 32, No. 123 of the Academy's Publications.)

It is the fashion, nowadays, to overspecialize law in its distinctness from equity—a fashion which is growing into a permanent habit of mind and one which is certain to blind men's judgment to those first principles which must ever be paramount in private as well as in civic life. Our present economic system necessarily hampers the broad purposes of law, political, the festering exudate of industrial, corruption cripples its decisions; and party spirit robs it of its fair proportions. A pernicious philosophy, whose maxim is "to the victor belongs the spoils," is poisoning the wells; and

influences, acting through powerful and wealthy lobbies is constantly tempting our all too-willing law makers to put upon the statute books ordinances which favor the capitalist at the expense of the laborer. The jingle of gold drowns the voice of justice. No matter how iniquitous such ordinances may be in principle, they remain binding upon the commonwealth until repealed. They are enforced by mulct and all the machinery of the courts; and there are not wanting moralists who are so weak-kneed as to counsel obedience to them on the ground of expediency, telling us "that we may sometimes be bound to submit to such an imposition, not as a law, for it is none, but on the score of prudence, to escape dire consequences." (Joseph Rickaby, S. J., Moral Philosophy, 2nd ed., ch. vii., p. 126.)

Of a truth, the causes for discontent among the industrial millions are sufficiently numerous in the department of law alone, when ordinances find a place in its system which are wholly at variance with essential justice. Nevertheless, these ordinances are binding in the so-called courts of justice, and we have, as a consequence, the strange bewilderment of a right which is technically wrong and of a wrong which is technically right. To offset this difficulty there are courts of equity whose supposed function is to straighten out the crookedness of the courts of law. Notwithstanding such an offset, the principle that a line of conduct which is ethically unsound may still be legal is fraught with supreme danger to the nation. A careful analysis of law and ethics will show how wide-wasting is this principle in its practical workings.

Law has been well defined as "applied justice." It is an organic, imperative rule of action looking to the full development of the commonwealth. It is a body of regulations which derive their power from eternal principles of right; and it rests upon massive foundations of justice laid in the very beginning of the world. Law is not the caprice of a day. It is the outgrowth of centuries, the crystallization of truths which underlie the shifting change of the ages and which survive the wreck of war and the crash of empire. Law is the outward pledge and security to man from his fellow-men of all those elements of liberty and happiness which enter into the structure of the perfect life. In the measure, therefore, in which the carrying out of the law falls short of the common rights of humanity, tyranny, though it may be subtle, is in the narrow sense to be defined.

Ethics, as the science of human duty, is the test of law. Uprightness, honesty, truth, purity, gentleness, love and mutual support in the family—these are some of the principles of ethics which are universally admitted without question or shadow of doubt, these are some of the virtues which are recognized by all clear-minded men as duties not of choice but of that moral necessity, which dominates every clean soul. Whenever the human workings of the law stand in the way of these duties, we have what Samuel Johnson calls "treason against the great republic of human nature." Whenever the law operates against the wellbeing of the family, the physical comfort, the intellectual gladness, the social happiness of man, it is unethical, and hence no longer law, but legalized oppression. To say, then, that a thing must be admitted to be legal which may, at the same time, be ethically bad is to play fast and loose with thoughts whereof words are but the ambassadors.

The right to earn meat and bread for the body, to win art and literature and grace for the soul is prior to law. Law is only the formal expression of it and the guardian. And when forces ethically bad, though working under legal sanction, are opposed to this right, men are justified in fighting for it to the last redoubt. In the present state of affairs, the toiler is the victim of competition which, in the hands of capital, is the free-booter's sword gleaming treacherously along the highways of commerce and mercilessly cleaving the bodies and souls of men. It is never in its scabbard lest it be forced.

"To set into itself for lack
Of something else to law and hack."

The difference between the picturesque bandit who jauntily empties your purse at the point of his six-shooter and the capitalist who defrauds the laborer of his hire is decidedly in favor of the bandit, with this grave distinction: that the law protects the capitalist and sets her blood-hounds on the trail of the bandit. The law garrisons the vast holdings of the syndicates. The law guards the mines with glistening bayonets and patrols the shops and factories and foundries with sleepless care. The law shelters the holder of mortgages, the money-lenders, the investors, the speculator in grain and stocks, the contractor and all the rights of property, with one exception—the laborer's property. The laborer's property is his hire, and that he gets the protection of law. The

A Strong Defense of Socialism

Written for The Journal by
W. E. TYRRELL

The spirit of individual enterprise, which Socialism put into general practice, would tend to destroy, has been the basis or mainspring of all progressive civilization.—Portland Evening Journal.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

I clipped the above from the paper whose title I have written beneath it, and, as the intention is evidently mischievous (for none would publish such an utter falsity without malice prepense), I beg you will allow me to contradict and controvert the statement in an early issue of your valuable Journal. I really cannot comprehend how any man posing as a teacher (for what are newspaper men if not teachers?) could be guilty of making such a plea for the retention of the existing order of things. "Socialism put into practice" instead of tending to destroy would make it possible for thousands where there is now one to engage in individual enterprise. What time or opportunity has the miner, working twelve or fourteen hours a day, too wearied with a he-

reaches what he terms his home that all exhausted nature will allow him to do is to eat his supper and go to bed, even to plan, let alone engage in any "individual enterprise?"

The same, though perhaps in a lesser degree, may be said of the clerk in a store, a railway employe or any other of the enormous array of men who labor for hire.

Many of them are possessed of sufficient intelligence to see chances for bettering their condition, as they arise; but the circumstances by which they are environed are such financially and otherwise that they must perforce allow those opportunities to slip by.

Under "Socialism put into practice" a man would have both the time and the ability to make use of the brains with which he has been provided, because with all employed four, or at the outside five, hours would constitute a day's work.

There would be time for healthful exercise, which gives strength; time for reading and study which give intelligence; time for the social enjoy-

ments of the family circle which insure happiness and contentment; and who is there bold enough to declare that a healthy, intelligent and contented population would not be a very decided improvement upon the weary, uncultured, miserable creatures called in general terms the "laboring class" of today? Rule by the people and for the people is what the Socialist craves and is "out" to obtain. The Republican form of government is certainly the nearest approach to it and yet it is being proved more and more day by day a dead failure.

There are three great established forms of government in the world—the absolute monarchy, the limited monarchy, and the republic. Let us for the sake of argument take as examples of the first Russia and Turkey; of the second England and Denmark, and of the third America and France. Now let us look back over the last fifty years with a view to discovering under which of the three there has been the most contentment. In Turkey three rulers have been assassinated by a discontented people;

in Russia two; in France two; in America three; in England none; in Denmark none.

"Oh, but," I hear someone say, "they were all killed by cranks."

Be it so. What makes political cranks? Discontent with the existing order of things. That and nothing else is the reason why rulers are driven to death by their subjects.

"Progressive civilization." If this be an evidence of it we had better retrograde a little and try unprogressive barbarism, for from the way he speaks, I presume that is what the writer of the paragraph quoted above would call Socialism.

Well, every one has a right to his own opinion, but I can assure the gentleman of one thing, namely, that whether he or I be right will be put to the test before very long and I for one do not fear the issue. So far as I can see, Socialism in some form is the only sensible solution to the vexed question of capital and labor.

Thanking you in advance, I am, yours sincerely,

W. E. TYRRELL.

"The party felon whose unblushing face
Looks from the pillory of his bribe of place,
And coolly makes a merit of disgrace,
Points to the footmarks of indignant scorn,
Shows the deep scars of satire's tossing horn;
And passes to his credit side the sum
Of all that makes a scoundrel's martyrdom."

These are sores which have been festering in the body politic for many years. These are evils which naturally grow out of the industrial inequalities of the race. The present spirit of capitalism is one of the dangers to the impartial administration of law which Washington so much feared in the future life of the Republic: "All obstructions to the execution of laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency." (Farewell address.)

Other clear-sighted men, in the years that followed, took up Washington's warning to the Republic and renewed it in the halls of congress. Standing upon the threshold of the nineteenth century, James Asheton Bayard saw with prophetic eye the havoc which was to be wrought by partisan legislation: "What does reason, what does argument avail when party spirit presides? Subject your bench to the influence of this spirit, and justice bids a final adieu to your tribunals. . . . If your judges are independent of political changes, they may have their preferences, but they will not enter into the spirit of party. But let their existence depend upon the support of the power of a certain set of men, and they cannot be impartial. Justice will be trodden under foot. Your courts will lose all public confidence and respect. The judges will be supported by their partisans, who, in their turn, will expect immunity for the wrongs and violence which they commit. The spirit of party will be inflamed to madness; and the moment is not far off, when this fair country is to be desolated by a civil war." (From a speech on the Judiciary Bill, U. S. H. O. R., Feb. 13, 1802.)

A servile judiciary in the pay of capital widens the breach between law and equity; and class legislation sets them still farther apart. It is a lamentable fact that the men who are elected to make the laws of the country are often lacking in the moral and intellectual equipment needful to the task. There remain few

Statements like those who sought the primal fount
Of righteous law, the Scrimon on the Mount."

A complicated system of private in-

Economic Discontent

By Father Thos. J. Hagerty
PART ONE

When you lead a young colt for the first time up to a railroad engine he shows every sign of fear. His eyes widen, his nostrils dilate, his ears point forward in nervous terror and he trembles in every limb. The escaping steam and the shrill emphasis of the whistle are phenomena which he interprets only as the onrushing of a bodily danger certain to overwhelm him before he can fly the terrible monster. The engine is something wholly out of the range of his previous knowledge—a thing to be dreaded through sheer ignorance of its nature. It is only after a great deal of gentleness and patience on the part of his master that he gradually learns to look unmoved upon this huge machine of commerce and to realize that, after all, it is as readily tamed whose fiercest appetite is appeased by simple lumps of coal.

Very similar are the actions of the average unthinking citizen when you bring him face to face with the economic discontent which is disturbing the times. He has heretofore maintained his peace of mind by resolutely ignoring sociologic problems and satisfied his conscience by perusing republican editorials on the marvelous prosperity of the toilers in this country. His favorite Sunday paper has been telling him, in the department of "Editorials by the Lally," how great millionaires have risen from the lowest depths of poverty, how ploughboys have become managers of titanic trusts, and how, in the words of Chastance M. Depow "these have made possible our industrial advance and superiority over other nations." (Chicago Tribune, April 27, 1902.) None of his previous reading has ever brought him into actual touch with the widespread discontent of the proletariat. And when its existence is suddenly borne in upon him, he sees in it only a menace to the stability of government and a danger to civilization. Visions of lawlessness, murder and dynamic crowd his fear-wrought imagination. In fancy he beholds the re-

enactment of the wild deeds of the French revolution.

"When through the streaming streets
Of Paris red-eyed Massacre o'er-wearied
Reeled heavily, intoxicate with blood,"

The grumbings of underpaid workmen, of half-starved children, and sad-faced women, and their sullen protest against the purely animal life of drudgery under the lash of capitalism, strike upon his affrighted ears like the forerunning of some awful catastrophe. And when outraged toll finds expression in strikes or boycotts, he feels himself safe only behind the gleaming bayonets of the militia.

He does not understand this discontent any more than the young colt understands the railroad engine. He needs to be taught the function and far-reaching influence for good of intelligent discontent—of that restlessness under injustice which nerves men everywhere to battle for the right. He must learn to recognize his kinship of a common humanity with those who groan beneath the burden of unequal toll. His mind must be awakened to a consciousness of his complete dependency upon his fellow men and of the identity of his interests with those of the remotest sons of earth. As his economic education goes on, his eyes gradually open to the true significance of the social unrest which is troubling the age. He begins to grasp the fact that, in all periods of the world's history, intelligent discontent has been the torch-bearer of progress.

The sciences owe their development to the genius of men who would not be satisfied with the limitations of knowledge and who flinched not before the wrath of the traditions which their investigations so ruthlessly disturbed. Socrates paid the penalty of his daring with his death, though his philosophy enriched the thought of men.

