

AMERICAN

A NEW YEAR'S RESOLVE
"I will get at least one Jour-
nal subscriber a week during 1903."

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No. 13

Every Reader a Worker

The American Labor Union Journal is now being sent to more than eleven thousand paid yearly subscribers. We will have to just double this circulation at 50 cents a year in order to realize enough from subscriptions to pay the actual expenses of issuing the paper. To be sure, considerable will be realized from advertising, but we want to be in a position to use that in improving the paper.

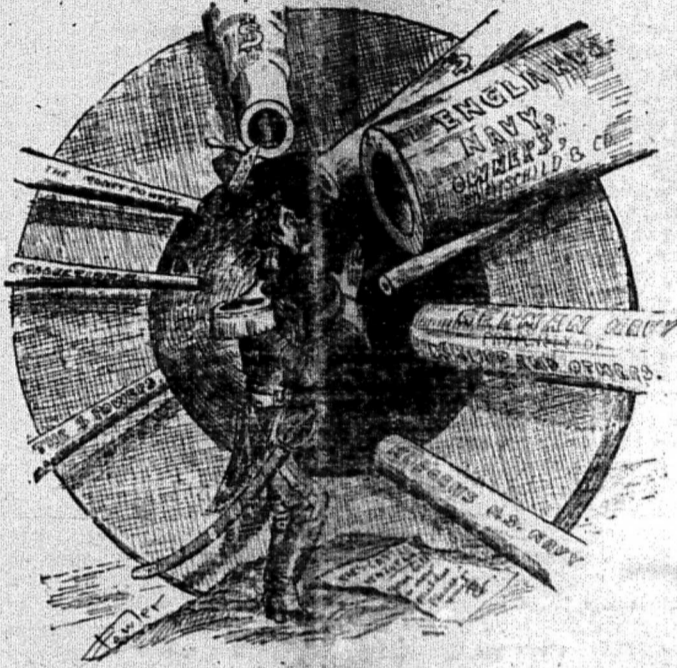
We must have 12,000 more paid subscribers for the Journal. And that is not all; we will have them.

How? Let me tell you: Every reader of the Journal who is interested in the promotion of the labor and Socialist movement knows that there is not a better paper published for the purpose of making converts to unionism and Socialism. As the Colorado Chronicle said last week, "It is getting better and brighter every issue." All right; but let us tell you something else. This paper is owned and controlled absolutely by the American Labor Union. The American Labor Union is unalterably for the working class, economically and politically. You can always depend on the straightforward character of the Journal. This, then, is the kind of a paper every union man and Socialist in America ought to support with all his strength. Now, as to getting 12,000 more subscribers. You must help. On such a small subscription price (50 cents) big commissions cannot be paid. Your work must be unselfish, voluntary.

Here is the proposition: Every reader of the Journal must secure at least four new paid yearly subscriptions from people who are not members of the American Labor Union. What an easy matter for all of our readers, working collectively, to get 50,000 new subscribers in this way! And what an absolutely impossible task for one alone! Another evidence of the power of co-operation. Try it, and see unionism and Socialism grow.

Begin now. Send in your list of subscribers early. Yours for work,
CLARENCE SMITH,
Manager Journal.

UNDER CAPITALIST CONTROL



If you don't believe the Capitalist Class controls the armies and navies of the world, ask Castro.

Help Your Own People

The lowest wages and the most deplorable conditions in the Rocky Mountain States prevail at the factory of the Rocky Mountain Paper Mill Company, at Denver, Colo.

Able-bodied men with families of five or six to support have been made to labor twelve hours a day for wages as low as \$1.25, and the average daily wage paid, including skilled labor, does not exceed \$1.85 a day.

Many boys are compelled to labor every day beside father or brother, in order to earn sufficient to provide for the family.

These people have rebelled. Poor, overworked, underpaid victims of capitalism have turned like the worm in the dust, and now demand a wage at least sufficient to keep body and soul together.

They have struck, and in order that the strike may be carried to a successful conclusion, they have asked assistance from the American Labor Union, to provide the means of keeping the wolf from the door while the fight is on.

The American Labor Union will aid them. A vote is now being taken by the executive board on the question of levying an assessment of one cent a week on each member to support the strikers.

But if this vote carries, and the assessment is made promptly, it will be several weeks at the very best before returns will reach the suffering strikers.

Help is needed now—at once—just as soon as the money can be sent through the office of the American Labor Union to the strikers.

Denver Brewers, Malsters and Coopers' Union has headed the list with a donation of \$10. This is good for one union, but very small, indeed for a crowd of hungry strikers and their families that will require at least \$200 a week to support.

Every union must act, and act promptly. Who will be next? Contribute generously and quickly, and victory will be certain.

Any donations received now will be credited to the union donating on account of assessment, providing assessment is levied.

Fraternally,
DANIEL McDONALD, President A. L. U.
CLARENCE SMITH, Secy.-Treas. A. L. U.

ANARCHY IN HIGH PLACES.

Organized Labor at the Mercy of Hired Assassins.

Union men in Colorado are greatly agitated on account of the high-handed way in which the mine owners and capitalist element at Telluride is trampling upon the rights and liberties of the working class of that district.

The concerted effort by the mine owners to destroy the union is more or more of the same. Men must be hanged to accomplish it, seems certain from late developments. Officers and leaders in the unions have been arrested and thrown into prison on charges of murder, assault, etc., with no vestige of evidence to support the charges. Hired thugs and assassins have been sworn in as deputy sheriffs for the express purpose, it is believed, of terrorizing the district, and to swear the lives of innocent men when they come to trial.

Miners and other union men have been absolutely peaceable in every case where indictments have been found against them by the company's packed grand jury they have made no effort to escape, but have given themselves up to the authorities.

The treacherous purpose of the mine owners is so evident and their anarchistic methods so poorly concealed that all fair-minded, unprejudiced people are aroused in sympathy with the victims.

Feeling against the persecutors is strong everywhere in Colorado. Even in Denver, farthest from the trouble and least apt to be unduly excited, the situation is considered decidedly serious. Labor people especially brand the persecutions as part of an outrageous plot to destroy organized labor regardless of law or human rights.

At a late meeting of District Union No. 3, A. L. U., the following resolutions were presented by delegates from Golden, and were unanimously adopted:

Resolution against the imprisonment of the Telluride miners:

"Whereas, in view of the alarming frequency with which laboring men are arrested and thrown into prison and kept there without trial for months, be it

Resolved, That we unite as one man in outspoken condemnation of the violation of our constitutional right to a speedy trial. The plain, manifest motive in thus compelling honorable men to rest for months under the disgrace and stigma of an indictment is a disgrace to the courts of the state. Such a proceeding is anarchy of the most dangerous kind; and be it further

Resolved, That we will, by every means in their power, aid our brothers to assert their lawful rights, and against outrageous methods so evidently emanating from an organized mob power that they threaten the very life of union labor. Officers and members of labor unions are at the

COURT DECISIONS Being a Selection of Cases in Which the Toiler Gets It Where the Giraffe is the Most Elongated

Written by REV. FATHER THOS. J. HAGERTY for The Journal

The Mohammedans have a fable of an unrighteous judge who promised to be just; and he sold justice to every one who gave him money. He waded his fields with the sweat of the toiler whom he called away from his own labor. He did not pay the toiler his wages, but lived on the food of the poor. He grew rich from the wretchedness and poverty of others. He possessed much gold and silver, and many precious stones; but the toiler who lived in the neighborhood did not know how to satisfy the hunger of his children. The judge smiled like a man who has happiness for his guest, but there was gnashing of teeth from the suppliant who sought justice. There was contentedness on the countenance of the judge; but there was no milk in the breasts of the mothers who fain would have given suck. Then the people of the village said: "Allah is great and Mahomet is his prophet; we curse you none!"

The pure-and-simple trades union Mussulmans of the twentieth century have a similar tale of much pleading for justice with a like hopeless refrain: "Allah is great and the American Federation of Labor is his prophet; let there be no politics in the Unions!" Scorning the men of their own village, these workers hire the friends of their enemies to be their own law servants. Upon these law servants they bestow much guerdon of gold and fine raiment in the form of taxes; and they cause their children to go in rags and their young men to bear heavy burdens in the night so that the law servants may not lack comfort and contentedness. And when, after much patient waiting, they find that their law servants have become unmindful of the things which they hired them to do, the toilers straightway gather tribute from every household and pay therewith other workers to beat their breasts and bend their foreheads in the dust at the feet of the hired law servants humbly to supplicate them for relief against the enemies who starve the children and drain the milk from the mothers' breasts. And the law servants—fearing that the workers, their masters, may discharge them at the next election—with many protestations of love for the toilers, hasten to pass laws in their behalf. But the tongues of the law servants are forked by deceit and their words are full of guile. They frame the laws in language which is as crooked as a ram's horn, so that the workers, their masters, may not understand the import thereof and that the unrighteous judges may have much serviceable pleasure in declaring them illegal.

Thus, in the state of Illinois, the workers, after a great deal of supplication, induced their law servants to enact a statute to the effect that "It shall be unlawful for any individual or member of any firm, or agent, officer, or employe of any company or corporation to prevent or attempt to prevent employes from forming, joining, and belonging to any lawful labor organization, and any such individual, member, agent, officer, or employe that coerces or attempts to coerce employes by discharging or threatening to discharge from their employ or the employ of any firm, company, or corporation because of their connection with such lawful labor organization, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$100, or be imprisoned for not more than six months, or both, in the discretion of the court." (Sec. 32, ch. 48, Hurd's Revised Statutes, 1899.) On December 29, 1900, the supreme court of Illinois, in the case of Gillespie vs. People, declared that this statute is unconstitutional and void. (58 Northeastern Reporter, p. 1007.) Judge Magruder, who delivered the opinion of the court, argued that "Labor is property. The laborer has the same right to sell his labor and to contract with reference thereto as any other property owner. The right of property involves, as one of its essential attributes, the right not only to contract, but also to terminate contracts." But Judge Magruder overlooked the important fact that labor is not property in the same sense that pig-iron, flour, lumber and nails are property. These commodities are the wealth-results of labor and they express a certain amount of human life spent in their production. The right to sell any portion of human life and to contract with reference thereto cannot, in justice, go beyond the right of all other lives with which it is socially interdependent. The natural law forbids the father of a family to sell or contract his labor; "at is, the major part of his life per day, for wages which fall below the physical, moral and intellectual necessities of his household.

On April 6, 1900, the supreme court of the state of Washington declared the ordinance of the city of Seattle, which made it unlawful to require or permit any day laborer or mechanic to work on public works more than eight hours in a day, to be unconstitutional on the ground that it interferes with the freedom of contract. (City of Seattle vs. Smyth et al., 60 Pacific Reporter, p. 1120.) The constitutional right of freedom of contract must be gauged by the higher right of all the socially interdependent lives of

men from the babe in arms to tottering old age. Moreover, the most conservative conclusions of physiology affirm the necessity of the eight hour law, and law must obey nature.

Prior to November 27, 1900, the state of Ohio had a law on the statute books requiring the weighing of coal before it could be taken away from any mine owner, lessee, or operator of coal mines in this state, employing miners at bushel or ton rates, or other quantity, to pass the output of coal mined by said miners over any screen or other device which shall take any part from the value thereof before the same shall have been weighed and duly credited to the employe sending the same to the surface, and accounted for at the legal rate of weights fixed by the laws of Ohio." On the date mentioned the supreme court of the state of Ohio declared this law to be unconstitutional and thereby tacitly legalized a wholesale robbing of the miners. (See in re Preston, 59 Northeastern Reporter, p. 101.)

The supreme court of Illinois, December 20, 1900, affirmed a judgment for relator rendered in the county court of Cook county and declared to be unconstitutional an ordinance of the city of Chicago which provides that municipal contractors must employ none but members of labor unions and maintain an eight-hour day. (Fiske vs. People ex rel. Raymond, supreme court of Illinois, 58 Northeastern Reporter, p. 985.)

In the case of Beard vs. Board of Commissioners (65 Pacific Reporter, p. 628) the supreme court of Kansas upheld the judgment of the district court of Sedgwick county in a decision July 5, 1901, which refused James Beard the right to pay for working overtime as a janitor in excess of eight hours a day. The opinion of the court was based on the flimsy argument that James Beard was employed by the county commissioners as a janitor of the county court house building at a salary of \$30 per month and that he knew he was to receive a monthly compensation at the rate stated; but it takes no account of the eight-hour law, and, therefore, in effect leaves the way open for any number of filibustering raids upon the constitutionality of the eight-hour statute.

Two cases of blacklisting were decided in the court of appeals of Kentucky (64 Southwestern Reporter, pp. 913, 915), which practically legalized this charming capitalistic pastime. October 29, 1901, the court of appeals of this state affirmed the action of the lower courts in favor of the defendants of Trimble vs. Prudential Life Insurance Company of America and Baker vs. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. The opinion of the court is founded on Cooley, Torts, 238. "It is part of every man's civil rights that he be left at liberty to refuse business relations with any person whomsoever, whether the refusal rests upon reason or is the result of whim, caprice, prejudice or malice. With his reasons neither the public nor any third persons have any legal concern." It is noticeable, however, that when the blacklisting takes the form of boycotting on the part of the workmen the courts forget this happy-go-lucky philosophy of Cooley. Perhaps this book of Torts is only a thinly disguised bit of humor from the Arley Road and should be credited to Dooley rather than Cooley.

These few cases will suffice to show what the working class invariably get from their capitalist foes, whose friends they elect as their law servants. The cases might be indefinitely augmented by the addition of examples from English and Continental courts, but they would all tell the same tale of one-sided justice. In every instance the workers got just what they voted for; they cast their ballot in favor of capitalism and the courts did the rest. They gave the whole loaf away and then begged back a few crumbs, of which they were dispossessed before they had a chance to garner them into a decent mouthful. There is a pathetic figure in ancient mythology of Sisyphus who is always pushing a heavy stone up a hill, and never quite reaching the top; for, when he nears the summit, the stone rolls down to the bottom and he must needs begin all over again. Labor is the modern Sisyphus from whose endless, futile task Socialism alone can give release. Socialism shows him the folly of pushing the dead weight of a lobby up the sharp hill of capitalist legislatures and the hopelessness of such work, when it is infinitely easier to accomplish a co-operative commonwealth, through the ballot, in which justice and law shall be synonymous and freedom in the enjoyment, shall take the place of liberty in the pursuit of happiness. It is idle to expect absolute relief from any of the old parties whose representatives will always continue to play ping pong with the labor unions. The workers, while maintaining the unions for the purpose of keeping up wages during the interval, must go onward to that political complement of labor unions which will abolish the system of wage slavery and gather all toilers into the perfect union of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THOMAS J. HAGERTY.

A. L. U. NOTES.

Denver Wheel Workers' Union No. 226, which heretofore has included all employes of the wheel works in its membership, has reorganized with the molders and helpers only.

The differences between the rival labor councils at Great Falls, Mont., have been settled, and organized labor of that city again presents a solid front to the enemy.

The recent executive board meeting of the Western Federation of Miners endorsed Ben Greenwood's garment factory at Helena, Montana, where all garments produced bear the label of the American Labor Union.

Owing to the trouble in getting the colored inks to work properly, the engrosser has been unavoidably delayed in filling out the new charters. Everything is going along smoothly now, and the new charters will soon be sent out to the unions. Prof. Gold, the engrosser, agrees with all others who have seen the new charters, that they are the most beautiful he has ever seen.

DOOLEY AND THE LABEL.

"Did ye say 'Wot's the union label, Hogan? Listen t' me for a short space and ye'll know."

"Th' union label, Hogan, is a sign that th' trusts don't make everything. T' use the words of what's-his-name, th' label is th' bright an' shinin' star that shows t' th' world th' strength uv th' workin' man an' also a club t' knock th' devils out in th' scab factories. When we see th' label on th' shoes ye buy ye can make up yer mind that th' man that made them had ple fer dinner last Sunday. When ye see th' same on yer clothes ye know that ye won't catch th' smallpox from wearin' them. Whin, Hogan, ye see th' label on th' paper ye read, ye know that no matter whether its raypublican or dimmogocrat or middle uv th' road, prohibitionist, th' gang that set it up had a few pennies in their pockets Saturday night.

"I tell ye, Hogan, 'tis a great thing. Whin ye go t' buy yerself a hat, Hogan, don't let th' man tell ye that 'ye look nice in that wun, sir,' until ye's looked fer th' hat maker's label.

"Wot good will all this do ye, do ye say, Hogan? Hogan, ye're an ass. Don't ye see that whin th' gang gets paid \$10 a week they can pay more fer groceries than they c'ud on \$67 Hogan, ye're a dead head."

He'd Had Sufficient, Also.

An Irishman and a negro had agreed to settle the question as to who was the better man, and the one first satisfied was to say "sufficient." After pounding each other for some time the Irishman sang out "sufficient," when, much to his disgust, the negro exclaimed, "Sho I've been tryin' to tink ob dat word fo' twenty minutes."

Every Aggressive Unionist and Earnest Socialist in America can secure one subscriber a week for the Journal during 1903. Will YOU do your share?

THE MAN UNDER THE STONE.

(By Edwin Markham.)

When I see a workingman with mouths to feed, Up day after day, in the dark before the dawn. And coming home night after night, thro' the dusk, Swinging forward like some fierce silent animal. I see a man doomed to roll a huge stone up an endless steep. He strains it onward inch by stubborn inch, Crouched always in the shadow of the rock! See where he crouches, twisted, cramped, misshapen He lifts for his life! The veins knot and darken— Blood surges into his face: Now he loses—now he wins— Now he loses—loses—(God of my soul!) He digs his feet into the earth— There's a moment of terrified effort. Will the huge stone break his hold, And crush him as it plunges to the gulf? The silent struggle goes on and on, Like two contending in a dream.

Trades Unions and Socialism. In an article in "Justice," of London, England, it is pointed out that under the present condition of the English law, trades unions are practically tied hand and foot; there is scarcely any action which they can take in the direction of bringing pressure to bear on the employers, either by threat of a strike, or in any other way, in which they do not run the risk of action for damages. When the employers find it suits them to put the men on a short time, or to lock them out for a day or two, the men can only grumble and submit. But it appears to be quite another matter when the men stay away from their work on their own account, either on strike or for a holiday. This is a sort of one-sided slavery. The masters have a claim on the men, but the men have no claim on them at all, as the slaves of old time had on their owners. That, at any rate, would appear to be the position as established by law so far. It is to some extent the recognition of this position which has encouraged that movement for political action on the part of trades unions which Socialists have done so much to initiate and to foster.

The difficulty is that even now many of those who favor political action by their unions do not quite see the end for which this political action should be taken. There is a very prevalent idea that this action should be taken solely with the object of promoting such legislation as would secure a return to the position existing before the Taff Vale and recent similar decisions. But to return to that state of things is quite out of the question, and would not be desirable, even if it were possible. Trades unionists had better make up their minds that the unique position occupied by their organizations, in which they had the rights of corporation without their responsibilities, has gone forever; but even if it could be restored, it is doubtful whether the power of the strike thus maintained could ever be of the same service in the future as it has been in the past. The failure of so many strikes demonstrates what we Socialists have constantly pointed out, that the strike is a doubtful and dangerous weapon at best, while the increased power of combined capital renders it more and more ineffective. Therefore, while it may be admitted that the present position practically deprives the unions of the power of the strike, it is certainly not worth their while to bend all their political efforts towards winning back the opportunity to use a weapon which change of circumstances has rendered, to a large extent, obsolete. On the contrary, their political action should be directed toward securing, by such action, the ends which hitherto they have sought to gain by the strike. Having had the one weapon struck from their hands, they should use the other weapon, that of political action, not for the purpose of recovering the old, clumsy weapon they have just lost, but to win the very objects for which the old instrument was forged and used. And for even wider and greater ends. Instead of having for their ultimate end the mere bettering of the lot of the wage slave as a wage slave, insofar as the market would permit of it, they should set before them as their aim the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery altogether. And, while using their political power to secure higher wages, shorter hours of labor, better conditions of work, and all the other measures which hitherto they have attempted to win by other means they should regard these, not as an end in themselves, but as a means and as stepping stones to the overthrow of capitalist domination and the complete economic freedom of the working class.

Bitterness coal miners of the country are preparing to ask for more wages, says an Indianapolis dispatch of December 23.

Crime and Criminals

Delivered to Prisoners of the Cook County Jail By CLARENCE S. DARROW

If I looked at jails and crimes and prisoners in the way the ordinary person does, I should not speak on this subject to you. The reason I talk to you on the question of crime, its cause and cure, is because I really do not in the least believe in crime. There is no such thing as a crime as the word is generally understood. I do not believe there is any sort of distinction between the real moral condition of the people in and out of jail. One is just as good as the other. The people here can no more help being here than the people outside can avoid being outside. I do not believe that people are in jail because they deserve to be. They are in jail simply because they cannot avoid it on account of circumstances which are entirely beyond their control and for which they are in no way responsible. I suppose a great many people on the outside would say I was doing you harm if they should hear what I say to you this afternoon, but you cannot be hurt a great deal anyway, so it will not matter. Good people outside would say that I was really teaching you things that were calculated to injure society, but it's worth while now and then hear something different from what you ordinarily get from preachers and the like. These will tell you that you should be good and then you will get rich and be happy. Of course we know that people do not get rich by being good, and that is the reason why so many of you people try to get rich some other way, only you do not understand how to do it quite so well as the fellow outside.

There are people who think that everything in this world is an accident. But really there is no such thing as an accident. A great many folks admit that many of the people in jail ought not to be there, and many who are outside ought to be in. I think none of them ought to be here. There ought to be no jails, and if it were not for the fact that the people on the outside are so grasping and heartless in their dealings with the people on the inside there would be no such institutions as jails.

I do not want you to believe that I think all you people here are angels. I do not think that. You are people of all kinds, all of you doing the best you can, and that is evidently not very well—you are people of all kinds and conditions and under all circumstances. We all do the best we can under the circumstances. But as to the exact things for which you are sent here, some of you are guilty and some of you are not guilty. Some of you did the particular act because you needed the money. Some of you did it because you are in the habit of doing it, and some of you because you are born to it, and it comes to be as natural as it does, for instance, for me to be good.

Most of you probably have nothing against me, and most of you would treat me the same as any other person would; probably better than some of the people on the outside would treat me, because you think I believe in you and they know I do not believe in them. While you would not have the least thing against me in the world you might pick my pockets. I do not think all of you would, but I think some of you would. You would not have anything against me, but that's your profession, a few of you. Some of the rest of you, if my doors were unlocked, might come in if you saw anything you wanted—not out of any malice to me, but because that is your trade. There is no doubt there are quite a number of people in this jail who would pick my pocket. There may be some of you who would hold a man up on the street, if you did not happen to have something else to do and needed the money; but when I want to light my house or my office the gas company holds me up. They charge me one dollar for something that is worth twenty-five cents, and still all these people are good people; they are pillars of society and support the churches, and they are respectable.

When I ride on the street cars I am held up—I pay five cents for a ride that is worth two and a half cents, simply because a body of men have bribed the city council and the legislature, so that all the rest of us have to pay tribute to them.

If I do not want to fall into the clutches of the gas trust and choose to burn oil instead of gas, then good Mr. Rockefeller holds me up, and he uses a certain portion of his money to build universities and support churches which are engaged in telling us how to be good.

Some of you are here for obtaining property under false pretenses—yet I pick up a great Sunday paper and read the advertisement of a merchant prince—"Shirt waists for 39 cents, marked down from \$3.00."

When I read the advertisements in the papers I see they are all lies. When I want to get out and find a place to stand anywhere on the face of the earth, I find it has all been taken up long ago before I came here, and before you came here, and somebody says, "Get off, swim into the

lake, fly into the air; go anywhere, but get off." That is because these people have the police and they have the jails and the judges and the lawyers and the soldiers and all the rest of them to take care of the earth and drive everybody off that comes in their way.

A great many people will tell you that all this is true, but that it does not excuse you. These facts do not excuse some fellow who reaches into my pocket and takes out a five-dollar bill; the fact that the gas company bribes the members of the legislature from year to year, and fixes the law, so that all you people are compelled to be "fleece" whenever you deal with them; the fact that the street car companies and the gas companies have control of the streets and the fact that the landlords own all the earth, they say, has nothing to do with you.

Let us see whether there is any connection between the crimes of the respectable classes and your presence in the jail. Many of you people are in jail because you have really committed burglary. Many of you because you have stolen something; in the meaning of the law, you have taken some other person's property. Some of you have entered a store and carried off a pair of shoes because you did not have the price. Possibly some of you have committed murder. I can not tell what all of you did. There are a great many people here who have done some of these things who do not really know themselves why they did them. I think I know why you did them—every one of you; you did these things because you were bound to do them. It looked to you at the time as if you had a chance to do them or not, as you saw fit, but still after all you had no choice. There may be people here who had some money in their pockets and who still went out and got some more money in a way society forbids. Now you may not yourselves see exactly why it was you did this thing, but if you look at the question deeply enough and carefully enough you would see that there were circumstances that drove you to do exactly the thing which you did. You could not help it any more than we outside can help taking the positions that we take. The reformers who tell you to be good and you will be happy, and the people on the outside who have property to protect—they think that the only way to do it is by building jails and locking you up in cells on week-days and praying for you on Sundays.

I think that all of this has nothing whatever to do with right conduct. I think it is very easily seen what has to do with right conduct. Some so-called criminals—and I will use this word because it is handy, it means nothing to me—I speak of the criminals who get caught as distinguished from the criminals who catch them—some of these so-called criminals are in jail for the first offenses, but nine tenths of you are in jail because you did not have a good lawyer, and of course you did not have a good lawyer because you did not have enough money to pay a good lawyer. There is no very great danger of a rich man going to jail.

Some of you may be here for the first time. If we would open the doors and leave you out, and leave the laws as they are today, some of you would be back tomorrow. This is about as good a place as you can get, anyway. There are many people here who are so in the habit of coming that they would not know where else to go. There are people who are born with the tendency to break into jail every chance they get, and they cannot avoid it. You cannot figure out your life and see why it is, but still there is a reason for it, and if we were all-wise and knew the facts we could figure it out.

In the first place, there are a good many more people who go to jail in the winter time than in the summer. Why is this? Is it because people are more wicked in winter? No, it is because the coal trust begins to get its grip in the winter. A few gentlemen take possession of the coal, and unless the people will pay \$7 or \$8 a ton for something that is worth \$3, they will have to freeze. Then there is nothing to do but to break into jail, and so there are many more in the jail in winter than in summer. It costs more for gas in winter because the nights are longer, and people go to jail to save gas bills. The jails are electric lighted. You may not know it, but these economic laws are working all the time, whether we know it or do not know it.

There are more people who go to jail in hard times than in good times—few people, comparatively, go to jail except when they are hard up. They go to jail because they have no other place to go. They may not know why, but it is true all the same. People are not more wicked in hard times. That is not the reason. The fact is true all over the world that in hard times more people go to jail than in good times, and in winter more people go to jail than in summer. Of

course it is pretty hard times for people who go to jail at any time. The people who go to jail are almost always poor people—people who have no other place to live first and last. When times are hard then you find large numbers of people who go to jail who would not otherwise be in jail.

Long ago, Mr. Buckle, who was a great philosopher and historian, collected facts and he showed that the number of people who are arrested increased just as the price of food increased. When they put up the price of gas ten cents a thousand I do not know who will go to jail, but I do know that a certain number of people will go. When the meat combine raises the price of beef I do not know who is going to jail, but I know that a large number of people are bound to go. Whenever the Standard Oil company raises the price of oil, I know that a certain number of girls who are seamstresses and who work after night long hours for somebody else, will be compelled to go out on the streets and ply another trade, and I know that Mr. Rockefeller and his associates are responsible and not the poor girls in the jails.