"When Roger Bacon was raising his voice against the habit of blindly following authority, and seeking for all science in Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas was employed in fashioning Aristotle's tenets into that fixed form in which

they became the great impediment to the progress of knowledge." (Whe-well, History of the Inductive Sciences, 3d ed. vol. I, book IV, ch. v., p. 521.) He was accused of witchcraft, "and imprisoned by command of the general of his order." (Tennemann, Hist. of Philosophy, London, 1802, p. 241.) Copernicus, Galileo and Savonarola were all malcontents in their day whose sanity and wisdom it was left for succeeding generations to vindicate. To Sir Isaac Newton's discontent with the current science of his day we are indebted for our knowledge of gravitation. Despite the determined hostility of the orthodox scholars in the German universities, Frederick Mesmer's discontent with their teachings gave to the world that psychophysiology which has influenced the whole domain of physical and mental philosophy. Smarting under their many industrial wrongs the people of England forced from King John the increased liberties of the magna charta. The early colonists of America were not content meekly to bow down to the injustice of taxation without representation, and they swept the divine right of Kings off every acre of land and established forevermore on freedom's soil the divine right of the People in its stead. The sturdy Boers listen to no preaching of peace while their liberties are assailing; and almost every veiled holds the grave of a hero who elected death in preference to a dishonorable contentment under British tyranny.

Indeed, every advance in civilization, every forward movement in knowledge and culture and freedom, has been achieved by the organized discontent of men or by the patient bravery of some great soul breaking through the inertia of conservatism and blazing new pathways for humanity.

From an economic point of view, then, no more damnable error can be conceived than that of teaching the poor to be content with their lot; to be satisfied with coarsest food,

with unhealthy tenements, with shabby clothes, with hob-nailed boots, with cheap furniture and bare walls; to forego the pleasure of books and paintings and music in their homes; to stifle the legitimate aspirations of talent, never to penetrate beyond the smoke of factories into God's pure air nor listen to the wondrous melodies of feathered songsters in the brake, nor watch the changing pigments of His brush on the floral canvas of the fields; but always to go on slaving from morning till night with no prospect of comfort for the evening of life. Surely it is the veriest mockery to preach contentment to the aged worker who finds younger men crowding him out as the years steal his strength away. A time comes to him when he is thrown aside like an out-worn tool. His usefulness in the industrial conflict has been a constantly diminishing factor. The future looms up dark and forbidding; and he grows tremulous with despair:

"Lang hatt' ich ausgehalten:
Jetzt hat man mir gesagt:
"Wir brauchen keinen Alt'en"
Und hat mich fortgejagt.

"Wir konnen dich entbehren,
Wir brauchen junge Kraft."
Und ich ward doch alt in Ehren
Und hab' mich nud geschafft.

Ach Gott, ich bin so mude,
Recht mude bis aufs Blut;
Ich mochte wissen, qui Friede
Einem armen Menschen thut."

His children are scattered far and wide; perchance they are dead, and he is left heavy-hearted and alone. Entering the poorhouse, he is rated a pauper, and he chafes under the dishonor which classes him as a burden upon the people. To the public contractor he represents a body to be clothed and fed at so much per diem; and he becomes a mere algebraic quantity in the problems of the statistician. Gospel-singers drone hymns into his ears on Sunday and preach dry, comfortless

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Primary Principles of Economy

Written for The Journal
by Martha Moore Avery

The autocrat salutes you! In cap and gown which gives him full authority within his vast dominions—with no rebellious subject within all the realm save he himself. Like the old woman who prayed to be delivered from her friends, being herself able to get on with her enemies, the autocrat finds his enemies his friends and prays to be saved from himself alone as the one unruly subject in need of discipline.

His disciple has neither lean nor hungry look, nor is he over-fat to think enough to make himself a shining light among the sons of men.

Should those who live both far and near now listen to our talk; we hope it will be clear enough for all to hear and plain enough for all to see the A, B, C of economic law that may be learned ere this young and happy New Year shall be old enough to don his Christmas robes.

Certainly, one can no more expect to learn the laws of wealth production, the buying and selling of labor power, than the science of chemistry without close study. But it is clearly to be seen that this knowledge is necessary to unravel the labor problems which now confront this blessed nation of ours—the coal troubles included.

No, indeed! it is not past finding out by the uneducated, using that term in its technical sense. It requires but common sense, good horse sense and determined purpose to solve the labor problem. For native intelligence is not dependent upon a university, nor even a common school education. Such training gives, to be sure, the tools with which to make intellectual measurements and with which to arrive at intellectual judgment. But you would not say that a man who will apply himself to the task of learning cannot by self-instruction gain the use of these tools?

Yes, it is true that the task of the self-taught is the harder. But the very fact that the self-effort is greater the warrant that the return will be the more securely fixed within his mind, and so becomes a more potent factor in solving further questions related to a given subject.

Just recall your own experience when a boy at school—when you met a tough nut to crack in your examinations on fractions, did you learn more from the teacher or from the next boy you turned to for help in the next hour? Did you give up? Did you keep your study until the very pressure of the test had broken the light was struck by which to see through the tangle? Of course, you say, sticking to the thing by yourself gives you the real knowledge.

Disciple—But, sir, political economy is not one problem! There seems to be a whirlpool of problems going round and round?

Autocrat—Ah! that's a good figure. It is true that these problems do move in circles from a center to a circumference and from a circumference to a center. So it is the laws of their motion that must be learned with which to solve the trust problem, etc., etc.

But you have help! How happens it that I have the distinction of being the Autocrat if not for the privilege of pointing out to you the lines which run through the phenomenon to the center and from the center to the extreme limits of the economic sphere. Though I lead you ever so willingly to the sweet water of knowledge, you will drink only at your desire, not at mine. I sincerely hope you are thirsty enough to pay me for the works I do in breaking up the ground into the necessary divisions and subdivisions, which will make it not so easy as lying idly dreaming in the summer sunshine, but yet not so stubborn as to block your positive effort.

You smile sarcastically at the wide contrast between your work-a-day life and the poetic touch of a reverie in June. Ah! that's the pity of it. It is so hard to add close study to the already crowded hours that are left to you who do useful work for the world. The idler will not do it—doing nothing is his only work—the hope of the race rests on those who are now heavy laden. And as one must work with heart, head and hand to be very much alive the hope of the world is not misplaced. For, after all, it is hope that gives the courage to work at anything.

But really, my dear Disciple, I must tell you this to begin with—and if you will pardon my frankness I fear I shall many times be constrained to recall the fact that to the same degree that bitterness enters into the spirit of our research just to that degree will blindness mark and mar our effort. For principles unfold themselves in the light. In the clear, cold, blue light of science, or in the rich, warm, mellow light of mercy—yes, that's right, principles are not turned aside at human pleasure. Like the Almighty God Himself, they are no respectors of persons. That's the reason that the lowly by obedience to principles often become the great. If one will follow the economic principles through their data to reasonable conclusions, instead of tagging after this or that sentimentalist, in the make-up of his opinions he may, nay, he must, become an important factor in the nation's advance.

Disciple—Will you kindly name the principles which play important parts in the labor problem, using that term in a broad sense?

Autocrat—Do you understand by the labor problem the part that is played in wealth production by the wage worker as being the negative half of the economic sphere in relation to—let me say—the trust problem? Which is the positive half of industry—commerce—finance? If so, then we have an intelligent basis from which to proceed, for we see that the labor problem and the trust problem are but one and the same thing. Like the two sides of a medal, one object, with two aspects.

Disciple—Viewed in that way one has as you say an economic sphere with which to deal and I now see much more in the figure of the whirlpool than when I used the illustration.

Autocrat—Within the production, the exchange and the consumption of wealth you may easily distinguish the principle of wealth—of work and labor, which are the positive and negative poles of human effort. The principle of value in which wealth manifests the time and skill of its creator.

Exchange upon which principle the social circulation of wealth is set up with the use of money. The principle of wages, which meets out the return to the operator of capital and to the workman. The principles of aristocracy and democracy, which manifest in the industrial relations of men and many others of lesser prominence.

Disciple—I see that the study involves the separation of the everyday data from the cause of that data?

Autocrat—Yes; principles as causes hold the phenomena to its law. Therefore, if one understand the principles related to political economy he will be able to classify under their correct headings the leading data of wealth—value, work, wages, money, capital, exchange, etc., etc. And what is most important from a human point of view, he will see that although principles never change the phenomenon related to them change constantly upon the basis of progress.

Disciple—Yes, there's no such thing as a standstill; things move forward by improvement or break down altogether.

Autocrat—For instance, while the principle of the wage never changes those who labor have arisen from slaves to artisans; from artisans to the two-fold character of wage worker and citizen.

Oh, I know that is too much for you to follow, for it involves the knowledge in broad outline of all those principles of which we are speaking. I give it out at this time simply to set your mind in the groove of discovering that one and the same principle manifests at different industrial epochs in very different manner.

The study of political economy is like going up Bunker Hill Monument. One starts at the base, from the ground floor, but he stands upon a solid bed of rock, which extends deep down into the earth. Upon this foundation, which was laid in strict understanding and in exact obedience to the laws of structure, the grand and solemn column of granite withstands the wind and the rain from without and from within the pulsations of the multitude who with fervor pay tribute to the courage, loyalty and devotion of our sires.

One may not leap to its top, but step by step ascend its spiral stair—pausing ever and anon at the loopholes to view the elevation of his progress, to introduce one after another aspect of the scene as his horizon becomes progressively broadened.

Certainly, it is a long pull; many men turn away from so much exertion, overcome at the thought even as they gaze heavenward, while many more have not the courage even to climb the hill to its base. But to those whose blood is streaked with virtues like unto the men who still make the world glad with their name and their fame, to those who will make a sustained effort, gaining refreshment at the north, the south, the east and the west as they pass from height to height until the top is reached, there is spread out far and away a clear view of the country round and about. One great whole! and yet the cities, the towns, the hamlets, the hills, the valleys, the lakes

and the streams and the great Atlantic rolling from continent to continent, all stand out with distinctness, separated one from the other. No confusion now lies in the mind as to the location of Quincy; no difficulty in following the course of the Charles as it joins with the Mystic to unitedly empty their floods into the swelling ocean. Easy enough to sweep with the eye the outlined coast from High Rock in Lynn to Plymouth Bay. Plainly in view to the west are the Berkshire hills and the sand dunes away to the south on the cape. The handiwork of God and the handiwork of man are one and yet two—the mart stands sharply defined by contrast with nature. Steam car, trolley and express land man and merchandise at their destined places. Ocean liner, coast schooner, steam tug, yacht and row boat ply the commerce of the world on Boston Bay—factory, foundry, market place and postoffice—and beneath one's feet is the dear old common with its miniature fleet on the frog pond—all is clearly distinct! What a tribute to man is here in the art displayed; what design; what activity; what results, and above all, what unfading demonstration of the power, the plenty and the mercy of the Great Creator in making man after His own image!

Yes, I well remember the light in your eye, the bloom in your cheek, the expansion of your chest and the added firmness of your gait after your first feast at the top of sweet Liberty's shrine. It was never so difficult after that visit to show you that principles like objects are distinct one from another only from a relative point of view, but after all the separation is but intellectual—that the man and his work is one and the same thing. For instance, if you speak of a chair it is one object in contrast to a table which stands opposite to it. But should you speak of the furniture of the room the chair and the table together, with all the other useful and ornamental pieces, are combined under one term—as the furniture of this room is one object as against the furnishings of that room.

Now, my dear Disciple, if you will pull out the economic points to be studied during the week we will take up the definition of wealth next Monday morning and see what we can do with it. You will kindly bear in mind also that we shall spend some part of the time in review.

Disciple—First, the domain of political economy is properly confined to the production of wealth for exchange. Thus excluding domestic economy on the one hand and civic economy on the other hand.

Second, that the principles of wealth—work, value, democracy, etc., etc., as related specifically to this department of human activity are abstractly conceived but concretely demonstrated.

Third, that economic principles never change, while the phenomena through which and by which the principles come into objective view constantly change upon the basis of progress, of evolution.

Fourth, that after an intellectual recognition of principles men immediately set up standards to work from within the concrete facts of every-day life.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

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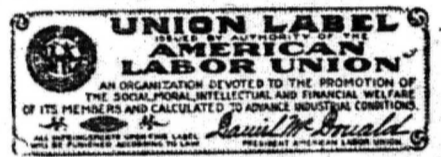
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a mass of others far outnumbering those within the unions, for whom there is practically no possibility of organization.

So far from the Socialist party being but a side show to the trade union movement, as some of the members seem to think, the Socialist party, the Socialist movement and the Socialist philosophy are all infinitely greater than any trade union movement. There is not a point of the trade union movement which is not swallowed up and enlarged by the Socialist movement, and to let "the tail wag the dog" in the manner in which some comrades advocate would be a most ridiculous conclusion.

Even as a vote getter fusion is not a success. Comrade Wilkins in this number shows very conclusively the truth of this for California. Missouri was the only other state in which there was a tendency to subordinate Socialism to trade unionism, and this is the only state so far as we are aware where the Socialist vote has absolutely fallen off. This decline comes in spite of the fact that the national headquarters is located in that state, with all the advertising and assistance that this implies.

And apropos of this reference to national headquarters, it seems to us that in regard to other comrades this question of fusion is one on which they might act as their judgment might dictate, unhampered by any restriction. But when men who have been elected to take charge of the national destinies of the Socialist party deliberately send out letters endorsing the absorption of that party by other organizations, it indicates that the senders have a very low idea of personal honor in relation to their official position. If they had become firmly convinced that the time was now here for the Socialist party to take a back seat or some other organization, whether that organization be a trade union, or an independent labor party, they should first surrender the machinery of the Socialist party which has been entrusted to them.

To return to the argument, Comrade Hoehn, in his article in this issue, says he does not "recognize any such thing as a pure and simple or Socialist trade union." If he does not

recognize them that is his fault, for they exist. While it is true, as he says, that resolutions by central organizations do not make Socialists, and indeed we are glad that there seems to be at least one member of the national committee who recognizes this fact, as their actions would have given a contrary impression, yet there is a great difference from the point of view of the Socialist party between a union whose machinery of administration is used for the furtherance of Socialism and one in which that machinery is used to fight Socialism in the bitterest possible manner.

In conclusion it must be borne in mind that the Socialist party is a party of the working class and not of any fraction thereof. That today, if we are going to give up that class character which rests upon principle, it would be much less of a surrender to endorse the allied party, which is made up equally of the laboring class and which has much more of a Socialist platform than has the trade union parties of some cities. But to do either would be a complete surrender of our position. The Socialist party can have nothing in common with any organization which supports and cringes before a man like Eugene Schmitz, immediately after he has come from the defense of Tammany Hall, and who has given no reason whatever to believe that he has accepted any of the principles of the working class movement.

We are not of those who think that this fusion movement is of such tremendous importance. Like the measles and the whooping cough in human beings, it is a disease which seems to affect the Socialist party in every country at certain stages of its development. We can only hope that it will not become epidemic in this county, and that the acute stage may be quickly passed, because while it lasts there will be little effective Socialist work. The only unfortunate thing about it is that it has infected our national headquarters, which would seem to indicate that it was about time to make a selection of a more healthful locality for this body.—International Socialist Review.

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WILL NOT PERMIT FUSION

Stinging Rebuke to Those Who Would Sacrifice the Socialist Party

A combination of events has forced the question of the attitude of the Socialist party toward the trade union movement prominently to the front. Unfortunately the relation of these two expressions of the class struggle are complicated by some unfortunate historical conditions. With these, however, we do not care to deal at this time, save that we wish to protest against those who would explain the present conditions entirely by the somewhat trite saying that the "pendulum is only swinging to the other extreme."

The situation which confronts us at the present time in several portions of the country is about as follows. Under the combined influence of economic development, and Socialist teachings the trade unions have simultaneously become of great strength and permeated with Socialist thought, the latter generally of a rather indefinite and confused character. The cry that labor must go into politics is taken up. A "Union Labor" ticket is placed in the field. The Socialist party is at once confronted with the alternative as to whether it shall antagonize this "Union Labor" party, or whether it shall withdraw from the field.

Various comrades have, by a process of what one might call "short-circuited" reasoning (to borrow a phrase from the vocabulary of the electrician) jumped to the conclusion that the Socialist party is at once to make terms with the party, even at the cost of the sacrifice of its principles.

cialist party itself. Their reasoning generally runs as follows:

The philosophy of Socialism demands that the powers of government be captured by a working class party. Here is a working class party. It can capture the powers of government. That would be Socialism; let us support it. Unfortunately there are several breaks in this chain of reasoning. The weakest point, of course, lies in the claim that any party bearing the name of labor, and largely made up of organized workers, is necessarily a working class party. In the sense in which Socialists use the word, a working class party means, not so much a party made up of working men as one based upon certain definite principles in accord with the interests of the working class. If the working class membership is the only condition, there has scarcely been a party in existence that could not fill the bill. Hence an argument based upon the fact that these parties are made up of laboring men, whether organized or unorganized, is utterly beside the point and has nothing whatever to do with the matter in question. The fact that it is even offered by a Socialist shows a badly confused state of mind.

The only thing which determines whether a party is a working class party in the sense in which the Socialists use the word is whether it stands upon a platform expressing the mission of the working class as the future ruling class, and whether the attitude and work of the new party indicates that it is inspired by a consciousness

of the functions of the working class as the collective owners of the instruments of production and distribution and the rulers of the social organism.

Judging by these standards not one of the so-called "union labor" parties has any right whatever to be called a working class party. Their principles are much more in accord with small capitalist interests than with those of the working class.

It is useless to point out that such parties are distinguished from the republican and the democratic parties by the fact that the initiative comes from members of the working class themselves. This argument shows a very slight understanding of social psychology. To the superficial observer the initiative may appear to come from organized labor, but as a matter of fact it comes from the thoughts, printed matter and miscellaneous ideas that have been circulated by divisions of the capitalist class through the organs by which they control public opinion.

An example of this method of reasoning is given in the article by Comrade Murray in this issue, where he says: "But dare we condemn the instincts of the working class, for what other class, what other individuals but the workers themselves are better fitted to understand the needs of the working class and to bring about their salvation?"

But that is just what the Socialist party always has and always must do until it has succeeded in making the working class thoroughly class-conscious. The "instinct of the work-

ing class," if it means anything, means the ideas which have been communicated to the working class by the capitalist, and action in accordance therewith is almost always against the working class, except when it comes in the line of direct reaction from physical discomfort, as is the case with the economic side of the trade union movement.

Furthermore, even when the Union Labor party stands upon a professedly Socialist platform, there is no reason why the Socialist party should save the field, or should renounce its name and organization.

The Socialist party is a national and international organization like the capitalism which it combats. The Union Labor party is almost invariably a municipal party, never more than a state party. The capture either of a municipality or a state would not be any very serious blow to capitalism while the more general powers of government remained untouched. Furthermore, such a capture at the expense of the disorganization of a wider party movement would be a dearly gained victory even if it were gained along Socialist lines.

In all this we see an exaggeration of the importance of the organized labor movement. There is not the slightest question but what the Socialist party is and always must be on the side of organized labor when the latter is waging a class struggle, but it is equally on the side of such workers as the toilers in the sweat shops and the child slaves in the factory, the agricultural laborers and

Socialism will break the bonds of wage slavery and open the door to freedom, justice and gladness for the working class.

The latest ridiculous antic of the alleged labor paper at Wallace is its support of W. B. Heyburn, the lackey of the Coeur d'Alene mine owners, for United States senator.

Weldon B. Heyburn, tool of the Coeur d'Alene mine owners, has been elected United States senator by the Idaho legislature. The miners so voted and should take their medicine cheerfully.

The Socialist party is distinctly the party of the working class. Not alone because it is composed of working men, but because it is the only political organization in the world that stands for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

Wilshire will make Prof. Seligman, of Columbia University, look like thirty cents when the debate on Socialism comes off tomorrow. The man who offered \$10,000 to Bryan for an hour's debate of the trust question is not to be vanquished by a university professor. Watch for the result.

In Germany, in France, in Italy, in Spain, in Austria, in Russia—in fact, the world over—the Socialist movement represents the political uprising of the working class. It is a world movement of the workers against the shirkers, of the exploited against the exploiters, of the robbed against the robbers. The workers of the United States are coming to understand the exact situation. That is why the Socialist party is growing by leaps and bounds.

Max Hayes suggests that A. F. of L. (dis.) Organizer Pierce's commission ought to be revoked, because of the dissension he has created in Denver, but Max has nothing to say about Sam Gompers, who issued the commission and personally directed Pierce's work. Pierce has stated repeatedly that he is the personal representative of Gompers, and that Gompers has personally directed the A. F. of L. policy of organizing scabs in Colorado. Pierce simply obeys orders and does Gompers' dirty work. Which is to be most censured?

All the reactionary forces of capitalism and the old political parties are at work to defeat the Journal and the aggressive political policy of the American Labor Union. Let those who have worked so earnestly and conscientiously for the advantages already gained be on their guard lest the servile tools of capitalism wreck this glorious movement upon the shoals of ignorance, prejudice and compromise. Alertness, courage and determination are necessary to defeat the cunning of capitalist emissaries in our own ranks. The same capitalistic element that lives in peace with the "conservative" American Federation of Labor, and that applauded the old Western Labor Union as long as it clung to the ineffective principles of "pure and simple" trades unionism, are now enraged with terror on account of this large and rapidly growing labor organization founded upon the bedrock principles of independent working class political action through the Socialist party. Where the old organization was a plaything in the hands of capitalism, the new one threatens to dispossess capitalism of the power of exploitation. Capitalism declares this movement must be destroyed. We declare it will be maintained until a system of society shall be established wherein every worker will receive the full product of his toil. Misrepresentation, bribery, treachery and corruption of all sorts will be—in fact, is being—resorted to everywhere to obstruct the American Labor Union and defeat the policy of the Journal. Workers, friends, be on your guard!

A workman loses his independence in joining the union in about the same way he courts death by taking out a life insurance policy. It is surprising how many ignorant and superstitious people are victims of both.

REBUKE TO FUSIONISTS.

St. Louis Local Roasts the Local Quorum.

The following resolutions were adopted at the general meeting of local St. Louis, Mo., of the Socialist party, January 4, 1903:

Resolution No. 1.
"To the Members and Comrades of the Socialist Party of the United States:

"Local St. Louis Socialist party, in regular general meeting assembled, hereby adopts the following resolution concerning the San Francisco fusion affair:

"Resolved, That local St. Louis reiterates its allegiance to the principles and tactics of the Socialist party, as adopted and agreed upon by the Indianapolis Unity Convention. We are fully convinced of the correctness and soundness of the Socialist party tactics, and therefore most emphatically disapprove of and condemn any attempt to lead our movement into fusion and confusion with so-called Union Labor and Reform parties, thereby disrupting the Socialist party at the very moment when our prospects are brighter and more encouraging than ever before, and when, by polling over 300,000 votes, our organization has become the third political party nationally, and in many of the states and industrial centers also has become the recognized third party.

"Resolved, That we call upon the Socialists and their sympathizers throughout the country to be on their guard, because the capitalist politicians are beginning to realize the seriousness of the political situation, and the onward march of the class-conscious movement of the Socialist party. It is especially the Democratic party that will do all in its power to sidetrack the Socialist movement by the organization of a Democratic Union Labor party, for the purpose of misleading organized labor and catching the labor vote. Recent developments have shown that the Democratic millionaire and newspaper publisher, Hearst, of New York, with his New York Journal, Chicago American and San Francisco Examiner, assisted by a number of capitalist political hirelings in the labor movement, such as Secretary Steinbliss, of the National Building Trades Council, and others are already freely advocating the Democratic Union Labor fusion ticket, with Millionaire Hearst as Democratic presidential candidate for 1904, and the Cook county Democratic politicians are making strenuous efforts to enlist President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers as candidate either for governor of Illinois or for the vice-presidential companion of Millionaire Hearst.