First and last, people are sent to jail because they are poor. Sometimes, as I say, you may not need money at the particular time, but you wish to have thrifty, forehanded habits, and do not always wait until you are in absolute want. Some of you people are perhaps plying the trade, the profession, which is called burglary. No man in his right senses will go into a strange house in the dead of night and prow around with a dark lantern, through unfamiliar rooms and take chances of his life, if he has plenty of the good things of the world in his own home. You would not take any such chances as that. If a man had clothes in his clothes-press and beefsteak in his pantry, and money in a bank, he would not navigate around nights in houses where he knows nothing about the premises whatever. It always requires experience and education for this profession, and people who fit themselves for it are no more to blame than I am for being a lawyer. A man would not hold up another on the street if he had plenty of money in his own pocket. He might do it if he had one dollar or two dollars, but he wouldn't if he had as much money as Mr. Rockefeller has. Mr. Rockefeller has a great deal better hold-up game than that.

The more that is taken from the poor by the rich who have the chance to take it, the more poor people there are who are compelled to resort to these means for a livelihood. They may not understand it, they may not think so at once, but after all they are driven into that line of employment.

There is a bill before the legislature of this state to punish kidnapping children with death. We have wise members in the legislature. They know the gas trust when they see it and they always see it—they can furnish light enough to be seen, and this legislature thinks it is going to stop kidnapping children by making a law punishing kidnapping children, but the legislature is all wrong. Kidnaping children is not a crime, it is a profession. It has been developed with our modern industrial conditions. There are many ways of making money—many new ways that our ancestors knew nothing about. Our ancestors knew nothing about a billion-dollar trust; and here comes some poor fellow who has no other trade and he discovers the profession of kidnaping children.

This crime is born, not because people are bad; people don't kidnap other people's children because they want the children or because they are devilish, but because they see a chance to get some money out of it. You cannot cure this crime by passing a law punishing by death kidnapers of children. There is one way to cure it. There is one way to cure all these offenses, and that is to give the people a chance to live. There is no other way, and there never was any other way since the world began, and the world is so blind and so stupid that it will not see. If every man and woman and child in the world had a chance to make a decent, fair, honest living, there would be no jails, and no lawyers and no courts. There might be some person here or there with some peculiar formation of his brain—like Rockefeller—who would do these things simply to be doing them; but they would be very, very few, and those should be sent to a hospital and treated, not sent to jail; and they would entirely disappear in the second generation, or at least in the third generation.

I am not talking pure theory. I will just give you two or three illustrations. The English people once punished criminals by sending them away. They would load them on a ship and export them to Australia. England was owned by lords and nobles and rich people. They owned the whole earth

over there, and the other people had to stay in the streets. They could not get a decent living. They used to take their criminals and send them to Australia—I mean the class of criminals who got caught. When these criminals got over there, and nobody else had come, they had the whole continent to run over, and so they could raise sheep and furnish their own meat, which is easier than stealing it; these criminals then became decent, respectable people because they had a chance to live. They did not commit any crimes. They were just like the English people who sent them there, only better. And in the second generation the descendants of those criminals were as good and respectable class of people as there were on the face of the earth, and then they began building churches and jails themselves.

A portion of this country was settled in the same way, landing prisoners down on the southern coast; but when they got here and had the whole continent to run over and plenty of chances to make a living, they became respectable citizens, making their own living just like any other citizen in the world; but finally these descendants of the English aristocracy, who sent the people over to Australia, found out they were getting rich, and so they went over to get possession of the earth as they always do, and they organized land syndicates and got control of the land and ores, and then they had just as many criminals in Australia as they did in England. It was not because the world had grown bad; it was because the earth had been taken away from the people.

Some of you people have lived in the country. It's prettier than it is in here. And if you have ever lived on a farm you understand that if you put a lot of cattle in a field, when the pasture is short they will jump over the fence; but put them in a good field where there is plenty of pasture, and they will be law-abiding cattle to the end of time. The human animal is just like the rest of the animals, only a little more so. The same thing that governs in the one governs in the other.

Everybody makes his living along the lines of least resistance. A wise man who comes into a country early sees a great undeveloped land. For instance, our rich men twenty-five years ago saw that Chicago was small and knew a lot of people would come here and settle, and they readily saw that if they had all the land around here it would be worth a good deal, so they grabbed the land. You cannot be a landlord because somebody has got it all. You must find some other calling. In England and Ireland and Scotland less than five per cent own all the land there is, and the people are bound to stay there on any kind of terms the landlords give. They must live the best they can, so they develop all these various professions: burglary, picking pockets and the like.

Again, people find all sorts of ways of getting rich. These are diseases like everything else. You look at people getting rich, organizing trusts, and making a million dollars, and somebody gets the disease and he starts out. He catches it just as a man catches the mumps or the measles; he is not to blame; it is in the air. You will find men speculating beyond their means, because the mania of money-getting is taking possession of them. It is simply a disease; nothing more, nothing less. You cannot avoid catching it; but the fellows who have control of the earth have the advantage of you. See what the law is: When these men get control of things, they make the laws. They do not make the laws to protect anybody; courts are not instruments of justice; when your case gets into court it will make little difference whether you are guilty or innocent; but it's better if you have a smart lawyer. And you cannot have a smart lawyer unless you have money. First and last it's a question of money.

Those men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so the fellow on the outside cannot get in. The laws are really organized for the protection of the men who rule the world. They are not made to do justice. They were never organized or enforced to do justice. We have no system for doing justice, not the slightest in the world.

Let me illustrate: Take the poorest person in this room. If the community had provided a system of doing justice the poorest person in this room would have as good a lawyer as the richest, would he not? When you went into court you would have just as long a trial, and just as fair a trial as the richest person in Chicago. Your case would not be tried in fifteen or twenty minutes, whereas it would take fifteen days to get through with a rich man's case.

Then, if you were rich and were beaten, your case would be taken to the appellate court. A poor man case

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SOCIALISM IN FOREIGN LANDS

By E. Untermyer in the International Socialist Review

Russia.

The following secret circular of the minister of war, A. Kuropatkin, speaks for itself:

To the Commanding Officer of the District Troops:

Dear Sir—The attempts of the political agitators to carry their propaganda into the army, which were formerly of rare occurrence, have greatly augmented of late and reached such a degree of insolence that I consider it of the highest importance to direct your attention to them.

The reports of the commanding officers and of the ministers of the interior and of justice show that proclamations were distributed during May, 1901, in the barracks of the 116th Malojaroslavl infantry. During the same month the captain of the staff of the 141st Moshajski infantry received two pamphlets entitled, "Politics and the Officers" and "Abolition of the Standing Army," the contents of which were highly seditious. During August of the same year all officers of the 27th infantry division received proclamations of a Wina group of Socialists entitled, "To the Officers," in which the officers were blamed for becoming the executioners of "honest workmen" at the command of their superiors, and in which they were entreated to renounce this "heinous role." A copy of this proclamation was later (February, 1902) sent by mail to the officers of the Moscow garrison, and the officers' sharpshooting school received them by the same agency. In January, 1902, the sub-lieutenant, Teljiminov, of the 9th Siberian grenadiers, received a letter which attacked the government and incited the soldiers to refuse military service. It was furthermore ascertained that during the same month a dangerous letter entitled, "The Soldier's Lord's Prayer," had been written by hand and multiplied by lithography in the bureaux of the government, in which the soldiers were incited against their superiors. This letter was distributed among the soldiers of the 65th Moscow regiment of his majesty, the 64th Butyrski regiment, and the 21st Belorussian dragoons. In February and March the officers of the Petersburg garrison received proclamations calling upon them to join the students in making political demonstrations to the government. In April the officers of the 1st division again received from the "Social Democratic Party of Russia," in which they were asked to join the "Pan-American revolutionary movement." During the same month there were found in the courts of the barracks of the Krassnoarsk garrison proclamations of the Siberian Social Democratic Organization, entitled, "To the Troops of the Krassnoarsk Garrison," calling on the troops not to use their rifles against their brothers, the peasants and workers who were fighting for a just cause. In the same April and May a large number of leaflets entitled, "To the Soldiers," inciting to disobedience against the Tsar and to an overthrow of the government, were distributed among the privates of the 18th infantry division. Furthermore, personal attempts of the agitators to influence the privates of the same division were observed, and it was found that many of the agitators were privates in the marine corps stationed in Sebastopol. In March, 1902, an organized propaganda was discovered among the privates of the Jekaterinobol grenadiers, which did not originate from the people outside of the army, but from the privates themselves. At the head of this organization stood Private Aischanski, of the above-named regiment, a man of noble birth, who on being drafted into the service had purposely waived his right to short service for the sake of making propaganda among the privates. During his term Aischanski has carried on an energetic propaganda for the revolutionary ideas, by personal conversation with the privates, and by distributing a great number of pamphlets, proclamations and other publications. Some privates have directly assisted him in this criminal

work, others have been guilty of not preventing and not reporting these doings. It is also worthy of special mention that among those guilty of causing the agrarian disturbances in the southern governments there was a sub-lieutenant of the 133d Sphero-pol regiment, named Passjko, who was proven to have distributed pamphlets and proclamations of a vicious nature among the peasants of the Politava government, and confessed his guilt.

These examples will certainly not exhaust the instances of revolutionary propaganda recently found in the army. There is reason to believe that many cases have not only remained unknown to the higher instances, but also to the local authorities, thanks to the well-known caution and conspiracy of the "underground" agitators. But the examples mentioned show clearly enough that the revolutionary and Socialist groups are strenuously active in spreading their ideas among the soldiers. This is not only evident from the mailing of seditious literature to officers and privates, but also from the fact that many agitators were in active service for the purpose of personal propaganda.

Considering it a matter of highest importance for the state to preserve the army against those false political doctrines, I have ordered the supreme military court to earnestly weigh the question of suppressing the sad phenomena mentioned above, and I also consider it my duty to request your honor to give me your opinion as to the means which you regard as the most necessary and practical.

Germany.

The struggle of the minority parties against the "hunger tariff" of the agrarian and clerical majority is raging fiercely in the reichstag. The Socialists are using their best efforts to defeat the robbing schemes of the exploiters by all legal means, but as yet the majority is too strong and too sure of its power to abandon their insolent attitude. There are unmistakable signs that the agrarians will finally make a compromise with the government and accept a somewhat lower tariff than originally demanded by them. At the same time, the majority is trying to walk roughshod over all parliamentary rules and to carry its demands by brutal force. The Socialists are obstructing this propaganda of the deed in every legal way possible, discussing every article of the tariff with minute care, and holding the speaker's stand for hours. Comrade Antrick proved a thorn in the agrarian side by speaking for three and a half hours, and Comrade Stadthagen aggravated them still more by holding the platform for four and a half hours. Still, the ultimate acceptance of the tariff can hardly be averted. The final verdict will rest with the people.

How this verdict would be if the German workmen had the advantage of a just suffrage, is not doubtful. The recent Landtag elections have again shown unmistakably in what direction the political wind is blowing. In Oldenburg, the Socialists gained five new seats, making a total representation of six. In Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, the Socialists now hold eight of the sixteen seats, and no law can be carried into effect without their consent. In Mayence, the two old mandates were maintained by the Socialists with 2,987, against 1,379 clerical and 699 liberal votes. In Offenbach, the Socialists received a majority of 400. In Heilbronn, Wurttemberg, the Socialists won with 2,577 against 2,397 capitalist votes. Two Socialists councilors were elected in each of the little towns of Eisenberg and Schmolln. Dusseldorf, a clerical stronghold, for the first time saw the Socialists take part in a Landtag election and was "thrilled to the bone" by seeing them rout all other parties with the exception of the clericals, whose candidates must now try a second ballot against the Socialists under conditions that make a clerical victory by no means certain. In Glessen, the Socialists made their first appearance in Landtag politics and polled 234 votes, against 686 of the capitalist parties.

While the hunger tariff is thus opening the eyes of the German workmen to their class interests, the effects of the commercial crisis are still felt in all parts of the empire. The "Herbergen," those proletarian hostels of the wandering and employment-seeking workers, gave shelter to 2,690,632 of them for 3,590,254 nights of the past year, or 25 per cent more than the previous year. The number of journeymen without means of support increased 37.5 per cent, while 12.92 per cent more paid for their board and lodging in the "Herbergen" than during the previous year. Not less than 759,057 destitute men begged for a night's lodging at those places. The employment agencies connected with those hostels found work for only 108,505 men.

The following Associated Press dispatch adds some more unwilling testimony to the hypocrisy of capitalism: Berlin, Nov. 25.—The Socialist organ, Vorwaerts, in a page and a half today, deals with what it calls the "hypocrisy of idealizing Herr Krupp as a benevolent genius." The paper does not touch on the immediate charges which it brought against the decadent, but analyzes the pension system of the Krupp firm, which, it says, is a "species of refined swindling," adding:

"The enormous so-called benevolent funds have been built up by compulsory contributions from the employes, who could be arbitrarily deprived of participation in their advantages. They are required to contribute 2-1/2 per cent of their wages for twenty years before they are eligible to a pension upon disability. In the meantime, if an employe is discharged or resigns, he loses all he has contributed, often exceeding \$250."

"The employes are morally and economically terrorized and must in humility accept every petty regulation of the firm's officials or lose 2-1/2 per cent of what they have earned in firm's service. This terrorism is applied to political opinions when they become known."

"The number of men leaving or discharged during the past three years averaged 7,000 or 8,000 yearly. The employes found the system so unsatisfactory that five great meetings were held this year for the purpose of seeking legal redress."