"Resolved, That the Socialist party of St. Louis will continue the class-conscious political battle of labor in all its future campaigns, and also its effective co-operation with the trades union movement."

Resolution No. 2.
"Whereas Comrades E Val Putnam and James S. Roche have come out in the Socialist press of the country not only defending the San Francisco political deal known as the Socialist-Union Labor party fusion movement, but also advocating the extension and expansion of said fusion tactics all over the country;

"Whereas Comrades M. Ballard Dunn and Leon Greenbaum also have publicly advocated the extension and expansion of said fusion tactics;

"Whereas, by said action, Comrades E Val Putnam, James S. Roche, M. Ballard Dunn and Leon Greenbaum have acted in direct violation of our party's principles and tactics, defined by the national platform as follows: 'The Democratic, Republican and bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class, and have disregarded the confidence and trust placed in them by their constituents who elected them members of the local quorum of the national committee of the Socialist party, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That local St. Louis hereby disapproves of their action and kindly requests Comrades E Val Putnam, James S. Roche, M. Ballard Dunn and Leon Greenbaum, and all those favoring their fusion schemes to resign as members of the national committee and officers at the national office of the Socialist party; and, be it further

"Resolved, That, failing to resign, we call upon the national committee of the Socialist party to remove them."

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
City Secretary of the Socialist Party of St. Louis, Mo.

If working people are able to operate the factories and workshops, and mills, and mines, and prepare the fields for bountiful harvests for the benefit of the few thousand capitalists, why should they not be able to operate them for themselves? Why shouldn't they co-operate and partake of the full product of their labor?—*Brewers' Journal.*

CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND CAPITALIST PRODUCTION — A PARTNERSHIP.



One holds the workingman by the heels—full dinner pail and all—while the other goes through his pockets.

HUGHES' SHARPSHOOTERS

Pithy Paragraphs by a Member of the Executive Board.

It has been necessary for the Russian government to spend about \$2,000,000 for the relief of some of its starving subjects, and an awful commotion has been raised about it. The czar's income is \$15,000,000 per year—seven and one-half times as much—but nothing is thought of that, for the poor man could not live without it! Just think of what would happen, you know, if the czar should fail to get his \$15,000,000! Russian government could not get along without this "royal" "blue-blooded" czar—this man of "superior" clay—but if the starving millions of her exploited poor—that "vulgar," "low" class who toil—should die of their privations, the world would consider the loss so small "that you could hardly notice it at all."

But there is a day coming—"the truth is marching on"—when the czars, emperors, kings, financial potentates—and all that class of parasites who look upon themselves as being of "superior clay"—will be made ridiculous under the strong light of human equality; they will then no longer be able to place themselves "above" their real intellectual, moral and physical superiors, who are to be found in the ranks of the great industrial class, who perform the useful functions of life. In that time it will be creditable to assist those in distress, and a disgrace to pander to parasitism—even though it be in the person of a czar or king.

"Get off our backs" is coming to be the battle cry of the exploited workers the world over. Socialist knowledge is spreading like wild fire, and the party's ranks are being filled with increasing rapidity with each passing day—the light is breaking in upon the "boys," and when they once see the point they have the splendid courage to act. A few years ago the Socialist propagandist found it hard at times to get the laboring men to take the literature and read it—now you will find nearly every working man you meet anxious to get the literature. The workers are reading and thinking—there will be an awakening soon that will sweep the fraud of capitalism from the earth in a whirlwind of righteous, intelligent indignation.

Under capitalism whenever the trusts devise new means of economy in production—that is, introduce new methods of saving labor—a lot of working people lose their jobs; but under Socialism when new methods are devised for saving labor we will simply reduce the hours and allow all to work on as before. Now, brother worker, you are up against one or the other of these two propositions. You pay your money and take your choice.

It might be well for some of those bunco-steerers of the Democratic party, who are making a bid for support from the labor unions, to explain the friendliness of their party to labor in the recent defeat of the anti-child labor law by the Democratic legislature of Georgia. The Democratic party seems determined that the babies of the South shall continue to be con-

pelled to work in the factories. Labor would look nice harnessed up in a political combination of this kind, now wouldn't it?

Since the people began to get their eyes opened through the doctrine of Socialism it has kept the plutocrats awake nights attempting to devise new schemes to fool the workers. The pension scheme is just now being worked for all it is worth—but the workers are just a little leery about having something taken out of their hides now to be returned to them in the shape of pensions sometime in the sweet bye and bye—if—but the "if" part of it being in the hands of the generous capitalists who not only have the job to give out, but the job to take away as well, put the desirability of this scheme away below zero—so far as the workingman is concerned—of course, it will register high enough so far as the capitalist is concerned.

It is reported that Morgan took from the people \$42,000,000 last year through his various trusts. For this he has satisfied his conscience by "generously" doubling the salaries of all his clerks for the year in the way of a Christmas present, which perhaps would total a paltry few thousand dollars. Most any of us would be able to do that if we had the privilege of taking a plunder of \$42,000,000 a year from society. Such "generosity" is becoming ridiculous in the eyes of all intelligent people—for its purpose is known and the people cannot longer be fooled.

"Publicity" which is so strongly urged by the capitalistic parties as a "remedy" for the trust evil, we have just learned, is going to be a powerful factor in the solution of the much-mooted question. Down in Missouri a special commissioner, appointed by the state, has just learned that there is a beef trust! In the language of the street urchin, "Wouldn't that jar you?" Now that the people have learned that there really is a beef trust, they can calm their fears—there is no longer any danger! We suspected this some time ago! I hope they will break the news gently to Teddy.

Great is the prosperity we are enjoying in this "enlightened age" in which the workers allow private capitalism to exploit them out of four-fifths of what their labor produces, and then go out to starve and freeze. Yesterday a man here in Spokane was arrested for stealing coal from the Great Northern Railroad because he had been in enforced idleness and could not buy the necessary fuel to keep himself and wife warm. A local daily paper chronicles the event as follows:

"Lester, the officers found, was married three months ago, and lost his position a few days later. Since then he has walked the streets daily seeking work, but without success. His poverty grew apace. The unfortunate man's pretty wife pleaded pathetically for his release, but he was locked up for the night despite her pathetic narrative of their unfortunate start in married life."

"Officer Edwright of the railroad company said last night:

"The story of the poverty of the young people, of his taking the coal to keep them warm, is pathetic and I sympathize with them, but the company has ordered me to arrest these people who for years have been pilfering the coal, and I have a number of arrests in prospect. A widow whom I arrested at Division street also had an interesting tale to tell the court. The practice must cease, however, despite the pleas of poverty."

Evidently the case of an honest working man, willing and industrious—practically so acknowledged by the very officer of the company himself, who has made a personal investigation. Oh, the shame of it, that in this day and age of the world's civilization that we should still be struggling along under an industrial system that permits of such wrongs. Let us do away with this system of capitalistic exploitation, and establish the co-operative commonwealth of Socialism, under which every honest, industrious man may have the privilege of useful employment and the guarantee of a sufficiency of the necessary things of life, together with all of its comforts and pleasures.

H. L. HUGHES.
Spokane, Wash., Jan. 10, 1903.

CAPITALISM HAS NO MERCY.

Prominent Lawyer Warns the Journal to Be on Its Guard.

Mr. Clarence Smith, Manager A. L. U. Journal, Butte, Montana.

Dear Sir, Having seen your issue of the 25th inst. I am greatly pleased with it, but it forebodes, to my mind, the coming of the "holocaust" that is impending, as you know.

The people of this country are now about ripe for Socialism, but you should know that that party will never be allowed to secure control of this government.

I have had occasion to investigate conditions in this country more deeply, it appears, than others have reached, and I feel it a duty to put you upon guard.

The adoption by labor of Socialism will surely precipitate matters very soon, or as soon as this power appears.

Perhaps you are out for trouble, a necessary, to protect the nation and labor; in such case it is the more necessary that you be shown what is back of what are known as trusts, as I find it.

The trust scheme began early in the sixties, when the railroads plundered the hard coal regions of all ownership and took them in the name of the roads, or held them privately. Five hundred millions of dollars' worth were taken over in a few years, and the thing was too rich to stop, and when in 1872-3 they started after oil, the same gang, headed by the Vanderbilts, with Drexel-Morgan and the other roads, Rothschilds, Belmonts and certain English capitalists.

The history of this performance is given in Wealth vs. Commonwealth, and you may find the whole scheme laid down in that work. But your attention is particularly called to a contract found on page 46 and then turn to pages 50-51 at line beginning "The plea." This shows you who abrogated the contract, and Rockefeller and the trustees had nothing to say. The contract and whole scheme was gotten up, not by Rockefeller, but by the same gang that stole the coal.

Now you have the key to the present situation. These parties went on getting control of more roads by lease, etc., and as they did they gobbled up one kind of property after another, by means of any number of different trustees, who did not even know who was behind them, and the profits, after paying certain salaries, enough to make the trustees appear rich, who are always held out as owners, while the roads are, in fact, that is certain controlling interests, for they plundered their own roads by rebating into their own pockets and the stockholders did not even know it, the trustees being held out as actual owners.

Thus secretly, the whole nation has been and is being plundered by a very few persons, there being four chief owners, with six in all representing the big interests, and a number of minor stockholders who appear to take what is given them by the leaders.

This outfit own or control all trusts, nor could a trust do business twenty-four hours without their consent.

They must own a controlling interest in all, and they all work together, though the Drexel-Morgan interest attempted to split off on oil in 1877, when the great railroad war ended in the Vanderbilt-Rothschild interest winning out on oil, which the Pennsylvania road tried to gobble.

Then they went after everything in sight they could make a trust of, and are not done yet, and it is no trouble to force a man into a trust when he sees ruin staring him in the face, and he is offered the full value of his property in stock, of which they take more than half, perhaps, and guarantee him an income, after relating him nearly to death.

Many roads were ruined, too. The Santa Fe was ruined by the receiver, when he got possession, to have paid out seven millions in rebates shortly before its failure, and then they plun-

dered the road.

The merger system is simply for preying on business along the routes, and nothing can save it, and this gang have whacked up on it, but Morgan is not fighting the Vanderbilts; in fact, they are both laying for Jim Hill, in my opinion.

Teddy is in for taem, for, I suspect, they did away with McKinley to get him into power. I could show you a thousand or more persons they have put to sleep in one way or another. The blowing up of mines, buildings, etc., was fittingly represented in that of the Maine, which was blown up from inside of her, as can be shown.

It is one continuous record of brutal and merciless crime when you get onto it. The showing in that contract gives only part of their methods, that of the case in Buffalo, and the distillery in Chicago were only two instances where they were found out, but there are others equally suspicious. Read Wealth vs. Commonwealth, carefully.

The whole history, nearly, can be gotten at, and it is one to shock the eternal devil, and this is the element you are facing with the threat of dispossessing them.

Are they getting ready for you? Do you remember the Rough Rider training school they were starting in Wyoming, to be made up of five hundred young Englishmen and sons of trusts, etc. What has become of it? I do not hear. Teddy is practicing the broad sword just now with some of his cabinet, and these are all in it, and the senate, as you know, is made up of their paid attorneys, largely from railroads.

The railroad men say "the men who own this country are going to run it," and so they are, and it is one in all, and all in one. "What are you going to do about it?" "Damn the people," etc. The gang have their chief operators well educated already.

They are dividing off the forest reserves for their ducal parks, apparently, and when they get ready they will take their ships and run over the 600,000 Chinese that are being drilled, and there won't be a long-range rifle in the country worth speaking of, and where will labor and the Socialists be? Do you remember how old man Huntington woke up dead in their feudal domain, but he was only one of many.

The question arises, who will be the emperor? Teddy appears to have been advertised and exploited for the position, and they will own the Chikamen, etc., that are left after wiping out labor.

Do not believe that they are fighting each other.

Will England do any take-hand in dividing up this nation? Will they not? And that seems to be the scheme, as they have already divided the fields for plunder between them.