The paper also quotes the German budget committee proceedings as showing that the Krupp works have been charging the navy \$100 per ton above what the United States pays for nickel-steel plates, amounting yearly to \$750,000 for Herr Krupp and the Strum works. The attack on Herr Krupp and the intense sensation which they have created have caused a furious political discussion, the Socialists calling attention to the degenerating influence of great wealth and the Conservatives pointing out "the desperate character of the Socialist attack upon the existing order of society."

France.

The general strike of the French miners closely followed the course of the American miners' strike, even to the point of an arbitration committee appointed by Premier Combes. It was also the object of a two days' debate in parliament. Comrades Jaures and Basley illustrated the injustice of the coal barons by abundant, statistical material and showed conclusively that there was not the least necessity for the reduction of wages that was the immediate cause of the strike. From the beginning of 1898 to the middle of 1900 the average price of coal had almost doubled. The dividends of the coal barons increased from 40 millions in 1898-99 to 60 millions in 1899-1900, and to 105 millions the next year. Besides, they saved 180 millions per year for the reserve fund. The wages of the strikers, partly raised by the help of strikes, increased 11 millions in 1899, 21 millions in 1900, or in all from 183 to 215 millions. But at the same time the number of workers increased by 5,000 in 1899 and 9,000 in 1900, and during these two years the increase of day's work was \$213,000 over that of previous years, or a total of \$15,000,000 more for additional workers, so that the actual in-

crease of wages was only \$17,000,000. But the profits of the coal barons were 245 millions. These figures could not be disputed by the corporations, and they contented themselves with upbraiding the government for not protecting the "right to work" of the scabs. This was, however, mere subterfuge, for the government has not only sent them ample military protection, but the soldiers and gendarmes also acted as "pullers-in" and tried to persuade the strikers to go back to work. Some of the gendarmes overstepped their authority, shooting strikers without provocation. The Socialists made this a subject for an interpellation of the government, but the chamber passed a vote of confidence, in which Jaures and the ministerials, with seven exceptions, joined. The revolutionary Socialists introduced the following resolution, which was defeated, Millerand abstaining from voting: "The Chamber condemns the armed intervention of the government in strikes, as it is directed entirely against the strike and the strikers on the pretense of protecting the right to work. The government is requested to withdraw the troops at once. The Chamber resolves to consider the questions involved in the strike (eight-hour day, minimum wage, and old age pensions) during the present session in the interest of the miners."

The committee of arbitration rendered such flagrantly unjust decisions that the majority of the miners voted to continue the strike and demand new negotiations.

Italy.

A series of bloody conflicts between striking peasants and gendarmes have thrown the press of the country into a state of excitement which threatens to lead to serious disturbances. The investigations made by a committee of Socialist representatives show that the gendarmes fired from ambush without being threatened by a crowd, and that they simply murdered the strikers. It has been also found out that the news about the recent occurrences in Giarratana, Sicily, passed through the hands of the prefect Modica, who acted as censor and destroyed all evidence that might have been damaging to the gendarmes. There will be a lively discussion of these incidents at the opening of the legislative session, and signs are not wanting that there will be a pronounced difference of opinion between Turati and Ferri in regard to the position which should be taken by the Socialist representatives toward the government. Turati is trying to make capital for his pet tendency out of the occurrences, blaming, among others, Ferri for the spilling of the blood, on the plea that "revolutionary" propaganda leads to violence. According to his philosophy, quietism and opportunism are the only civilized means of Socialist propaganda. A recent Associated Press dispatch states that Ferri will be in favor of withdrawing the support of the Socialists from the present ministry.

Child labor is on the increase in Italy, as in all capitalist countries. In this case it is shown especially in the rural districts. Of 8,173,389 persons employed in agriculture, 617,326 or 7.5 per cent are children. Of 73,399 persons employed in gardening, 3,743 or 5.1 per cent are children. And of 244,452 employed in stockraising, 56,973 or 23.3 per cent are children. Their wages range from 5 to 10 cents per day.

Switzerland.

The recent elections for the Nationalrat have resulted in the election of seven Socialists. In 1899 this body consisted of 147 members. There were 84 Radicals, 32 Clericals, 18 Protestant Conservatives, 7 members of the Social Political Group, 4 Socialists and 2 Democrats. The increase of the population increased the membership to 167. Proportional representation has been a failure, from the Socialist standpoint, because the apportionment is made by the ruling authority, who do not give the minority their just dues.

Mayor got 865 votes, a gain of 344. At Fitchburg, Mass., the vote was 581, a gain of 399. At Lawrence, Mass., the vote was 201, a gain of 49. At Quincy, Mass., 283, gain of 95.

A CELEBRATED WATERING PLACE

"And what is this?" asked the visitor as they reached Wall street.

"This," replied the city friend, "is Wall street. It is the most celebrated of all American watering places."

TERMINAL FACILITIES.

"Look here, Pete," said a knowing darkey to his companion, "doan stan on de railroad." "Why?" asked Pete. "Kase if de cars see dat mouf ob yours dey will tink it am de depo' an run right in."

CRIME AND CRIMINALS

(Continued from Page Two.)

not take his case to the appellate court; he has not the price; and then to the supreme court, and if he were beaten there he might perhaps go to the United States supreme court. And he might die of old age before he got into jail. If you are poor, it's a quick job. You are almost known to be guilty, else you would not be there. Why should anyone be in the criminal court if he were not guilty? He would not be there if he could be anywhere else. The officials have no time to look after all these cases. The people who are on the outside, who are running banks and building churches and making jails, they have no time to examine 600 or 700 prisoners each year to see whether they are guilty or innocent. If the courts were organized to promote justice the people would elect somebody to defend all these criminals, somebody as smart as the prosecutor—and give him as many detectives and as many assistants to help, and pay as much money to defend you as to prosecute you. We have a very able man for state's attorney, and he has many assistants, detectives and policemen without end, and judges to hear the cases—everything handy.

Most all of our criminal code consists in offenses against property. People are sent to jail because they have committed a crime against property. It is of very little consequence whether one hundred people more or less go to jail who ought not to go—you must protect property, because in this world property is of more importance than anything else.

How is it done? These people who have property fix it so they can protect what they have. When somebody commits a crime it does not follow that he has done something that is morally wrong. The man on the outside who has committed no crime may have done something. For instance: to take all the coal in the United States and raise the price \$2 or \$3 when there is no need of it, and thus kill thousands of babies and send thousands of people to the poorhouse and tens of thousands to jail, as is done every year in the United States—this is a greater crime than all the people in our jails ever committed, but the law does not punish it. Why? Because the fellows who control the earth make the laws. If you and I had the making of the laws, the first thing we would do would be to punish the fellow who gets control of the earth. Nature put this coal in the ground just as much for me as it did for anyone, and nature made the prairies up here to raise wheat for me as well as for them; and then the great railroad companies came along and fenced it up.

Most all of the crimes for which we are punished are property crimes. There are a few personal crimes, like murder—but they are very few. The crimes committed are mostly those against property. If this punishment is right the criminals must have a lot of property. How much money is there in this crowd? And yet you are all here for crimes against property. The people up and down the lake shore have not committed crime, still they have so much property they don't know what to do with it. It is perfectly plain why these people have not committed crimes against property; they make the laws and therefore do not need to break them. And in order for you to get some property you are obliged to break the rules of the game. I don't know but what some of you may have had a very nice chance to get rich by carrying the hod for one dollar a day, twelve hours, and instead of taking that nice, easy profession, you are a burglar. If you had been given a chance to be a banker you would rather follow that. Some of you may have had a chance to work as a switchman on a railroad where you know according to statistics that you cannot live and keep all your limbs more than seven years, and you can get fifty dollars or seventy-five dollars a month for taking your lives in your hands, and instead of taking that lucrative position you choose to be a sneak thief, or something like that. Some of you made that sort of choice. I don't know which I would take if I were reduced to this choice. I have an easier choice.

I will guarantee to take from this jail, or any jail in the world, five hundred men who have been the worst criminals and law-breakers who ever got into jail, and I will go down to our lowest streets and take 500 of the most abandoned prostitutes, and go out somewhere where there is plenty of land, and will give them a chance to make a living, and they will be as good people as the average in the community.

There is a remedy for the sort of condition we see here. The world never finds it out, or when it does find it out it does not enforce it. You may pass a law punishing every person with death for burglary, and it will make no difference. Men will commit it just the same. In England there was a time when 100 different offenses

were punishable with death, and it made no difference. The English people strangely found out that so fast as they repealed the severe penalties and so fast as they did away with punishing men by death, crime decreased instead of increased; that the smaller the penalty the fewer the crimes.

Hanging men in our county jails does not prevent murder. It makes murderers.

And this has been the history of the world. It's easy to see how to do away with what we call crime. It is not so easy to do it. I will tell you how to do it. It can be done by giving the people a chance to live—by destroying special privileges. So long as big criminals can get the coal fields, so long as the big criminal has control of the city council and gets the public streets for street cars and gas rights, this is bound to send thousands of poor people to jail. So long as men are allowed to monopolize all the earth, and compel others to live on such terms as these men see fit to make, then you are bound to get into jail.

The only way in the world to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Give men a chance to live. Abolish the right of the private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the good things of life. Nobody would steal if he could get something of his own some easier way. Nobody will commit burglary when his house is full. No girl will go out on the streets when she has a comfortable place at home. The man who owns a sweatshop or a department store may not be to blame himself for the condition of his girls, but when he pays them five dollars, three dollars, and two dollars a week, I wonder where he thinks they will get the rest of their money to live. The only way to cure these conditions is by equality. There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out, there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorize nobody. They are a blot upon any civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed.

Socialism in Ten Years.

(Emil Zola.)

I believe that in less than ten years we will see great rents occur in the social fabric, almost simultaneously on all points. I believe that in less than twenty years, though it were idle to expect the realization of all we want in that time, profound political, economical and purely social modifications will have bettered the world considerably, brought a greater total sum of happiness, made the good things of life more evenly, therefore more equitably, divided.

I also believe that we soon will abolish the abnormal privilege of inheriting wealth; it will be abolished on the same principle that made us republicans already deny the inheritance of the scepter. The two things are one.

In fact, it is much more absurd that a young Vanderbilt or Castellane, with a possible commercial value of \$25 a week, should inherit millions, than that it would be to permit the sons of McKinley and Loubet to rule us because their fathers did.

To think that even today Socialism—the wonderful doctrine of salvation scientifically and practically irrefutable though it is compelled to gain converts slowly, one by one, condemned without hearing by most people, its advocates driven from every point of vantage—the church, pulpit, the university hall, the editorial chair! Why, to make Socialism go down your progressive American throats Edward Bellamy (he said so himself) was compelled to sugar-coat it with the fiction "Looking Backward!" These are facts which must be bravely uncovered to the public's gaze. But after all, I am not a pessimist. Deploring the present I look forward into this pregnant new century with joyful confidence.

This Bishop is Amazed.

Archbishop Keane, of Dubuque, says:

"When I look about me and note on every hand the evidences of the rapid growth of Socialism, I am appalled and can scarce credit my own senses.

"For it is only a few years ago that it seemed to me that there never could be room or occasion on this free American soil, where men are equal before the law, and where opportunity seems boundless and limitless, for the growth of Socialism.

"And, yet, today Socialism is growing, and growing rapidly, an evil extreme to be avoided, with anarchy the other extreme. Truth lies in the middle, half way between the state of laissez faire and that of public absolutism, and it is there that we should seek the remedy."

The bishop sees it in a different light from that of Zola's in our first article. But he is like the rest of his kind, who pray that the kingdom of heaven may come upon earth, and then look "red-eyed" at every practical attempt to bring it about.

The Victory in Brockton.

The following is from the local columns of the Brockton Enterprise the day after election:

Joyously the Socialists streamed in from the highways and byways last evening to unite in one conquering army that literally swept the city and carried the prestige of victory into the very heart of the territory taken from the enemy. Election night may come and go, but it is a question if there will ever be another like last night, another so vivid with picturesque details, or so sweeping in the force and strength of its enthusiasm.

The Socialist demonstration was a memorable one. Beginning in the early evening, far not for an instant did the rank and file of the estate, the leaders feel any doubt as to the success of the evening at midnight with the cheering and singing in the streets.

was not a single break in the ranks or a moment of depression.

Before 8 o'clock Coulter's election was assured and hundreds of Socialists had gathered at the headquarters on Center street, Lasers' hall, at the corner of Main and East Elm street, and other points.

When the vote was announced for a certainty, with figures to substantiate the announcement, and with it the news of the election of three Socialist aldermen, eight Socialist common councilmen and two members of the school board, joy knew no bounds, and poured forth like a torrent released.

Chairman Charles T. Laird, of the Socialist city committee, was marshal of the parade. Music was furnished by the Socialist band of twenty pieces, John J. Cox leader. Every man was in uniform. Mayor-elect Charles H.

Coulter marched at the head of the army that followed.

The rally in Perkins' Park did not commence until nearly midnight.

Haverhill May Win. At Haverhill we lost only by 14 votes.

It now appears that enough blank ballots were counted for the republicans to insure the election of the Socialist comrade, Flanders, on a recount. The case will be carried to the supreme court.

Elsewhere.

At Portland, Me., the Socialists cast enough votes to tie up the election under the law that a candidate has to have a majority or there is no election. Our comrades polled 441 votes.

At Springfield our candidate for

American Labor Union Journal

Published Weekly by the American Labor Union.

Fifty Cents Per Year, in Advance.

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1903.

The Denver Situation.

The "peace" plan proposed in Denver last week is a plan that would secure peace at the expense of a complete surrender of the independent, aggressive, class-conscious spirit of the American Labor Union to the treacherous, arbitrary, scab-herding tactics of the A. F. of L.

The plan proposes a union of labor forces in Denver, on the following basis:

- First—All locals must affiliate with Internationals (A. F. of L.).
Second—The Central Body must affiliate with the A. F. of L.
Third—Standing committee to be maintained to induce all locals to affiliate with nationals (A. F. of L.).
Fourth—No organizer to be recognized unless endorsed by Assembly (chartered by A. F. of L.).
Fifth—No union to be admitted to Assembly unless organized by organizer endorsed by Assembly (A. F. of L.) and affiliated with national.
Sixth—Committee to be appointed for purpose of amalgamating legitimate unions with scabs recently organized.