The system of espionage they have takes the whole country into view, and they have a gang back of them that is spooling and hungry for the plundering when it comes, and it comes when there is danger of your success; they dread all organizations, labor especially.

There are no bounds to limitless, merciless greed, and how long are the people going to stand it? Even Teddy and Morgan got scared a while ago and that must not happen again, in my opinion, according to their view, until the coup d'etat is ready to spring, and they have a standing army, we know not how large, well drilled in cruelty.

Their joint owners must join or lose their property and lives and the trust idea has been made to pay on double and quadruple the true value of property. Now you can see how the whole thing has been engineered, who is back of it and put your finger on them, and the evidence of this condition might be got in a few weeks if one were in Washington.

I am at present engaged in other pursuits, but after thinking it over, if you want this evidence written up as a story or plain English I could get it out, and it would set the people wild, and precipitate a crisis at once in all probability.

It should be done, for there is nothing they may not undertake and it might save untold lives and misery.

You have the inside secret history of the origin and propagation of the trust scheme, and you are not safe if they know you have it, and are not safe without it, going on with labor and Socialism, which Dutch Billie dreads as well as they, and they are all against it.

It is bound to increase very fast and there will be bloody times before they will let it win.

You have no idea how dangerous these people are, or how many they have put out of the way. Even their agents are authorized to order persons killed. See the telephone conversation of "Bathbone" in the Exposure of Mark Hanna's Election to the United States Senate.

The future process, Tomorrow cannot wait. Humanity has not a minute to lose. Quick, quick! Let us be free. The wretched have their life line; they hang on. Let us be free.

News Notes from the Field of Labor

TOLD BY CORRESPONDENTS

ANACONDA BRIEFS.

What the Unions of the Smelter City Are Doing.

Anaconda Building Laborers' Union gave a social session New Year's night at Mattie Hall.

Ed Enroid, constable-elect, has been presented with a handsome gold constable's badge by the union people of Anaconda.

Anaconda Central Labor Council elected the following officers January 2 to serve during the ensuing term: President, C. C. McHugh, of Blacksmiths' and Helpers' Union;

The members of Anaconda Clerk's Union were royally entertained at last week's meeting, with the compliments of Brothers Murphy and Riordan.

At the recent election of officers for Anaconda Typographical Union the following were chosen for the ensuing term: President, J. Lammers;

BILLINGS TO THE FRONT.

Federal Union Enjoys a Business and Social Session.

Dear Sir: As some of the boys here seem desirous that I should send you a letter briefly descriptive of our first meeting for the new year, held on Monday, January 5th, I take great pleasure in the endeavor, although I fear that my vocabulary is inadequate to fully portray the enthusiasm manifested on the occasion in question.

After initiations the meeting became informal in the broadest sense of the word. Volunteers, whose musical talent was heretofore unsuspected, developed into full blown entertainers, both vocally and instrumentally.

ANTI-BARRIERS.

A. L. U. 133, Billings, Mont.

A Disturber.

While Judge Gary of Chicago was once trying a case he was disturbed by a young man who kept moving about in the rear of the room, lifting chairs and looking under tables.

LABOR DOINGS AT GREAT FALLS.

Federal Union No. 18 in a Prosperous Condition.

Great Falls, Jan. 5, 1903. Ed. American Labor Union Journal.

We are now in a very prosperous condition. Our hall, given on the 16th inst., was a grand success in every respect.

The gallery was packed to its utmost capacity, there being two hundred and fifty spectators in all, and each and every one present enjoyed themselves to their heart's content.

And No. 18 fully appreciates and wishes to thank all who participated in this noble work of organized labor.

The laboring man of today is rapidly awakening to a sense of duty that he owes to himself, his God and his fellow man.

Who is it that is ever ready to lend a helping hand to the unfortunate toiler? Is it the opulent banker with his millions, or the miser with his glittering gold? No; never. But, on the other hand, it is the man who has striven as he is striving, and who fully appreciates his condition by having gone through the ordeal himself.

Our semi-annual election took place this evening and the following officers were elected for the ensuing term:

- President—James N. McCabe. Vice-Pres.—Daniel Dawson. Rec. Secy.—Arthur Wood. Fin. Sec.—M. C. Devore. Treasurer—August Bergstrom. Guardian—Thomas Simpson. Guide—James Dwelling. Sergeant-at-Arms—John W. Howard.

Fernie Bartenders' Union.

Fernie, B. C., Jan. 6, 1903. Ed. American Labor Union Journal.

Our weekly meeting took place today. We had quite a business meeting and initiated two new members.

The election of officers was keenly contested in every case. Our finances are now on a firm basis, and we are about to go in with the lumbermen's union and rent a large hall for our meetings, with the intention of having a library in connection.

Messenger Boys Elect.

The Messenger Boys' Union, No. 295, of Great Falls, have chosen the following officers:

- President—Charles Kinder. Vice-president—Earle Oakes. Secretary—Cecil Kinder. Treasurer—Walter Speck. Walking Delegate—Walter Splaine. Guide—Percy Forster. Sergeant-at-Arms—Andrew Pogoda. Past President—Abe Wittwer. Cor. Secy.—Abe Wittwer. Delegates to Trades and Labor Assembly—Abe Wittwer and Cliff Kinder. Trustees—Percy Forster, Earle Oakes and Dick Wells.

Evidence of the Service.

A physician, on presenting his bill to the executor of an estate of a deceased person, asked if the bill should be sworn to. "No," the executor replied, "the death of the deceased is sufficient evidence that you attended him professionally."

Buying a Verdict.

"It's a hundred dollars in your pocket," whispered the defendant's lawyer to the juror, "if you can bring about a verdict of manslaughter in the second degree." Such proved to be the verdict, and the lawyer thanked the juror warmly as he paid over the money. "Yes," said the juror, "it was tough work, but I managed to get them. All the rest were for acquittal."

SMOKER BY HELENA FEDERAL.

No. 199 Indulges in Eloquence and Refreshments.

Helena, Mont., Jan. 6, 1903. Ed. American Labor Union Journal.

Helena Federal Union 199 gave a smoker and public installation of officers Jan. 5th. After a short business session the doors were thrown open and the following officers were installed.

There were a number of distinguished visitors present who are here in connection with the legislature, and a number of good speeches were the result.

After partaking of refreshments, all went away feeling that one more stone had been laid in the wall of unionism in the capital city.

It is encouraging to find members of the legislature of Montana who feel at home in the halls of labor unions. Come again, boys; you are always welcome.

To hear the talk Monday night it would be hard to tell whether it was a union or a socialist meeting. What is the difference? Their interests are identical.

From the tone of the governor's message he is fast drifting toward Socialism. Come on, Joe; we need such converts. We know of some men who will stay with you on the initiative and referendum measure, at any rate.

RESOLUTIONS OF CONDOLENCE.

Adopted by Local Union No. 109, A. L. U.

Lothrop, Mont., Jan. 4, 1903. Whereas, It has pleased Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to remove from our midst our esteemed brother, Henry Graham; and,

Resolved, That while we bow in humble submission to the will of God, we sincerely mourn the death of our brother and friend and extend our heartfelt sympathy to the bereaved relations in this, their hour of sorrow; and, be it further

Resolved, That our charter be draped in mourning for the space of thirty days, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the official Journal for publication, and that a page of our minutes be set apart for these resolutions.

T. H. CORBETT. J. H. HILL. CHAS. PRIMALLE. Committee.

LEADVILLE TRADES COUNCIL.

A Call for a Delegate Convention to Organize District Labor Council.

Leadville, Colo., Jan. 7, 1903. To All Progressive Trades and Labor Unions, Greeting:

Your Local Union is requested to send five (5) delegates, or less, to attend this convention, to be held in Leadville, at the Knights of Labor Hall, corner West Fourth and Pine streets, on the afternoon of January 25th, 1903, at 2 p. m.

We feel that through the efforts of a District Council the organization of these counties will be more rapidly advanced, weakened organizations supported, and progressive unionism advanced.

The power of the capitalist class rests upon institutions essentially political; therefore we must unite upon the same lines.

By order of the Organizing Committee Leadville Trades Assembly.

Father Hagerty's Splendid Book, Entitled.

"Economic Discontent"

For Sale at the Office of the AMERICAN LABOR UNION JOURNAL.

173 Pennsylvania Building, Butte. PRICE, 10 CENTS.

"JUSTUS" WRITES FROM LARAMIE

Suggests a Broader Field for the Activity of Unionism.

Laramie, Wyo., January 5, 1902.

Dear Comrade: Our union elected the following officers at the last meeting: President, Fred N. Fisher; vice-president, Joseph Giesler; financial secretary, W. H. Crandall; secretary, William L. O'Neill; treasurer, Frank Rice; guide, Sayer Hansen; inside guard, W. L. Brandis; finance committee, H. V. S. Groesbeck, Willis Jensen, E. B. Davies; trustees, John Frick, F. W. Ott, Louis Marquardt.

Why can't our unions become a sort of insurance company and build upon co-operative principles? Let us combine business with pleasure and thus satisfy the wants of the eternal now.

The success of recent co-operative enterprises and the hunger of people for such chances demand such a movement. There need not be any high salaried officers, and we certainly can find competent business men who can act as leaders until, by democratic management, we can learn how to control matters.

Furthermore, we ought not to leave the educational part of the work. Constant and intelligent effort in that direction should be kept up.

The Union Pacific strike has not ended yet and there is some sparring going on yet, but it is believed that ultimately the strikers will succeed.

The resignation of Binger Hermann, commissioner of the general land office, will soon open a fine field for argument.

The old Oregonian was too honest for the powers that be, and they want tools and not men in the land department at Washington.

Marion E. Davis has concluded to abandon his trip East and is taking a course of study at the University. He will find many comrades up there, as nearly all of the young fellows are Socialists at our state university.

They studied it at the spring term one year ago in place of International Law, and the boys in University gray are out in force at every Socialist rally.

It is rumored that at least three of our new county officers, who took their seats today, have strong Socialistic leanings. Indeed, at all times and places now, one hears the concession that Socialism will work much good, even though it should not succeed.

Letter carriers in town have had their salaries increased ten dollars per month, and this object lesson cannot be lost sight of. Everybody, now, desires to work for the government.

OUR PRICES

- Full Set of Texts \$5.00 Bridge Work 5.00 Gold Crowns 5.00 Gold Fillings 1.00 Silver Fillings .50

There is a movement on foot to raise the salary of President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers from \$1,200 to \$2,000 per year.

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Wilson's Bee Hive See our 25c Window Display

How Is It With You? Some men are slow to see the difference in clothes if the difference causes them to "dig up" an extra dollar or two.

LET US CONVINCE YOU That we can make you a suit for \$20 that's worth just two twenty-dollar hand-me-downs.

Our specialty is buying from the tailors uncalled-for garments and selling them.

\$45 Uncalled for Suits, \$22.00 32 Uncalled for Suits, 15.00 12 Uncalled for Trousers, 6.00 8 Uncalled for Trousers, 3.50

Acme Tailoring Co. F. D. Darnall PROPRIETOR 57 1/2 West Broadway

OUR UP-TO-DATE BARBER SHOP First-class in every particular. Over entrance new Clark Building, Academy street, Butte, Montana. CHAS. M. JOYCE

BLACKSMITHS We are the Montana distributing agents for the NEVERSLEIP HORSE SHOES AND CALKS Our contract with the factory allows us to sell them only to blacksmiths.

A Home Product Strictly Union Made CENTENNIAL BEER All the product of our brewery bears the label of the United Brewery Workers of the United States.

EVANS' BOOK STORE 114 North Main Street BLANK BOOKS STATIONERY And all Kinds of Reading Matter

New York Dental Parlors EASTERN SPECIALISTS Permanently Located in Butte 80 W. Park St.

The Javal-Schiotz Ophthalmometer

Is the most accurate instrument of its kind in use. In the hands of a skillful optician it will indicate the exact degree of astigmatism in a patient's eye.

HIGHT & FAIRFIELD COMPANY MANUFACTURING OPTICIANS.

W. A. CLARK J. ROSS CLARK W. A. Clark & Bro. ANKERS Butte City, Montana

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DR. BIMROSE, DENTIST BUTTE, MONTANA. Room 406 Ramsey Building, Fourth Floor.

BUTTE THEATER ATTRACTIONS This Week At Sutton's Broadway

ASH FOR SHAW'S UNION MADE Baking Powder

FATHER M'GRADY

Will Lecture—Socialism Secures Another Able Champion.

The Rev. Thos. McGrady, who a short time ago resigned his church (St. Anthony's) in Bellevue, Ky., has decided to devote his time in the future to lecturing and writing in the interest of Socialism and the Socialist movement.

Father McGrady has already spoken in many of the larger cities and his services are in great demand at this early date.

Any information concerning dates, terms, etc., can be secured from W. G. Critchlow, manager, 26 Pruden building, Dayton, Ohio.

PROSPERITY POINTERS.

In Boston the Salvation Army fed 11,000 poor on Thanksgiving day.

Salvationists provided for 2,000 New Orleans needy on Christmas, and had a shortage, as many applied who could not be served.

In Cincinnati 5,000 "deserving poor" were fed by the Salvation Army, and provided with a meal "such as they seldom got."

The army "boiled pots" full for 1,200 poor in Dayton Christmas, and could supply many more had they the means.

Pat and the Lawyers.

A number of lawyers and others were dining together recently when a jolly Irishman appeared and called for dinner. The lawyers, thinking they would have some fun with him, invited him to eat at the same table.

Unionism at Kalispell

Written for The Journal By I. R. Gildea

Dear Sir and Brother—Complying with your request I will endeavor to give you a brief outline of union his-



ARCHIE NOONAN, Charter Member of Federal Labor Union, No. 175.

lory since Federal Labor Union No. 175 was organized in this town.

Among the first to apply for the charter the following names took prominence:



I. R. GILDEA, Kalispell Correspondent for American Labor Union Journal.

Archie Noonan, Peter Sprint, Fred Siefert, William Verhage, William Ratzburg, Hy C. Piper, Louis Lelandsdorf, Bruce Warner and Emil Hertle.

If I could gather the facts readily I am sure I could make an interesting story, and connect the names of many more of the boys who made history for unionism in what we will have to call the early days.

But when we consider that the first meeting recorded took place August 29, 1901, and then see the results in such short time it is very encouraging and if considered right by the wage earner is an object lesson that ought to teach us to realize that irresistible strength which we possess.

However, I will not preach, but give you the outline as I have gleaned from some of the older members. Archie Noonan, whose picture I procured from his mother, who resides here, was the first president, and by the record in minutes of that period made a good one.

He and some two or three others of the boys were the first to take a chip on their shoulders and go out looking for trouble by demanding union cigars from saloons and cigar stores.

Unionism being an unknown quantity at that time and a union man a curiosity except in the past days of the Knights of Labor readers of the Journal can imagine the indignation that must have bulged out of those fellows' eyes at the unheard-of audacity to interfere with their business, as they would term it.

The next on the list, Peter Sprint, the first treasurer and all-around financier, I am told, carried the treasury and all accounts pertaining thereto tied up in a handkerchief. I am told he was a treasurer to be proud of. The money did not get away from him for any foolishness.

Fred Siefert was the vice president at that time and William Ratzberg, who is still here, but is now in the Brick and Stonemasons' Union, was the past president.

The names given of course are not all the boys, but they are the first, and that is the reason I give them, and they were all employees of the Kalispell brewery.

The cash on hand at that first recorded meeting was \$13.50 in Brother Sprints' handkerchief and receipt of the evening, \$12, so they started with \$25.50 and since that time have prospered.

The numbers of the union do not increase as any one would think by

seeing the number of initiations each meeting, but what is lost to No. 175 is gained by others, for when members leave here they either transfer to some other local or become the pioneers of new ones.

When I first thought of writing this account I thought I might be able to gather more details from the minutes of meetings recorded, but Brother A. Rioux, who was secretary at that time was so strenuously engaged building up the union that he did not bother much with details.

Brother Scott, mentioned in places, did yeoman service for the union, and his work was well appreciated; also Brother George Demorest, with whom I am acquainted, is also responsible for greatly disturbing the peace of mind of some of our local business men when they saw the growth and influence of the union; they became greatly alarmed, and a call to arms was sounded, which resulted in the forming of what they called the Business Men's Protective Association, composed of the merchants and mill men of the valley and lumber men generally.

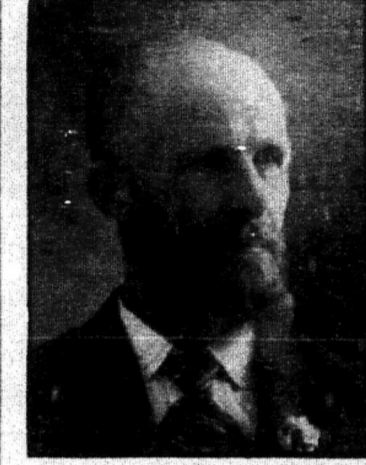
They did not go quite so far as to organize a vigilance committee, but who knows what might have happened if certain other things which did happen had not happened.

It is not generous to recall the defeat of a gallant enemy. "I do not call the Business Men's Association gallant," I pause to explain, but those who, after the aforesaid association had been relegated to "innocuous desuetude" and fought to the last ditch when all others deserted.

Notably McIntosh Hardware Company and E. W. Bader, all of them I believe have come to realize that the unions are a great benefit and will help instead of hinder the upbuilding and growth of not only Kalispell but the entire Flathead valley.

As to strikes, I don't know that we have ever had what might be termed a strike, unless it was when McIntosh Hardware Company sent a non-union plumber on to the court house building when brick and stonemasons, carpenters and all helpers promptly quit, which action very soon took the plumber off the job, and brought Mr. McIntosh to a point where he could gracefully retire from the field, and I believe he is now as much in favor of the union as he was formerly against it.

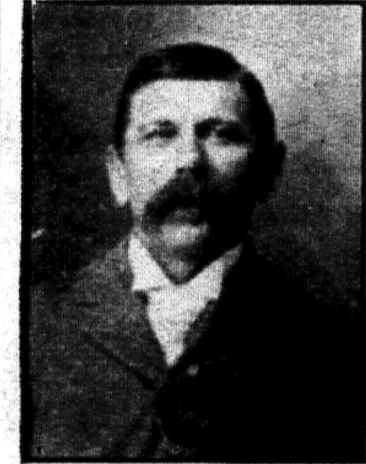
The union has succeeded in getting a nine-hour day with \$2.50 for common labor, instead of ten hours



GEORGE W. AVERY, Pioneer in Flathead County Unionism.

and wages anything to be had.

While many of our members are young in unionism, they are all earnest and enthusiastic workers, and we look forward to the time when



WM. RATZBURG, Former Coeur d'Alene, Now Prominent in Kalispell Labor Circles.

Flathead county will be one of the best organized districts in Montana. Yours fraternally, I. R. GILDEA, Kalispell, Mont., Dec. 22, 1902.

THE MINERS' MAGAZINE

Issued monthly. \$1.00 a year. Every member of the Federation, and every person working in and around the mines in the western country should subscribe for it and read it.

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No. 9 arrives at 6:40 p. m. No. 7 arrives 2:45 a. m. No. 8 leaves 4:45 p. m. No. 10 leaves 2:05 a. m.

Ticket Office, 105 North Main Street Butte, Mont. H. O. WILSON, General Agent.

Advertisement for Walter Thomas Mills featuring 'Did It Ever Strike You?' and 'The Lesson of Mills and the Teaching of the Lesson of Mills and the Teaching of the Lesson of Mills'.

HOW TO MAKE MONEY In the Cattle and Sheep Business

The Montana Co-Operative Ranch Company, of Great Falls, Montana, is a co-operative company organized under the laws of the state of Montana with a capital stock of \$40,000. It now owns 11,000 acres of rich land with the finest range in Northern Montana.

The principal business of the company is to take care of sheep, cattle, hogs and Angora goats belonging to its shareholders. There are now over 25 shareholders, scattered over the country, over 85 of whom are ladies. Every shareholder who had sheep on the ranch last year made fully 40 per cent. interest on their investment. The company issues an illustrated paper called The Montana Co-Operative Colonist, containing pictures of the ranch and telling all about the company. This paper is sent free to all who address

MONTANA CO-OPERATIVE RANCH CO., Great Falls, Mont.

Advertisement for 'A Few Words to Men Who May Be in Need of Our Services.' Includes a portrait of a man and text describing medical services.

It may interest quite a number of readers to know the reason why we have such a high standing as specialists among regular physicians and the public generally.

- 1st—Many years of the most painstaking efforts in the study and practice along the line of which we make a specialty—Disorders of Men. 2d—An earnest desire to cure quickly and permanently every man who places his case in our hands—not only from a sense of duty and a humanitarian point of view, but because it does and always has paid us to do so. 3d—Complete apparatus and general equipment, regardless of cost. 4th—Remedies that cause no injurious effects during or after a cure. 5th—Frankness. If we cannot cure a man we will not undertake his case. This not only makes us many friends, but creates no enemies. 6th—Operations. We perform operations when necessary only. If the patient cannot be cured permanently without an operation we so inform him at once. For example, a severe case of varicocele cannot be cured without an operation. If you pay for a cure without it you are throwing your money away and wasting valuable time.

Contracted Disorders "Weakness" Every case of contracted disease we treat is thoroughly cured. When we pronounce a case cured there is not a particle of infection or inflammation remaining, and there is not the slightest danger that the disease will return in its original form or work its way into the general system. Affections of men commonly described as "weakness," according to our observations, are not such, but depend upon reflex disturbances, and are almost invariably induced or maintained by appreciable damage to the Prostrate Gland. As this may not be perceived by the patient, it is very frequently overlooked by the physician.

We Also Cure Varicocele, Hydrocele, Stricture, Piles, Etc. Consultation and Advice Free, at Office or by Mail.

Our pamphlet, "Live the Rest of Your Life as a Man," is both interesting and instructive. Mailed free if you write. Every afflicted man is invited to call upon us for free consultation. Those who cannot call may write, describing symptoms as fully as possible.

Yellek Medical Institute N. E. Cor. West Broadway and Montana Sts., Butte, Montana

Workingmen Should Educate Impression of Bryan O'Lynn at the Workingmen's Smoker

Edr. American Labor Union Journal.

There is an inexhaustible supply of material for reflection in the advice of Polonius to his son. Among the many brilliant gems of thought, sparkling in that intellectual product of the immortal dramatist, is one that well deserves the attention of workingmen: "This, above all, to thine own self be true." It is something deplorable to contemplate the attitude of the workingman, with folded arms, placidly viewing his surroundings and resigning himself to what he considers the inexorable decree of fate; just as the inhabitants of a Turkish city submit to what they call their Kismet (fate), and suffer periodical decimation by plague, rather than avail themselves of the laws of sanitation. The workingman should know—and, knowing, should not forget—that there is such a thing as social sanitation, governed by laws the non-observance of which exacts a severe social penalty. The workingman—especially the American workingman—before he begins to investigate his social surroundings should subject himself to a thorough and rigid examination before his own intellectual tribunal. To the query, "What am I?" the American workingman finds an answer in the fact that he is not—like his European brother—a mere cypher, but an important factor in the social fabric. To the query, "Who am I?" he learns that he is somebody in particular; the "somebody" being not the humorous abstraction of the flippant joshier, but on the contrary, a stern concrete fact. He learns that he has a hereditary interest in those treasures locked up in the safe of Mother Earth; that safe to which others lay claim, but the combination of which he, and he only, can manipulate. He learns that his present position as jackal to the capitalist lion is due to his own supine antipathy rather than to unavoidable necessity. He learns that though the jackal is satisfied with a few bones of the carcass he provides for his sylvan majesty. The workingman has only to set forth an unequivocal determined claim to secure something more than a mere fraction of the product of his labor. I may be told that setting forth a claim is one thing, the realization of that claim quite another. "I can call up spirits from the vasty deep," said Owen Glendower. "So can I," retorted Hotspur, "but will they come?" We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that, as a rule, united action

succeeds where individual effort fails. Unity of action and harmony of purpose is the workingman's social salvation, and let it be borne in mind that these desirable auxiliaries are best secured through education. I do not use the word "education" in a restricted sense, such as the booklearning of the schools, but rather that exercise of his intellectual faculties that enables the workingman to fully grasp the import of his environments.