While the above is not the exact reading of the proposed "peace" plan. It is the exact meaning of same, and we challenge anyone to deny it.

Union men must want "peace" very badly when they will sacrifice the basic principles of unionism to secure it. This is just what every supporter of this proposed "peace" plan will do.

Affiliation is the rock on which the A. F. of L. has almost wrecked unionism in Denver. By insisting that there could be no unionism except by means of eastern affiliation, the A. F. of L. lost the support of every real unionist in Colorado. Then the eastern organization formed unions of scabs of all crafts connected with the American Labor Union, and not affiliated with the A. F. of L. Now, when union men everywhere are condemning this treachery, and threaten to desert the A. F. of L. unless it is stopped, the representatives of the A. F. of L. have the brazen nerve to put forward a plan for peace which practically endorses their dirty work for the past two years and provides for taking the scabs into the fold of organized labor.

Sterling principled manhood and unionism will not consider this "harmony" plan for an instant.

The fact is, there is already perfect "peace" and "harmony" in Denver so far as the American Labor Union is concerned. The first fighting was done by the A. F. of L., and all of the fighting is being done by that organization. Gompers and his crowd are the only people out of harmony, and they can establish permanent and lasting peace in a day if they choose. All they need to do is to practice the principles of organization and abandon the work of disruption; grant charters to all unions wishing to affiliate with the A. F. of L., and grant absolute freedom of choice to all unions as to whether they will affiliate with the American Labor Union or any other organization.

The "peace" plan is a plan to force all unions to join the A. F. of L. Therefore it is no peace plan at all, but a straightforward declaration of war to all local unions opposed to the principles and policies of Gompers and his gang.

Locals and friends of the American Labor Union will continue as before—in absolute independence and defiance of the A. F. of L. until the A. F. of L. ceases fighting the A. L. U.

Every day lately the papers have contained accounts of frightful train wrecks, resulting in great loss of life. It is safe to say that in the United States alone during the past seven days fully two hundred people have been killed outright, and as many more severely injured in train wrecks. Occasionally these wrecks are unavoidable, occurring through causes that could not be foreseen nor prevented, but in a majority of cases they are the direct result of insufficient force to run the trains, overworked employees or inadequate protection through lack of ordinary safeguards and appliances. This is all directly traceable to the fact that railroads, like all other industries under capitalism, are operated for profit and not for use. The companies secure the greatest possible profits through the least possible outlay for labor and appliances for safeguarding the lives and limbs of employees and passengers. Under Socialism, railroads would be

Subscribers, Attention!

We are just as anxious for you to get your paper as you are to get it. If you are not receiving the Journal regularly, we are willing to do a great deal more to insure its prompt and regular delivery to you than you are willing to do for yourself. Try us.

This week we have received word from Murray, Utah, and from Lynn, Mass., that subscribers in those cities are not receiving their papers. We know these papers are mailed weekly, and this week personal care was taken that both bundles were properly delivered to the Butte office. If subscribers in these places do not receive last week's paper (Dec. 25) and every issue hereafter we want to know it. With the proper care we can locate the cause of all this trouble, and can prevent it in the future.

Last week we trapped neatly and unmistakably a postoffice that had been withholding papers from subscribers. Whether intentional or not, of course we could not say, but the annoyance to this office and to subscribers was just as great in either case.

If you have paid for the Journal, demand it every week. Then if you do not receive it, notify this office. We will look the matter up as carefully as if a thousand dollars were involved in it.

At the same time remember that in sending lists of subscribers all names and addresses must be written clearly and distinctly. From the careless way some subscriptions are sent in it is no wonder all papers do not reach the correct addresses.

Help us correct all errors.

operated for use and not for profit.

There would be the strictest economy in the operation of the roads, but this economy would be in the employment of the best and most scientific methods, rather than in the matter of low wages and long hours. In fact, we would have operation for use instead of operation for profit as at present. The convenience, comfort, and safety of all the people, whether workers or employees, would be the first and only consideration.

The theft of a number of valuable sacred articles from a Catholic church in Butte, Montana, recently, shows the character of men developed by our present society. Another evidence of the futility of trying to make angels of people with surroundings of hell. Churches would find it easier to make Christians of people in a civilization conducive to Christianity than in a system of society which breeds criminals by placing a premium upon crime. That is why every church ought to be friendly to the Socialist movement.

Socialism is the only form of society that takes into account the frailties of human nature and provides therefor. Capitalism so arranges society that the strong in mind and body, and the unscrupulous in principle, can oppress the weak and exploit (rob) the unsuspecting. The Socialist government will establish itself on the basis that every worker, either hand or brain, is entitled to the wealth he creates, and provisions will be made accordingly.

Judge Valle, of Chicago, in deciding that unions cannot boycott, has taken from the old pure and simple trades unionists one of their most important weapons. This is only another significant feature of the class struggle, and one which proves absolutely that there can be no permanent relief for the working class so long as the enactment and execution of the law is in the hands of the capitalist class.

All the Gomperses and pure and simpliers in the land cannot keep politics out of the union. Events will make labor class conscious politically, and if Gompers, with his little broom, attempts to stem the tide, he will be swept onto the breakers with the other debris.

A general failure of the sardine catch of France is reported.

OFFICIAL.

It being found absolutely necessary to provide a system of membership for friends of the American Labor Union in isolated localities, and in places where the organization is not represented by local unions, a plan for individual membership has been adopted by the general officers. This plan is, of course, only temporary, and the system of individual membership will be perfected by a regular law to be submitted in a proper way and adopted by referendum vote at a later date. The plan in operation at present is necessarily crude and imperfect, but it meets the emergency, and will serve until a better and more perfect law replaces it. It is as follows:

Legitimate working people in isolated places where the American Labor Union is not represented by local unions may become members of the American Labor Union upon the payment of a fee of \$2 to the general office of the American Labor Union. This fee shall entitle the payer to sign an obligation to support the principles, laws, rules, etc., of the American Labor Union, which will entitle the person obligated to full membership in the American Labor Union. The fee will pay for subscription to the Journal for one year, and a paid-up membership card for three months in advance. Thereafter the dues shall be \$1.50 per quarter, payable in advance.

Union men everywhere who are in sympathy with the aggressive, radi-

cal, fighting spirit of the American Labor Union are urged to affiliate with the organization. If there is no local in your locality, join as an individual member. Become a real worker in the cause of unionism.

SOCIALIST NOTES.

Milwaukee Socialists are organizing by precincts.

John Collins will speak for Socialism in the soft coal regions after the first of the year.

A new national labor paper will be established at Chicago by W. D. Boyce. A. M. Simons will edit a department on Socialism.

Socialists of Chicago have held city convention and nominated full ticket, headed by Chas. L. Breckon for mayor. One hundred and seventy delegates in attendance at the convention testified to the growth of the movement in Chicago.

A. S. Edwards, a Socialist speaker of note, contemplates a trip west early in the spring, and would like to correspond with state or local branches regarding dates. Comrade Edwards' address is 2152 Gladys avenue, Chicago.

ADDITIONAL LABOR NEWS.

The telephone strike at Vancouver, B. C., was settled last week, the company agreeing to recognize the union, to pay the scale and take all employees back without prejudice.

The National Brewery Workers' Union will hold a special convention in February to consider the question of jurisdiction over teamsters, stationery engineers and firemen and other crafts employed in the brewery industry.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union has officially withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor. The step had been practically decided before the annual convention at New Orleans, as the union did not send any delegates to that meeting.

A peculiar non-union union has been organized in Vancouver by the non-union carpenters. It seems to be on the lines of the Free Labor Unions that are fathered by employes in Great Britain, which the British Trades Unionist calls organized scabs. The Vancouver organization does not believe in the card system of the regular unions, and claims to aim to overcome the necessity of boycotts and strikes. It would also bring about the eight-hour day without antagonizing any persons or interests.

The cigar trust has invaded Dallas and other Texas cities and is putting up the same game as in the North, namely, whenever a dealer refuses to get in-line and handle only cigars made by the American Cigar Co., the trust sets up a store in opposition in the immediate vicinity and compels the obstreperous anti-trust dealer to go out of business or file a notice in bankruptcy. The trust sells cigars away below cost in order to clear the field of opposition, and then it will make up its losses by fixing prices to suit.

WOKE THE WRONG MAN.

A fool, a barber and a bald-headed man were traveling together. Losing their way, they were forced to sleep in the open air; and, to avert danger, it was agreed to watch by turns. The first lot fell on the barber, who, for amusement, shaved the fool's head while he was sleeping. He then awoke him, and the fool, raising his hand to scratch his head, exclaimed: "Here's a pretty mistake; you have awakened the old bald-headed man instead of me."

Subscribe for The Journal.

HUGHES' SHARPSHOOTERS

Pithy Paragraphs by a Member of the Executive Board.

Crime, suicide and insanity are frightful testimony against the capitalistic system. Time once was, before capitalism had acquired its modern power of crushing the people, that cases of suicide were rare. Now the people are exploited; the price of their labor power forced down to the point of mere subsistence and in many cases reduced to actual hunger and rags; the battle for existence has become greater than the flesh can bear—and increased crime, insanity and suicide is the result.

Last Sunday the Associated Press reported nine cases of suicide from one city alone—New York. All of these cases resulted directly from a breakdown in the fierce struggle for existence under a system that permits a few useless holders of private capital to ride rough-shod over the great mass of the people.

Not only are the workers crushed and degraded by the capitalistic system, but its horrors extend as well to the class that engages directly in its mad revel. Only the daring, cold, calculating schemers succeed, while thousands of others annually go down in the terrible crash of commercial failure and still further overcrowd the ranks of labor, or go the road of crime, insanity and suicide. We do not need the dry columns of the statistician's figures to prove this—we see ample evidence of it in our everyday experiences of life.

Those who do succeed by their greed and cunning become the absolute ruling power in our industrial and political life, and thus it is that the so-called "survival of the fittest" under the competitive system of private capitalism becomes in reality the survival of the vicious—the most unfit—just as the lion is the master of the situation in the animal kingdom by reason of his great brute force and ferociousness.

The Standard Oil Trust is a fitting example of the "survival of the fittest" under the capitalistic system. Perhaps not all the crimes that have been committed by this trust in its battle to gain commercial supremacy will ever be known to history, but enough is known of its diabolical workings to brand the system under which it has been enabled to flourish as one of the blackest in history. In the early '70s, when modern capitalism, backed by the great power of the privately owned labor-saving machinery of transportation and production, began to be sharply felt in this country, John D. Rockefeller and his associates, who were engaged in the oil business in a small way, conceived many of the methods of the modern trust and proceeded "successfully," putting all competitors out of business in a way that left a continuous trail of death and desolation in their wake to this very day—and the end is not yet. The Standard Oil Trust obtained its power by making secret agreements with the railroads by which it received large rebates on freight, not only upon its own shipments, but upon the business of all other oil shippers as well. There were many independent oil refineries at that time, but of course they could not live and do business against such odds and were in a short time forced out of the business. The oil trust's agreement with the transportation companies was secret, and for years the independent operators could not understand the cause of their failure—you see, they were not fit to survive because they were not cunning enough to get onto all the diabolical schemes of "successful" capitalistic trickery.

It is the hidden power of the capitalistic enemy under this system that makes his antagonism so uncertain and terrible to his foe. It cannot always be told where or how he will next strike—his operations are conducted with secrecy, stealth and cunning. The system of rebates and special privileges are quietly worked; the selling price is run down below the cost of production to the independent producer, and a thousand other unfair methods resorted to until the opposition is left helplessly and hopelessly crushed upon the field of battle—then, presto change! the price of the commodity goes up and the wage-earner and consumer "pays the bidder."

French capitalists tried shipping crude oil to France and refining it there. A considerable industry was built up within a few months. The Standard Oil Trust saw the danger threatened by the new competitor. It at once used its secret power to compel the railroads to force up the freight rates on crude oil, from the wells to the seaboard, to a prohibitive figure. The competition in France was thus crushed and Rockefeller and his associates retained their monopoly of the world's oil trade.

ST. PETER AND THE GATE.

(By G. C. S. Charger.)

St. Peter stood guard at the golden gate
With solemn men and an air sedate,
When up at the top of the golden stair
A shrouded figure ascended there,
Applied for admission. He came and stood
Before St. Peter, so great and good,
In hope the City of Peace to win,
And asked St. Peter to let him in.

"O' thou who guardest the gate," said he

"I have come hither, beseeching thee
To let me enter the Heavenly Land
And play a harp in the angel band.
Of me, St. Peter, there is no doubt,
There's nothing from Heaven to bar me out.

I've been to meeting three times a week,
And almost always I'd rise and speak.

"I've told the sinners about the day
When they'd repent of their evil way.
I've told my neighbors—I've told them all—
Of Adam and Eve and the primal fall,
I've talked to them loud, I've talked to them long,

For my lungs are good and my voice is strong.
I've marked their path of duty clear,
And laid out the plan of their whole career.

"So, good St. Peter, you'll clearly see
That the gate of Heaven is open to me.
Here's the company's letter of recommend,
Which I hope you'll read before you send

For the angel guide to the throne of grace—
It might gain for me a higher place.
You'll find I was always content to live
On whatever the company cared to give.

"And I ought to get a large reward
For never owning a union card.
I've never grumbled, I've never struck,
I've never mixed with union truck.
But I must be going, my way to win,
So open, St. Peter, and let me in."

St. Peter sat and stroked his staff,
Despite his high office he had to laugh.
Said he, with a fiery gleam in his eye,
"Who is tending this gate, sir, you or I?
I've heard of you and your gab;
You are what is known as a scab."