The foal is undergoing a process of education every time that it follows its mother to the blacksmith's shop to be shod. When, afterwards, that foal comes to be subjected to the shoeing ordeal it is already familiar with the sound of the hammer and surrounding objects. The workingman may not be able to investigate the binomial theorem; he may not know how far the moon is from the earth; he may not be able to offer any opinion as to whether the planet Mars is inhabited or not. Of these and many speculative matters he may be ignorant, and yet, in common parlance, know on which side his bread is buttered. Man is of a dual nature, animal and rational. The desire of satisfying the animal wants he possesses in common with the brute creation; and it is a noteworthy fact—a fact outside the bounds of controversy—that until man's animal necessities are satisfied his intellectual faculties lie semi-dormant. Hence it is that I contend the workingman should be educated in that mode of action best calculated to secure him—if not the whole—a maximum of what he produces; his intellectual faculties may afterwards be usefully developed. It is not unusual to see men filling honorable and lucrative positions, who were compelled through the force of circumstances—particularly the struggle for existence—to quit school in early boyhood, but who, afterwards, through assiduous application to study, supplemented their scant stock of school learning. Conspicuous among those were the Scotch poets, Burns and Hogg; the Scotch geologist, Hugh Miller. On this side of the Atlantic we may point to Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who succeeded him; Mark Twain of the present day, besides many others in the humbler walks of life. The workingman can always add to his stock of knowledge by an interchange of ideas with his fellow workingmen. As a means to such a desired end, the club room or union hall may serve as an improvised college to

which every workingman may contribute his quota of intellectual pabulum; some more, some less. He who cannot donate a carload should bring what he can wheel in a barrow. I claim no originality for what I have said in favor of the educational idea. I merely advocate its extension. Not only has the idea presented itself to active enthusiasts here in Butte, but can now be seen moulded into living tangibility. On Friday night, Jan. 2, I had not only the honor but the pleasure of attending a smoker given by the Workingmen's Union of Butte. There was a superabundance of sandwiches, cigars, a brand of the amber fluid that would delight the gods, old rye that would bring joy to the heart of a Kentucky colonel, and last, but not least, a feast of reason where the choicest tit-bits were presented to the guests.

The first speaker was Mr. Barney Lindsay, of the Engineers. He spoke of the beneficial results of trades unionism, but deprecated the idea of political affiliation. He maintained the thesis that trades unionism of itself was capable of securing the workingman's rights independent of any political adjunct. He was followed by Mr. Elliott, who declared himself diametrically opposed to the views of Mr. Lindsay. I do not pretend to give the very words of Mr. Elliott; I wish to be understood as merely outlining the trend of his views.

Mr. Elliott, in the course of an eloquent and interesting address, maintained that the ballot in the hands of the workingman was useless unless he used it as the means of his social amelioration; that the ballot in the hands of the workingman who did not use it was more out of place than a suit of clothes on a dummy in the window of a dry goods store, inasmuch as it lacked ornamentation as well as utility. Divorce politics from trades union? The ballot in the hands of the workingman is like a sword with the blade riveted in the scabbard; it cannot be used against the deadly assault of an enemy. But it may be contended politics may be denied entrance to the union, and yet the ballot may be used by the workingman and the sword blade may be free in the scabbard. True; but both ballot and sword, when wielded by an inexperienced hand, is just as likely to wound friend as foe. The ballot in the hands of the workingman is a powerful lever—a lever with which the workingman can clear from his path every obstacle that tends to impede his march to the

goal of his social aspiration. Would he be the workingman's friend who would advise him to throw away his lever and go around, climb over, or squeeze through each and every obstruction rather than remove them and make the way clear for himself and those who followed him? Let common sense answer. I think Mr. Elliott's views were indorsed by the majority of the audience. He resumed his seat amidst prolonged applause.

Mr. Simpson gave an interesting account of his many interviews with ranchers in various parts of the state during the fall campaign. His remarks went to show the rancher of normal intelligence is beginning to take his social and political bearings so as to know where he is "at." Mr. Simpson is a young man, and as such necessarily limited in his knowledge of the world; but I am very much mistaken if I did not perceive in that young man the embryo of one of Montana's future leading men. It does not require an abnormal power of perception to detect a latent ability that must soon assert itself.

Prof. Leamy delivered a short and pertinent address, in which he highly eulogized the workingmen of Butte. He drew a graphic picture of their instrumentality in supplying schools and the money that supported the schools. He quoted from Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" in support of the fact that a veritable paradise may become a desert when it lacks the magic touch of the hand of labor.

Prof. Dale seems to be what some would call a "humorous cuss." He read a sort of doggerel composition that set the audience in roars of laughter.

Mr. Dan McDonald delivered an eloquent and caustically trenchant address. He went down to bedrock and dug up old Blackstone to show that the Goddess of Justice ignores the workingmen of the present generation; that the bandage has fallen from her eyes; that her sword is nothing more than a harmless toy, and that the wavering scales in her hand are shaken by the self-interest of the harpies that prey on the vitals of industry. Needless to say, he was heartily applauded. As a stranger in Butte, I know nothing of the workings of its trades unions; but I think the example set by the Workingmen's Union is worthy of emulation. I am pleased that I attended that smoker. In the meantime let the good work continue to go on.

Read, Think and Vote

Table listing various articles and booklets with their respective authors and prices. Includes 'The Silver Cross', 'The Eighteenth Brumaire', 'The Preamble', etc.

Table listing books in cloth format, including 'The People's Party', 'The American Labor Union', 'The Preamble', etc.

Table listing various pamphlets and booklets, such as 'The Preamble', 'The American Labor Union', 'The Preamble', etc.

Table listing applications for membership and other administrative items, including 'Applications for membership', 'Blank bonds for officers', etc.

Table listing various booklets and pamphlets, including 'The Preamble', 'The American Labor Union', 'The Preamble', etc.

PREAMBLE And Declaration of Principles of the American Labor Union.

The relation which the atom bears to the organism in physical nature is the relation which the individual bears to society. The social organism is an aggregation of the atom man. Man represents in the creative sense a perfect harmony of animate forces, the co-association of energy with intelligence in the highest form of manifestation. God laboring in the laboratory of nature, and from out of the cruder elements has evolved this wonderful and complex being. Man is, therefore, a being of the earth, and his welfare depends entirely upon the conditions surrounding his existence upon the earth.

Believing, therefore, that the time has now arrived when an epoch will be marked in the history of the labor movement, denoting either its progress or decay, and believing that the necessities of the times, as evidenced in recent developments, emphasize the fact that the older form of organization is unable to cope with the recent aggressions of plutocracy obtained by class legislation and especially maintained through the medium of friendly courts; unless our defenses by more perfect organization are strengthened; and feeling the incapacity of labor as heretofore organized to resist these encroachments, this organization is, therefore, formed for the purpose of concentrating our energies and consolidating the labor forces.

Believing that the time has come for undivided, independent work class political action, we hereby declare in favor of International Socialism, and adopt the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety, a the political platform of the American Labor Union, and we earnestly appeal to all members of the American Labor Union, and the working class in general, to be governed by these provisions:

- 1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employee, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

But advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-Operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure government control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

Believing that complete organization is necessary for the overthrow of the present inhuman method of production and distribution, and that the above plan offers the most practical, economical and reasonable way to success, we invite the people of America to join us in the cause of humanity.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the American Labor Union. Section 2. The jurisdiction of the American Labor Union shall extend over all states, territories and provinces where one or more unions of the organization exist. Section 3. Each local union shall be entitled to one delegate to the American Labor Union biennial convention for the first one hundred members or less in good standing at the time of the convention and one delegate for each additional hundred members or majority fraction thereof. Each county, city or central body affiliate with the American Labor Union shall be entitled to one delegate.

Section 1. The officers of the American Labor Union shall consist of a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Executive Board of nine, including the President and Secretary-Treasurer, of which the President shall be chairman. No more than three members of the Executive Board may be residents of the same state.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to strike the delinquent names from the list, inserting in lieu thereof the name of the next eligible candidate. Section 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, if possible after the foregoing provisions have been complied with, prepare and have printed the names of all candidates, arranged in alphabetical order, together with the names and numbers of the nominating committee members. The ballot shall bear the official seal of this union, and be so constructed that a voter can with ease designate his choice by making a cross opposite the names of those for whom he wishes to record his vote. He shall supply subordinate unions, free of cost, with the names of such ballots by June 1. No ballot shall be used at such elections except those issued by the officers of this union.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to make a quarterly report to the Executive Board of the American Labor Union, and to furnish the same to the Secretary-Treasurer of each local union. Section 2. Any member of the Executive Board who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, or who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, shall be considered as having resigned, and his name shall be stricken from the list of members of the Executive Board. Section 3. Any member of the Executive Board who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, or who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, shall be considered as having resigned, and his name shall be stricken from the list of members of the Executive Board.

Union for the benefit of striking locals shall be disbursed only by the Executive Board of the American Labor Union. Section 1. Any national or international local union may become affiliated with the American Labor Union under the same rules and conditions as other locals, and such locals shall not be compelled to surrender their national or international charters.

Section 1. To reject a candidate for membership in a local union, it shall require a majority of the members of the local union. Section 2. Each local union shall elect, semi-annually, the following local officers: President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, Statistician, Guard, Guide and three Trustees. The Secretary-Treasurer of each union shall, within five days after the election, send the names and addresses of the officers elected to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor Union; who shall compile a directory of unions and their officers, and forward to each union. Installation of local officers shall take place at the first meeting succeeding the election.

Section 1. The revenue of the American Labor Union shall be derived from a charter fee of \$5.00 and a monthly per capita tax of ten cents for each member in good standing except farmers, who shall pay a per capita tax of five cents per month per member in good standing, as shown by the preceding quarterly report. Section 2. National and state organizations of the American Labor Union shall pay a per capita tax of two dollars (\$2.00) per month per thousand members, payable quarterly in advance.

Section 1. Any local union falling or refusing to comply with this constitution shall forfeit all the rights and benefits of the American Labor Union for three months, and for a second offense six months, or, as expelled, as the executive board may determine. Section 2. Any union falling or refusing to honor a demand made upon it for funds actually in its treasury shall be suspended from good standing in the American Labor Union until such fine is paid.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of each local union to make a quarterly report to the Executive Board of the American Labor Union, and to furnish the same to the Secretary-Treasurer of each local union. Section 2. Any member of the Executive Board who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, or who shall be absent from any meeting of the Executive Board for three consecutive meetings, shall be considered as having resigned, and his name shall be stricken from the list of members of the Executive Board.

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For Sale by American Labor Union, 175 Pennsylvania Bldg., O. C. No. 1467.

THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT IN BUTTE, MONTANA

TRADES ASSEMBLY BUSINESS.

Interesting Session of Silver Bow County Central Labor Body.

At the meeting of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly last Sunday, evening the resolution from the Telephone Operators' Union was endorsed.

The committee to interview the management of the Lynch block in behalf of the Women's Protective Union reported that the management had promised to pay the union scale of wages hereafter, and would pay balance due present employes for wages due according to the union scale.

The committee to consider the application of the Wood Workers' Union for delegates in the assembly reported progress. The committee is in communication with the international headquarters of the Wood Workers' Union and the Carpenters' Brotherhood, and expects to make a definite report shortly.

The proprietor of the hotel at Pipestone Springs has settled his differences with the Women's Protective Union, and is now fair to the assembly and to organized labor.