Thereupon he rose in his stature tall
And pressed a button upon the wall,
And said to the imp who answered the bell,
"Escort this fellow around to Hell.
"Tell Satan to give him a seat alone
On a red-hot griddle up near the throne.
But stay, 'e'en the Devil can't stand
The smell
Of a cooking scab on a griddle in Hell.
It would cause a revolt, a strike, I know,
If I sent you down to the imps below.
Go back to your masters on earth and tell
That they don't even want a scab in Hell."

WOULD CHARGE FOR IT.

An editor suggests that "if a fee of fifty cents were charged to see the sun rise, nine-tenths of the world would be up in the morning."

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International Socialist Review, one year, any one book in the Standard Socialist Series, and this paper one year, all for one dollar.

All signs point to an overwhelming increase in the ranks of American Socialists within the next few months. The only danger is that the mass of new and uninformed converts may make serious mistakes. The great need of the hour is for more well-informed socialists.

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Address AMERICAN LABOR UNION JOURNAL, Box 1067, Butte, Montana.

News Notes from the Field of Labor

TOLD BY CORRESPONDENTS

LARAMIE UNION PROGRESSING.

Interesting Notes From an Up to Date Organization.

Laramie, Wyo., Dec. 24, 1902.

Dear Comrade—We are getting in some very fine people in our union, whose influence for good will be very great.

Committees have been appointed on legislation and other matters, and we will be found asking legislation for the worker who works instead of the shirker who shirks at the coming legislature.

Marion E. Davis, one of our staunch members, contemplates a visit to his old home at Kansas City.

Our Socialist meetings every Sunday afternoon have now a good attendance. Choice extracts from the Journal and from the writings of the great teachers are read and discussed.

James Atkinson, a prominent sheepman, and Mrs. Atkinson are always present at Sunday meetings, when in town, and they are doing good work for the cause, as they are old, well-to-do and respected members of society.

Ten copies of Prof. Mills' new magazine, the Socialist Teacher, were ordered for a trial trip last week, and a systematic course of instruction will be mapped out for the coming year.

Prof. F. W. Ott, member of the executive board of our union, will retire as president of our union at the close of the year.

Mr. Ott's paper, the Laramie Times, bristles with Socialism and unionism every week and he will continue to do effective work through that medium of communication.

William L. O'Neill, candidate for

state auditor on our ticket, is a very useful member. He is at work with several of the comrades in the stucco works near town, but always finds time to do much work for us.

The strike of the machinists on the Union Pacific system is near a close. It is believed that a settlement will soon be reached, as many of the imported workmen are getting into jail and other congenial places, and the trains are being delayed by reason of sick engines and rotten machinery.

They have committed no acts of violence, but have left that to the other side, and have ever acted as gentlemen and scholars, as they are, every one of them.

William L. Brandis, one of the veterans of the civil war, was offered the position of justice of the peace here, at a good salary, on the democratic ticket, but he declined as he was a Socialist, and would not sail under false colors.

He is librarian of the reading room of the union and keeps open doors every evening. His spare time is devoted to reading and he is now wiser than the children of light.

They never know defeat, and arguments with them are not courted for that reason by anybody.

Frank Rice is treasurer of the union and keeps all the accounts straight. He is one of our leading business men and is one of the most intelligent advocates of true unionism.

Louis Marquardt, our able and efficient secretary, is doing valuable work for the union and for Socialism. He stood by his guns, when the cause was weak, and rejoices over the fact that he sees the beginning of the end.

Cattle and sheep have declined in prices and these being the backbone

of all our business, there is some complaint. Our ranchmen are asking for Socialist literature and many extra copies of the Journal with the Appeal to Reason and Wilshire's Magazine have gone out into the country, and will be read thoroughly these long winter nights.

Our state needs a good shaking up, and now is the time, between elections, to do it. A few of the brethren and comrades have burdened themselves with work and have expended money to spread the coming gospel, but more are needed to make sacrifices and engage in the work.

The Democracy in this state had quite a Socialist platform in the last election. They declared for public ownership of public utilities wherever practicable, and they secured some of our votes.

What we most need is to cultivate the spirit of brotherhood, to get our people together, stop dissensions and cultivate each other.

We must not split hairs over leadership or methods, but settle all minor differences and meet the common enemy with a bold and compact front.

The Brotherhood Growing. Seattle, Wash., Dec. 28, 1902. Edr. American Labor Union Journal. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employes has opened a large division here which is designated as Seattle No. 83.

money would be raised to commence building.

Butte Street Carmen's Union No. 35, A. L. U., met Friday night, and the session was prolonged until nearly 4 o'clock Saturday morning.

The following were selected to direct the destinies of the union for the ensuing term: President, L. W. McGrew; vice-president, L. G. Vaughn; secretary J. E. Rhelm; treasurer, E. D. Davies; inside guard, Marco Mischel; guide, Dan Brooks; trustees, M. C. Mustard, George Scott, Peter Leyden.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Some people have queer ideas of what Socialism means. They confound it with anarchy, dividing up and free love and other absurd statements.

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

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

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

SAVING THE CONSTITUTION. Arguing for the suspension bill in Ireland, Sir Boyle Roche is reported to have said: "It would be better, Mr. Speaker, to give up not only a part, but if necessary even the whole, of our constitution to preserve the remainder."

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

At the second regular weekly meeting of the division, which was held here today, sixty-one new members were initiated.

Practically all the railway clerks and freight handlers employed by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railways at this point have joined the Brotherhood.

Arrangements are now being made to open divisions at Everett, Tacoma and Spokane Falls.

Fraternally, GEO. ESTES, Pres. U. B. R. E.

THE FARMERS ORGANIZE.

Combine to Buy, Sell and Ship Their Products.

Missoula, Mont., Dec. 20, 1902. Editor American Labor Union Journal:

At a regular meeting on Saturday, December 20, of Farmers' Union No. 258 of Missoula the following officers were elected for the ensuing term.

President—Charles E. Coleman. Vice President—H. C. D. Collville. Secretary—Oscar F. Toombes. Treasurer—W. F. Hayworth. Guard—Otto Benson. Guide—Charles Curry.

Directors—Israel Clem, Daniel E. Bandman, H. C. D. Collville, Charles E. Coleman and Charles Hart. Manager—William Pinkham.

The farmers are beginning to realize the advantage of becoming members of the Farmers' Union, and are seeking admission at every meeting.

Letters are received almost daily by the secretary, asking for information as to the aims and objects of the union.

We hope to soon have the state of Montana farmers thoroughly organized.

In our store in Missoula we have between two and three thousand sacks of vegetables consisting of potatoes, onions, carrots, beets, turnips, in fruit we have a large quantity of apples. In grain wheat and oats.

We respectfully solicit the patronage of all union men. Yours fraternally, OSCAR F. TOOMBES, Secretary No. 258.

THE TYRANT'S SONG.

'Tis not the man with the match alight

Behind the barricade, Nor he who stoops to dynamite, That makes us feel afraid. For halter-end and prison-cell Soon quench these brief alarms; But where are found the means to quell

The man with folded arms? We dread the man who folds his arms And tells the simple truth, Whose strong, impetuous protest charms The virgin ear of youth, Who scorns the vengeance that we wreak, And smiles to meet his doom, Who on the scaffold still can speak, And preaches from the tomb.

We kill the man with dagger drawn— The man with loaded gun; They never see the morning dawn Nor hail the rising sun; But who shall slay the immortal man Whom nothing mortal harms, Who never fought and never ran— The man with folded arms? —Ernest Crosby.

OUT OF CHALK.

The following is Charles Emory Smith's story: A boy was called away from this earth and joined the great majority; and when he entered the portals of the upper sphere St. Peter told him to mount the golden stairs and, giving him a piece of chalk, directed him to leave on each step a chalk mark for some sin he had committed. After climbing a considerable distance the boy met his father coming down, and said: "What's the matter, dad; what are you coming back for?" "Out of chalk," his father answered.

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

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STUDY SOCIALISM. Trades Unionists everywhere should understand Socialism.

SOUND ADVICE FOR GOMPERS.

Urged to Cease Supplicating and to Demand Labor's Rights.

W. W. Lea, secretary of local Tailors' Union, Butte, Montana, is in receipt of a letter from President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., asking his union to adopt resolutions and forward them to the United States senators from Montana.

Following is the letter received by Mr. Lea from Gompers, with his reply to same:

"Office of American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., Dec. 15, 1902.

"W. W. Lea, Butte, Mont.:

"The eight-hour bill, H. R. 3076, has passed the house of representatives. The senate committee on education and labor will beyond doubt report the bill favorably to the senate, and it may have done so before this reaches you.

"Every local union, every central body, every state branch, every national union, should pass resolutions, or send letters, to both United States senators from their respective states, urging the prompt passage of this bill.

"Apart from organizations sending letters, officers and individual members, in their official and individual capacity, should write letters or postal cards to their senators. In this manner the effort will be effective, and the eight-hour law enacted.

"Act at once, and notify the undersigned by the inclosed postal card or otherwise to whom you have written. Also send the replies received.

"In passing resolutions or sending letters it would be advisable not to refer to your having received this circular. Fraternally yours,

"SAM'L GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Lea's reply: "Butte, Mont., Dec. 20, 1902.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir—Your circular letter of the 15th inst., asking me as secretary of local Union No. 35, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, to send letters and petitions to the United States senators of Montana at Wash-

ington on behalf of the eight-hour bill has been received.

"In reply, I wish to state that your advice to organized labor to do something for itself comes rather late in the season. The time to work for the passage of such a bill or any other working class measure, it seems to me, is before election and not after. Not only is this the more effectual way of obtaining measures favorable to organized labor, but what is more important, it is a more dignified method for the working people to adopt.

"Furthermore, if you would kindly notify me who the working class representatives are I would perhaps be able to comply with your request. As matters stand, there are two capitalists at present representing the state of Montana in the United States senate.

"Having read your remarkable speech at the last convention of the A. F. of L., in New Orleans, I am not surprised to see you still clinging to the old and wornout methods of sending begging expeditions to Washington.

"As for our union, we have discarded the old way. We believe that 'one ounce of prevention is always better than a pound of cure.' We, therefore, advocate that 'horrible' doctrine of the unions acting for their interests in the political as well as the industrial field.

"I warn you and advise you to keep your ear to the ground. The forces of organized labor will not much longer allow a set of begging lobbyists to sidetrack a movement which means the true emancipation of the working class, and which would make it unnecessary for organized labor to obtain its rights by begging letters and petitions. Yours fraternally,

"W. W. LEA, Secretary Local Union No. 25, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America."

Butte Notes.

At the meeting of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Sunday night, delegates were obligated from Workingmen's Union, Teamsters' Union, Women's Protective Union, Machinists' Union, Brewers' Union and other locals in the city.

Committee on jurisdiction was appointed for purpose of arbitrating any disputes as to jurisdiction lines that may arise.

Labor Temple committee reported that many unions and individuals are taking an active interest in the enterprise and that by spring sufficient

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Labor and the Liquor Traffic

Written for The Journal by
GEORGE W. AVERY

Kalispell, Mont., Dec. 22, 1902.
Editor American Labor Union Journal:

Dear Sir—The solution of the liquor problem is in many respects the most important question that is ever laid before the contemplation of the labor unions.

It has been said that the saloon is the working man's clubroom, and to a large extent the assertion is true. It is the only clubroom to which he has access, the only one provided for his accommodation by the majority of cities.

The atmosphere of the average reading room, where you must not speak above a whisper, is not congenial to the normal wage earner. What he wants is a clubroom specially adapted to his needs. He does not want to associate with business men, bankers and others of that class, nor could he afford to even if he wished. He wants a large, well-ventilated room in which to spend his evenings, supplied with the latest papers and periodicals, games of various kinds, a place where he can smoke, read and discuss the latest news or question with his fellowmen. These accommodations the saloon provides, and is it any wonder that the tired worker in the evening, or the lumberman or railroader after weeks or perhaps months absence from the city, finding no other provision for his comfort, has a warm place in his heart for the saloonkeeper, whose door is always ajar, his place always warm and cheerful, amusements always provided.

Do not misunderstand me. I hate the accursed liquor traffic with all the strength of a rugged nature, but I am discussing the relation of the liquor traffic to the welfare of the wage earner, and I intend to give the saloonkeeper a fair and impartial hearing.

The wage earner accepts the proffered hospitality of the saloonkeeper, but at what an enormous expense.

Fellow-workers, come with me a few minutes while we count the cost.

A Tremendous Cost.
One billion two hundred million gallons of intoxicating liquors sold and consumed in the United States annually.

One billion dollars annually passed over the counters of the retail liquor stores of the nation. Let us make a few comparisons to enable us to grasp the true meaning of these figures. This is the greatest agricultural nation on earth, it is our leading industry, yet one-third of the farm products would lack nearly \$80,000,000 annually of paying the drink bill of the people. The wealth of our mines is truly marvelous, but the entire annual product of the gold and silver mines of the States would scarcely pay the drink bill of the people six weeks, and if we include all the mines of every description, everything that is dug out of the earth it would lack \$350,000,000 of paying the annual drink bill.

The money spent on drink would furnish the people of the nation with a full and continuous supply of wheat and wheat flour, tea, coffee, sugar, raw wool and cotton, almost all the necessities of life. Let us consider the question for a few minutes from a moral standpoint. I have before me the twenty-sixth report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics, the leading article therein being entitled the relation of the liquor traffic to crime, pauperism and insanity. The figures are as reliable as it is possible to make statistical figures. The report shows that for the current year there were 26,972 convictions for crime, that 18,252 of these cases were for drunkenness or drunkenness in connection with other crimes, 69 per cent of all the crime clearly traceable to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors.

In regard to pauperism, there were 2,752 adult persons in the Massachusetts poor houses during that year, 2,077 of them were addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors, 504 were excessive drinkers, 39 per cent of them attributed their present condition to their own intemperate habits. The insane asylums contained 1,838 patients and in 383 cases the insanity of the patient was clearly traceable to his own intemperate habits.

Who can estimate the loss to the country at large in the depreciation of morality and virtue, in the wrecked lives, the blighted hopes, the ruined prospects, the destruction of health, the disruption of families and homes, the increase of crime, pauperism and insanity, in the hunger, pain and wretchedness of the people in the blood and tears of its millions of victims.

It is beyond the power of human brain to grasp or human tongue to tell. My feeble pen fails in its efforts, no estimate can be made, the story cannot be told.

This is not an overdrawn picture; it is the cold, plain truth. What conclusions do we draw from these facts?

First, that intemperance is the cause of a vast amount of crime, misery, woe, want, starvation and general wretchedness and degradation. That it is the greatest bar that blocks the wheels of human progress. They teach us that the scientist, the Christian, the moralist, the school teachers, in short, every individual who takes an interest in the moral and social condition of the human race, are all tugging to haul the people of this old world up the steep of time to a higher and nobler plane, that the intemperance of the people is the great load that is dragging at the other end of the rope.

Poverty Source of Intemperance.

But a further and more searching inquiry reveals another fact, viz, that while it is true that intemperance is a cause of poverty, it is also true that poverty is a fruitful source of intemperance. Think of the factory operative whose home is in the so-called slums of the big cities. He comes

home in the evening, tired, his home is crowded, miserably furnished and more miserably lighted, surrounded on every side by poverty and wretchedness. Is it any wonder that he steps out after his evening meal to spend the evening in his clubroom, the nearest saloon; there he meets his fellow-workers, gets a breath of fresh air and for a time forgets his domestic troubles. Feeling as he should grateful to the saloonkeeper for his apparent hospitality he occasionally takes a drink at the bar, never failing to call up his fellow-workers to imbibe with him, and they in turn, not to be outdone in generosity, calls him up in turn, and his system lacking the necessary healthful, nourishing food, fresh air and surroundings in which humanity could live, thrive and grow, feeling the need of stimulants, prompts him to accept the invitation, and thus the drinking habit grows on him.

Surely this is a question that should interest the labor unions. What action should they take in the matter?

Should Provide Club Rooms.

It seems to me that the first duty is to provide clubrooms for their members, such as their habits require, such as will interest them and furnish them everything that the saloon provides except the drink.

The expense of maintaining these clubrooms would be very light compared to the expense of using the saloon for the same purpose. The condition of the wage earner should be improved so that they can live and develop their minds as well as their bodies, so that their children can receive the best of rearing and education.

All Wealth to the Workers.

How are we going to improve the condition of the wage earner? There is only one feasible plan. To give to the workers the full products of their toil, by the public or co-operative ownership of the tools of trade in the form of mines, factories and land. With the great and ever increasing army of the unemployed outside the factory doors, with stern necessity driving them to compete with their fellowmen, the powers of labor unions to improve the condition of their members through the medium of improved wages and hours of labor, is greatly restricted, and in many cases a corresponding increase in the cost of living nullifies their efforts and cancels their victories.

Remove the cause and the effect will cease.

When we follow the footpaths of New Zealand and by improved methods of taxation and co-operative action on the part of the common people the wage earner secures access to nature's storehouse, the land and owns a share in the mines and factories, then the slums will disappear, the workingman can bring up his family surrounded by comfort and plenty. Light, airy homes will take the place

of wretched tenements, libraries, reading rooms and a general improvement of conditions will gradually elevate the common people to a higher, a nobler and a purer line of thought and action.

Elevate them to a plane of life above the saloon and its environments.

Government Control.

Oh, but someone says this is going to take a long time; can't you give us some remedy that can be applied now? Yes, here it is. The Gothenberg system of liquor traffic as it is in practical operation in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Russia; the dispensary system, as it is called in South Carolina. Briefly stated, it is nothing more nor less than government ownership of the liquor traffic. In South Carolina a state board of control, a state commissioner and local dispensers handle the entire liquor of the state. All liquor used in the state must be inspected by the chemist of the South Carolina college and bear his stamp.

The state commissioner is the wholesale agent of the state and furnishes the local dispensers with liquors in packages of not less than one-half pint nor more than five gallons. The local dispensers must sell it only in unbroken packages and the purchaser must take it off the premises to consume it.

This law was first enacted in 1892, and has passed through a hard line of opposition from the skeptical public, from people whose occupation had been destroyed by the new law and whose interests could best be served by violations of the law by hostile courts and judges, but it lived them all down and is today part of the state constitution and the settled policy of the state and its people. This law is based on the theory that you cannot prohibit men from gratifying their thirsts and tastes, that a large number of the people will have liquor, law or no law; it aims to supply this demand for drink in a manner to rob it of its most objectionable features. The two great factors which uphold the present system in other states are entirely obliterated, viz, the incentive to private gain in the traffic, and the saloon as a loafing place, or clubroom, if you please.

Call it a Socialist law or what you will, but in my humble opinion it is the only hard-headed, practical, commonsense liquor law in existence.

Wages and hours of labor is only one of the many questions that should demand the attention of labor unions.

You cannot materially improve the condition of the working class by improved wages alone. The lives and habits of the members should receive constant attention and everything possible should be done to elevate them to a higher and nobler life, to improve their condition morally, socially and intellectually. Yours fraternally,

G. W. AVERY.

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Colorado Labor and Socialist Movement

Written for The Journal by IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT, State Organizer

Aspen, Colo., Dec. 19, 1902.

Edr. American Labor Union Journal: I have been asked to furnish to the Socialist comrades of the western labor movement some account of the conditions in which I find the Socialist organization on my present tour to the locals of Colorado.

In the first place, it was decided by the State Committee that I should make this trip at this time, both to encourage the locals in their continuous agitation and activity, and also to present the idea of obtaining, in the minds of the public and the membership, that the political phase of our movement is its chief characteristic.

I found that the way had been pleasantly paved for my work by the feeling of novelty among the comrades at being instructed in economics by the first woman in the world who had headed a state ticket as a candidate for the office of congressman-at-large—a striking commentary on the wise-ness who have balked the modern advancing freedom of woman at every step.

The growth of the political phase of the International Socialist movement was so tremendous in the United States at the last election, and especially so among the laboring classes of the west, that we cannot but expect that there are at present an immense number allied with our party who have but vague ideas of the power and scope of the industrial revolution, the economic pressure behind its development and the essentially class nature of the contest. Especially here in Colorado, where compromise, fusion and shrewd political methods of all sorts have become a habit, it is of the utmost importance that we realize our class struggle, and stand squarely upon the principle of International Socialism. Neither can salvation be handed down to us by the falling middle class. The

workmen must develop their own remonstrance against the system that exploits them. As Karl Marx says, "The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class alone."

Our state movement has presented essentially chaotic phases during the last year. The State Committee has been without funds, either for organizing purposes or for carrying on an aggressive campaign; consequently, what work has been done here has been of a heterogeneous character, and it is not to be wondered at that we have had more religion and politics than economics in our propaganda. The result is that at some points there has been nothing but a political movement, which has virtually vanished since election. At other points there is a virile revolutionary movement that is carrying on its educational work with increased vigor since the encouragement of the election. The two best posted movements I have encountered so far are at Salida and Carbonade. At both places there are members of the locals who thoroughly understand the movement, and their influence and instruction have kept it in correct attitudes. There is one especially commendable feature of the Carbonade movement that I have met nowhere else: the comrades here have made it their express business to see that old professional politicians are kept out of the party. They could organize Glenwood, there being sufficient Socialists at that point, but they have been waiting till they could do so under conditions by which there would be no danger of the politicians getting control.

Leadville is developing a first-class movement. The comrades here have a hall. They have programs made out for four or five weeks ahead; the members are preparing addresses

themselves, and evolving their own ability and understanding of the subject, which, by the way, is the only legitimate manner of training Socialists.

Am making a specialty of union work, and meetings for women. Even after the magnificent record of the Denver convention there are still numberless unions where the membership still clings to the fossilized Comperiferous imbecility of "no political action in the union."

A large majority of the unions I have no trouble in getting into. Some I have to break into—take them unawares, as it were—and now and then there is one whose citadel I cannot assault. In Boulder county the United Mine Workers invited me into their union halls, and, in the territory of the American Federation of Labor, cheered the proclamation that workingmen must defend their interests by a working class ballot. Pope Gompers notwithstanding.

The women's meetings are devoted to an exposition of the especial class interests women have in the revolution, the economic advantages of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the pressing need that women should become intelligent upon these matters.

We are approaching the times that try men's souls. The outrages that are being perpetrated in the Telluride district against organized labor, the attempt of cowardly and brutal capital to defame the fair character and manly effort of Colorado's miners to maintain a decent standard of living, and protect their homes and babies, the outrageous attacks on the life, reputation and liberty of St. John, the young hero who is risking all that life possesses against the persecutions of his class—all these are rapidly crystallizing a situation in Colorado that will inspire the most heroic and

courageous stand on the part of labor.

Happy are they who will take the Socialist way, the way of peace. If they do not the results are in the hands of an unknown destiny.

Fraternally yours,
IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT,
State Organizer Colorado Socialist Party.

ONE COULD FIND OUT.

"When I go to heaven," said a woman to her Baconian husband, "I am going to ask Shakespeare if he wrote those plays." "Maybe he won't be there," was the reply. "Then you ask him," said the wife.

The Real Criminals.
I do not think there is such a thing as crime, as used in the ordinary sense. These men in jails are not criminals. They are men who have found themselves in that position where all opportunities of obtaining subsistence in an honest way are closed to them. They are not criminals because they are forced to reach out for something to sustain life, of which they have been deprived in a community where a few men control everything.

Every time the trusts in Chicago raise the price of meats, they send a certain number of poor people to the penitentiaries and jails. Every time they raise the price of oil they turn numbers of poor girls from honest labor out upon the streets. The men who cause this ruin are the only ones who can be guilty of a real crime and a crime that is worth considering. Australia, like America, was originally settled by outcasts and venturers. In one generation they were building churches and living well for themselves.

Read, Think and Vote

"Why should I want to read about Socialism? This may be your first thought on reading the article...

Socialism does not mean armed rebellion. If there is bloodshed before we get Socialism, it will be because the capitalists resist...

It does not mean taking from the industrious and giving to the idle, that is just what the profit system does and what Socialism will stop.

It does not necessarily mean equal wages for all kinds of work. It is a detail that the workers will settle to suit themselves when they get to it.

It does not mean giving state officials more power to dictate what people shall do than they have now.

It means a good deal more than "public ownership." It means that the working class, brain workers included, will be the ruling class.

But, to understand it thoroughly you need to do some reading. Socialism is a complex subject because the social question to be solved is a complex one.

No one can become an intelligent Socialist by learning a few catchy phrases. The object of the American Labor Union is to educate as well as to organize its membership...

There should you begin? That depends. You are wage-worker in a factory or office, begin with "The Man Under the Hammer" or "Britain or the British"...

ford, author of "Merrie England." 30
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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.

The primary instinct of man is the preservation of life. The earth provides the means for his preservation and support, and by labor alone can he procure from the earth those things necessary for his support, which are food, raiment and shelter. That he may enjoy these things essential to life, he comes upon the earth with force sufficient to produce them. Thus the justice of the divine decree becomes naturally established. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

Through a failure on the part of society to recognize the importance and the justice of these primary principles, we see upon earth certain classes who toil not for bread they eat. These classes, who are in possession of the means of production and distribution, and all the machinery of the government, impose upon the toilers the burden of their support. These conditions necessitate a class conscious movement upon the part of the toilers. Numerous efforts have been made to remedy these evils, the most notable being the trade union movement of the present day; but despite the desperate struggle made in this direction by the laboring masses the condition is gradually becoming worse, and the attitude of the privileged class more arrogant and oppressive.

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, emphasizes 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 s 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 employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

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.

CONSTITUTION
Adopted at Salt Lake City, Utah, May 10-14, 1904.
Revised and amended at annual convention at Salt Lake City, Utah, May 8-15, 1905; at Denver, Colo., May 14-21, 1906; at Denver, Colo., May 25-June 1, 1907; at Denver, Colo., May 25-June 1, 1908; at Denver, Colo., May 25-June 1, 1909.

as in the opinion of said Board is just and equitable.
Any subordinate union refusing or neglecting to hold an election as required by this law, shall be disciplined as the Executive Board may determine.

Section I. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the American Labor Union, preserve order, enforce the constitution, and watch vigilantly for the interests of the American Labor Union, and affairs of the American Labor Union, and all members are equally divided he shall have the deciding vote on any question.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to assist the President to preserve order at all meetings, and assist him in the discharge of his duties, while during his absence, and perform the other duties devolving upon the President.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to preserve the seal and books, documents and effects of the general office of the American Labor Union, and to record the resolutions of the convention and meetings of the Executive Board and keep copies of all letters sent out by him; receive and receipt for all moneys; pay all current expenses; prepare and submit in circular form to the Executive Board a report of all moneys received and disbursed by him. He shall give a bond in the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) to the Executive Board, which shall not have at any time more than two thousand dollars (\$2,000.00) subject to his order. All funds must be deposited with him in the name of the American Labor Union.

Section 4. He shall make all remittances by draft in favor of the Treasurer of any local union receiving aid, and shall take care to keep a correct account of the condition of all local treasuries, as is shown by the organization, and said statement shall quarterly reports received by him, which account shall be at all times open to the inspection of the Executive Board.

Section 5. The Executive Board shall constitute the American Labor Union Board of Arbitration, and shall have full power to direct the working of the American Labor Union. No representative of a local union shall be elected to the Executive Board without proper signed credentials, with the seal of the union attached thereto.

Section 6. All officers and members of the Executive Board, when ordered away from home, or when attending the conventions of the American Labor Union, shall be allowed five dollars per diem, which shall be recognized as such by the Executive Board.