Workingmen's Union No. 5 reported that a number of large merchandise houses had lately received cartloads of penitentiary-made brooms. These houses have several times in the past promised to discontinue the sale of unfair brooms, and it is probable that they will be summarily dealt with this time.

President Luke Kelly leaves for an extended trip through the northwest in the interest of the Cigar-makers' Union. His last trip was productive of much good, as 23 additional cigarmakers have been put to work in this state alone on account of the agitation.

national cigarmakers have been put to work in this state alone on account of the agitation. Brother Kelly made an interesting talk. He has served four terms as president, and regrets leaving the assembly, and has represented that body in the A. L. U. convention, the convention of the Montana State Trades and Labor Council, etc.

This meeting was set as the regular election of officers, and the following were chosen for the ensuing term:

- President—Frank Doyle, of the Machinists' Union. Vice President—W. W. Lea, of the Tailors' Union. Secretary—John W. Dale, of the Workingmen's Union No. 5. Treasurer—Daniel Staten, of the Carpenters' Union. Statistician—Prof. Gus Frankel, of the Workingmen's Union. Sergeant-at-Arms—William Beach, of the Teamsters' Union. Messrs. Dale, for secretary, and Staten, for treasurer, were re-elected. All the others are new officers.

Free Employment Agency.

The report of the Butte employment agent for December is as follows:

- Applications for work—Male, 168; female, 210. Total, 378. Applications for help—Male, 74; female, 188. Total, 262. Positions filled—Male, 71; female, 156. Total, 227. Nature of positions filled—Male, hotel and restaurant help, 50; laborers, 16; miscellaneous, 5. Total, 71. Nature of positions filled—Female, hotel and restaurant help, 59; domestics, 87; miscellaneous, 10. Total, 156. Positions filled in city—male, 43; female, 142. Total, 185. Positions filled out of city—Male, 28; female, 14. Total, 42.

Every member of the American Labor Union receives the Journal. If you are not an A. L. U. man, subscribe for the Journal, anyhow.

HOME INDUSTRY MOVEMENT.

Resolutions Condemning Butte City Council Adopted By Typographical.

A special meeting of Butte Typographical Union, No. 126, was held on Sunday, January 11, to adopt resolutions condemning the City Council of Butte for letting a contract for the printing of a book of ordinances to an out-of-town concern.

Your committee on home industry beg leave to report that on Wednesday night, January 7, 1903, we made a verbal protest to the city council of Butte, in regular session assembled (after the printing committee of the council had reported) against granting a contract for the printing of a book of ordinances for the city of Butte to any firm located in any city or town other than Butte.

Resolved, That we condemn said action as a vicious precedent to be established; and be it further Resolved, That Butte Typographical Union hereby censures the aldermen voting in the affirmative on the proposition and declare them unfit to conserve the best interests of Butte, viz: Aldermen Batchelor, Cohen, Day, Doull, Gleason, Heaney, Kelly, Kroger, Manchester, O'Brien and Ryan. Resolved, That we extend our thanks to those aldermen who went on record as opposed to the action taken, to wit: Duggan, Ryan, Siebenaler; and be it further Resolved, That this union ask the endorsement of these resolutions by the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly; also that they be given the press for publication.

Alderman Duggan made a motion, which was duly seconded, to lay the report of the printing committee of the council on the table. The motion lost by a vote of 10 to 5. Alderman Batchelor then said that,

as he had heard no reasonable argument why the work should not be given to the lowest bidder, he would move the adoption of the committee's report, and that the contract be given to the lowest bidder. This was carried by a vote of 1 to 3, Alderman Cohen changing his vote, evidently for the purpose of being on the side of the majority.

Whereas, At the session of the city council held on the evening of January 7, action was taken virtually boycotting the printing trades of Butte; therefore, be it Resolved, That we extend our thanks to those aldermen who went on record as opposed to the action taken, to wit: Duggan, Ryan, Siebenaler; and be it further Resolved, That this union ask the endorsement of these resolutions by the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly; also that they be given the press for publication.

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Men's Suits Overcoats

At Hennessy's Now we shall show the Butte public what we can do with Men's Clothing. Here are some good lots and big lots, new lines and broken lines. All a treat to the eyes because the garments are well made and stylish and the prices low beyond all comparison.

MEN'S SUITS Men's sack suits, made of brown and gray mixed fancy chevots. New garments, well made and nicely trimmed; sizes 34 to 42 inches. Values \$12.00 to \$15.00. Sale price only \$7.75.

MEN'S SUITS. About 100 fancy suits and black and blue chevot serge and worsted suits, all medium weight, suitable for early spring or fall wear; left over from last fall. Will be closed out at about half price. For instance:

MEN'S SUITS Men's fine black and gray mixed chevot sack suits, well made, well tailored, and nicely trimmed. This winter's goods; sizes 35 to 42 inches; \$16.50 suits for \$9.75.

All the \$15.00, \$18.00 and \$20.00 suits are marked down to \$9.75. All the \$25.00, \$27.50 and \$30.00 suits will be closed out at \$14.75.

MEN'S SUITS Men's fancy gray, black and red mixed suits, including the coronation cloths, well and strongly made; sizes 35 to 42; \$18.00 suits for \$9.95.

MEN'S SUITS Men's fine worsted sack suits, new weaves in gray and fancy mixtures. New and stylish garments, well trimmed and nicely tailored. Values from \$20.00 to \$22.50. Sale price \$11.75.

MEN'S DRESS SUITS Tuxedo suits, Prince Albert coats and vests, fancy vests, cravenette rain coats, all our fine lines of black and fancy suits, stylish overcoats and fine trousers, everything in our clothing department not otherwise reduced, from dress suits to overalls, goes at one-fourth less than usual.

MEN'S SUITS Men's fancy striped worsted suits, winter weight. Regular \$25.00 values. Sale price only \$14.75.

MEN'S OVERCOATS. Made of gray and fancy mixtures, cut long and stylish, made with velvet collar, vertical pockets, cuffs on sleeves, nicely made and trimmed. New this season; all sizes. Regular \$15.00 overcoats. Sale price only \$7.75.

MEN'S SUITS Black and gray mixed suits, made to fit large, stout men; chest measures 38 to 46 inches. All new. Values \$18.00 to \$20.00. Sale price only \$10.75.

MEN'S OVERCOATS. Made of gray and fancy mixtures, cut long and stylish, made with velvet collar, vertical pockets, cuffs on sleeves, nicely made and trimmed. New this season; all sizes. Regular \$15.00 overcoats. Sale price only \$7.75.

MEN'S SUITS Men's sack suits, made of extra fine fancy red and black mixtures in the new coronation cloths; sizes 35 to 42 inches; \$20.00 suits for \$16.75.

MEN'S OVERCOATS. Made of gray and fancy mixtures, cut long and stylish, made with velvet collar, vertical pockets, cuffs on sleeves, nicely made and trimmed. New this season; all sizes. Regular \$15.00 overcoats. Sale price only \$7.75.

MEN'S OVERCOATS. Fine overcoats, new this season, with Russian back, strap across back and cuffs on sleeves. Regular \$20.00 overcoats. Sale price only \$10.75.

Big Bargains At Hennessy's

Economic Discontent

(Continued from Page Two.)

guarantees to the capitalist the full exploiting of his capital. Suppose a speculator were to say to the capitalist who has advanced him money:

"There has been a crisis, a depression in trade, I am no longer in a position to pay you the high rate of interest agreed upon. I shall give you a third or two-thirds of the sum, what answer would the capitalist make him? Why, he would refuse to accept any reduction, and for what reason? Simply because he is well aware that the law supports his claim. But let us suppose the speculator saying to his workmen: 'There has been a heavy depression in trade, I cannot pay you more than two-thirds of your present wages, what resource is left for the workingman? There is no alternative for him, he must either accept the pay offered him or throw up his place, which latter course means starvation. Why, therefore, should the law guarantee the workman as it does the capitalist, protecting what is but just and right? There is no greater infraction in one case than in another.'" (Canon Moufang in the Christlich-Social Blatter, March, 1871.)

Every honest workman has an inherent right to the full product of his work. He invests his life and the lives of his wife and children in it, but, under the present industrial system, he never receives a full return on the investment. There is always an unpaid surplus which constitutes a moral claim against his employer. The wage which he gets for any particular day's work is not equivalent to a quit claim deed to his employer, because the earning power of that day's work does not end with the day itself. The workman has put into it personal values of intelligence, skill and industry which continue, with more or less permanency, long after the sun sets upon the actual toll expended in the production of it.

A mill is started, for instance, and men bend their muscles and concentrate their intelligence upon its output. They bring their families to live in the neighborhood of the mill. The workman spends his scanty savings upon a lot within easy reach. He joins the Building and Loan Association and borrows money, at ruinous rates of interest, to build a house on it. His children must be sheltered from the cold and the pelting rains. They must be fed, clothed and educated. All his earthly possessions are summed up in that little home. If, then, his wages are cut down below the physical and intellectual necessities of that home, a manifold injustice follows. The home-life is ravaged. Wife and children are deprived of the legitimate helps which the natural law gives them from the labor of the husband and father. The education of the little ones must be discontinued if they are able to totter out in search of work. The average

per, the magazine, and the book must be sacrificed for bread. One by one the dainty ornaments which brightened the house find their way to the pawnbrokers; and the mother's wedding ring lies in the money lender's window beside the tawdry dress of some nameless thing of the streets—herself a victim to the greed of capitalism. The father cannot leave for another town in quest of work because he cannot sell the house. It is tied up in the Building and Loan Association for a paltry payment or two. Everything which he has is, as it were, invested in the mill. The employer has not paid him even a tithe of his share; and when starvation wages compel him to give up either his place or his manhood, he leaves behind him the talent and proficiency which though not expressed in dollars and cents, are real forces in the commercial prosperity which has come to the mill, and for which he has received no other equivalent than a moral proportional ownership in the work which he has performed. Consequently the employer steals the property of the workman when he locks him out by a reduction of wages; and he is as much a robber in the sight of Almighty God as though he had broken into the workman's home and stolen his clothes and purse.

Moreover, whoever goes in to take the place of the workman is an interloper, a purloiner of other men's goods, a thief who plunders the rights of the man who is out of the place under protest; for the output of the mill belongs to the actual producer, to the workingmen whose intelligent craft has given it prestige and whose wife and children share with him in that result of his toil which is the meed of his specialized cleverness of hand and eye and brain. But the law, always on the side of the capitalist, speedily disposes of the locked-out worker of the last remnants of his rights. An injunction is issued against him and his fellow workmen. Of all legal things an injunction is the most unlawful. In the words of that great tribune of the people, John P. Altgeld, the fundamental right of every man to trial by jury is "brushed aside with a wave of the hand, and men are sent to prison at the mere whim or caprice of a judge. . . . With the advent of corporate power and corporate control in our country—that is during the last few years—this usurpation and innovation has been established and used as a club to pound the back of labor. . . . Prior to the war the slave owner used the lash and the bloodhound as rear guard conveniences to coerce the colored laborer. Today the corporations use the United States courts, the United States marshals and the prisons as side door conveniences to coerce their white laborers. While the instruments have changed, the hand that wields them is that of the boss, and the flesh that quivers under them is that of the la-

borer. Jefferson declared that in the Federal Judiciary would be found the graves of American liberty." (Springfield, Ill. State Register, December 1889.)

The unspeakable iniquities of the "bull pen" in Wardner, Idaho, and all through the Coeur d'Alene district, where Federal and State authorities combined to rob free-born citizens of the most elementary rights and where only eighteen out of two thousand imprisoned miners were given even the semblance of a trial, certainly constitute causes for economical discontent in a republic cemented with the blood of our forefathers. In our newly acquired territory, the Hawaiian Islands, the planters were assured before the annexation that the contract labor laws would not be molested; and this infamous form of involuntary servitude has since been declared legal by the Supreme court of the United States. Doubtless, the professional men of the Islands are even now snugly preaching contentment to the industrial slaves and glorifying the magnificent justice of these fiendish contract labor laws.

(To Be Continued.)

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