Section 7. Election shall be held on the last Monday in June bi-annually. Subordinate unions to regulate the place and manner of voting, provided that no member shall be entitled to vote at general elections who was not in good standing and so reported in the quarterly report of March 21 preceding the election.

Section 8. The members elected as the Executive Board shall meet at the headquarters of the Executive Board on the morning of the 10th of July succeeding the general election. They shall then formally and in the presence of each other open the envelopes containing their votes, and shall certify to the same. This report shall be published in the issue of the official journal immediately after the election. The Executive Board shall place all the ballots, together with a copy of their report, in a box to be closed and sealed by them, and the box shall be opened at the next convention is held, when it shall be disposed of.

Section 9. Any member of the Executive Board who shall aid or abet in falsely securing the election of a candidate to the Executive Board shall be expelled from the organization and shall not be permitted to re-admission for a term of five years from the date of the expiration of his term of office. Any member who shall aid or abet in the election of a candidate to the Executive Board who shall be expelled from the organization and shall not be permitted to re-admission for a term of five years from the date of the expiration of his term of office.

Union for the benefit of striking locals shall be disbursed only by the Executive Board or some reliable person designated by the Board, or by the local union to give full account of all moneys received and disbursed. The Executive Board shall receive all moneys donated by unions for strike aid, and shall pay no benefit until the local union shall certify that it has been on strike at least one week.

Section I. For the sake of uniformity, supplies shall be procured from the Secretary-Treasurer, viz: Constitution, seal, blank applications for membership, financial ledger, blank bonds for officers, official receipt book, official receipt book, official treasurer's receipt book, official traveling cards, official transfer cards, withdrawal cards and gold label buttons. Names of members shall be furnished at actual cost.

Section I. Any national or international local union may become affiliated with the American Labor Union, provided the same rules and conditions as other locals, and such locals shall not be compelled to surrender their national or international charters.

Section I. Ten members shall be sufficient to obtain a charter. Seven members shall be sufficient to obtain a charter. No workingman or woman shall be discriminated against on account of creed or color in the admission of those eligible to membership in the American Labor Union shall be left entirely to the judgment of the local or national organization which it is desired to join.

Section 2. To reject a candidate for membership in a local union, it shall require a two-thirds majority of the local union, which shall be determined by a ballot. The names of all candidates shall be given their reasons, written to the President of the union not later than the next regular meeting, and the reasons must be announced by the President of the union. The names of all persons casting blank balls and giving reasons shall be kept secret. If the evidence is not sufficient to bar the candidate from membership, he may be elected by a majority of those present.

Section 4. Each member at initiation shall pledge himself to support the constitution of the American Labor Union, and obey all lawful orders of the Executive Board, in addition to the obligations required by the local union, of which he becomes a member.

Section 5. Each local union of the American Labor 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 Recording Secretary shall be elected on the day after the election; send the names and addresses of the officers elected to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor Union; who shall certify to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Labor Union, and forward to each union. Installation of local officers shall take place the first meeting succeeding the election.

Section 6. No member shall be admitted to a seat in a local union, or any convention, while under the influence of liquor, and any member refusing to obey the orders of the President in either case shall be fined one dollar for each offense.

Section 7. Each local union shall provide for the education of its members by establishing a library, or by contributing to the library of a district or state. Such union shall be subordinate to the American Labor Union, and shall be accepted by the American Labor Union, subject to the rules and qualifications governing the membership of such locals in the American Labor Union. In accepting such transfer card, the brother transferring shall pay the difference in initiation fee between the local to which he comes and that of the local to which he transfers; except in cases where the transferring member has formerly belonged to the American Labor Union, in which case he will be accepted as if transferring directly from one union to another. This fact shall be established by communication between the two locals concerned.

Section 12. Members leaving one jurisdiction and entering the jurisdiction of another, must transfer from the former to the latter within the period of thirty days, and in such cases the organization under whose jurisdiction he is working, must send a bill to his respective union, and said union shall be responsible for the balance between his dues, while under his respective union, at the time of date of notice, and at the time paid up to the organization to which he has transferred.

LABOR EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK

Railway clerks on western railroads will demand better wages.

Three thousand Chinese carpenters are on strike at Hong Kong.

San Francisco electrical workers recently secured an eight-hour day.

Spokane Trades Council has declined to contribute to the McKinley Memorial fund.

Teamsters of Bay City, Mich. have asked for an increase of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.00 a day.

F. Stacy Whitney, organizer for the A. F. of L. in Washington state, died at Tacoma recently of pneumonia.

Debs will speak before the California state labor convention, which will meet at Los Angeles January 5.

Eugene V. Debs has just returned to his home at Terre Haute, Ind., after a successful lecture tour in Oregon.

Max M. Hayes, labor and Socialist leader at Cleveland, Ohio, has challenged David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, to debate on the relative rights of labor and capital. President Parry

has issued a number of statements re- The Union Steel Company and the Sharon Steel Company recently organized, have been absorbed by the United States Steel Corporation. And the consolidation of industry continues.

Kansas barbers will present a bill to the next legislature providing for the creation of a board of examination and inspection. Barbers claim this will be a protection to the public as well as to the craft.

The Typographical Union at Owosso, Mich., are on strike for an increase of wages. All other newspapers being controlled by their employers, and therefore against them, the typos have started a daily paper of their own.

There is said to be a strong movement afoot to increase the salaries of officers of the United Mine Workers at the forthcoming convention of the organization this month. President Mitchell now receives only \$1,800 per year, while the annual compensation of Secretary Wilson is but \$1,500.

The freight handlers of Chicago are preparing to strike for more wages. It will be remembered that this union organized a strike last July but, owing to the improper support, was defeated. The office clerks are

preparing to strike, also, this time, and the men are confident of victory.

Representatives of the machinists who are on strike on the Union Pacific are in conference with the officials of that road in New York, with a view to settling the strike. The strike is for increased wages and abolition of the piece work system. It has already lasted for six months, and the company has suffered severely in consequence of it.

cently derogatory to organized labor and Socialism, and he is organizing an association to combat the unions. He will now have a chance to defend his position publicly.

A London dispatch dated Monday last says 200,000 tons of coal have been purchased in England and Wales by American dealers, and will be shipped at once to ports in the United States. This is the result of the exorbitant prices charged by anthracite mine owners in the United States, and to the fact that the coal barons show no disposition to abide by the decision of the court of arbitration, which may precipitate another strike.

A Chicago dispatch, dated Saturday, December 27th, states that a decision has been rendered by Judge Valle of that city, having a significant

bearing upon the right of labor organizations to boycott. In this decision, George Hinclyff, the plaintiff, is awarded damages to the amount of \$25,000 against the members of the Chicago Masons and Builders' Association for loss of business sustained during a boycott of his brickyards at Hobart, Ind., in 1898. Hinclyff sued for \$100,000, and the court awarded the amount above stated. It is said the decision establishes a precedent, which, if adhered to, will practically prohibit boycotting.

Judge C. C. Bland, of the court of appeals at St. Louis, decided last week that "capitalists have the right to combine capital in productive enterprises, and by lawful competition drive individual producers and small ones out of business. Laborers and artisans have the right to form unions and fight this combination of capitalists by lawful means." This statement of the right of combination on the part of capital and labor was handed down in a decision in favor of Joseph T. Walsh, who sought an injunction to prevent members of the Master Plumbers' Association from combining in the refusal to sell him supplies because he was not a member. Judge Bland refused to dissolve the organization, as he had been requested in the complaint, stating that the association is a lawful one.

More-Greatest Great Sale Pointers for Buyers of HOUSEFURNISHINGS

That should surely stop shoppers from shopping around and concentrate their attention to the most successful sale we have ever inaugurated. BUY WHERE THE CROWDS BUY AND BUY RIGHT.

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BEDS. White Enameled Metal Beds, good size post and well filled head and foot, cut from \$3.50 to \$2.25

CUPBOARDS. Kitchen Cupboards, golden finish, two drawers in top, large dish sections, with double doors, cut from \$6.50 to \$4.50

Kitchen Cupboard, top and bottom sections with double doors, 2 drawers in center, finished golden, cut from \$8.50 to \$6.25

COMBINATION BOOK CASE. Golden Oak, Fancy Cabinet top, with French plate mirror, beveled, large book section, roomy desk and bottom section, cut from \$17.50 to \$12.50

SIDEBOARDS. Five only of this lot, rich, golden oak finish, richly carved top with shaped bevel plate mirror, lined cutlery drawers and long linen drawer, cut from \$22.50 to \$15.75

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THE ORGANIZED LABOR MOVEMENT IN BUTTE, MONTANA

NO. 5 ELECTS OFFICERS.

Butte Workingmen's Union Holds Splendid Meeting.

Butte, Mont., Dec. 26, 1902. Editor American Labor Union Journal.

As it would make a very long report to write the proceedings of the meeting tonight, I shall cut it down to the report of the officers elected, there being little other business of importance transacted. Following is list of officers:

- President—Thomas King. Vice President—Lew Zaner. Treasurer—R. A. Bennett. Financial Secretary—Mrs. M. G. Howell. Recording Secretary—Charles W. Dempster. Business Agent—R. C. Scott.

Guard—Samuel Newhouse. Guide—Patrick Hennessy. Trustees—J. W. Dale and William Pater.

Delegates to Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly—R. C. Scott, J. W. Dale, Gustave Frankel, Henry Davis, Charles Dempster.

Alternates—Brothers Deigman, Roscoe, Cunningham, Bee and Zaner. Yours fraternally,

CHARLES W. DEMPSTER, Secretary and Correspondent No. 5.

Street Carmen Celebrate.

Butte, Mont., Dec. 27, 1902.

Editor American Labor Union Journal:

While I am not the correspondent for the Street Car Men's Union, I believe it is the desire of the Journal to get whatever good labor notes you

can, and I therefore just wish to tell you a few things about a union which I consider one of the most progressive organizations in the west.

Last night after most good folks were in bed I was invited to accompany a committee who said they were going to see the Street Car Men's Union. I felt rather doubtful, however, as to their termination, and thought there might be a chicken-roast or something of that sort in it, for who would believe any one who said he was going to union after midnight? With this belief as an inducement I consented to go with them.

On arriving at the old Masonic temple we found a sumptuous feast awaiting us, and then didn't we scramble! We scrambled till we had a plenty down. If there is any union that knows how to set up a swell lunch

and one which will not make you top-heavy, either, it is certainly this union.

Then, to add to all of these good qualities, they have an eye to business, which they showed by investing \$400 in the Labor temple.

When it comes to sobriety, and the ability to entertain, the Butte Street Car Men's Union is "Johnny on the spot." Yours fraternally, "BILL."

HIS DIGNITY PRESERVED.

An Irishman applied for an opportunity to work his passage on the Erie canal. They gave it to him, and set him to driving a mule on the tow-path, from Albany to Buffalo. He said he liked it, but that "only for the name of the thing he would as soon walk."

OWN YOUR OWN HOME!!! SAFE, SURE AND EQUITABLE

We believe the producers should get together, as do the non-producers, and even in this age of race and deceit the people are discovering the fact that there are a few honest men left. The labor leaders, which the Interstate Home Investment League is composed of, are promoting this institution for the purpose of providing homes for the wage earner. We are pleased to say that we are receiving companies on the same lines have operated successfully for 70 years, and thousands of homes stand today as monuments of their achievements. We wish to thank our members, who, as a rule, co-operate with us, using their influence, as well as by promptly making their payments. That this is a noble work must be admitted by all, and that all our members will eventually reap the benefits is equally certain. Call for plan and detail. We show results. Officers bonded. OPEN EVENINGS.



couragement from every hand. Our plan of cooperation for home buying has been investigated and endorsed by the best business and professional men in this country. A few of the most intelligent and prominent men of Butte are carrying amounts ranging from \$15,000 to \$25,000 with us. Some of the largest newspapers in the eastern states have commented favorably on this plan. In England and Germany

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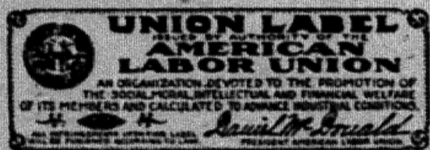
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WHY THE SCABS ARE SILENT

In the Chicago Socialist

It is generally considered a noble action to speak a word for or defend the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden, who are not able to speak for themselves, or plead the justice of their cause.

Sometimes, however, we might modify our opinion of this sort of championship, if we inquire why the victims are silent in their own behalf, and then take a look at the sort of people who take it upon themselves to defend them.

Take, for instance, the scab. He is exceedingly numerous in the community. There are always lots of him on hand when his services are required. His numbers are rather indefinite, but there are probably as many of him as there are union men. If an extensive test could be made.

He is not generally liked. Hundreds of union labor papers denounce him every week. He is scorned and execrated upon all hands by organized wage earners. But he never makes

speeches to justify himself. He never breaks into the newspapers to defend himself. He never asks publicly for sympathy or support.

Why is this? Is it because he lacks ability to speak or write? Hardly. There are plenty of educated scabs. Probably as many as there are educated union men. Why then is he silent in his own defense?

Because the scab recognizes that the work he is engaged in is dirty work, which he will not even attempt to justify on plea of necessity, though that plea is often true enough.

He is used for shameful and dishonorable purposes, and as a workman he instinctively feels it and remains silent.

But he finds defenders nevertheless. Though he never asked for them, they come forward voluntarily to speak for him. They call him a noble character, a hero and a savior of society.

Who are they? In every case they

are capitalists or the parasites of capitalists. The scab finds his defenders in such people as George F. Baer, Ex-mayor Hewitt, President Elliot, of Harvard, and Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis.

Why do they do so? Because they really love the scab? Because they are disinterested champions of that abstract principle, "the right to work?"

No. The boss will fire the scab instantly when the union is able to compel him. He will let him go without the slightest compunction in such a case. He cares nothing whatever about the right of any individual whether scab or union man, to work. What he is really after is profit.

If union men limit his profit by demanding higher wages he will try to supplant them with scabs. If he cannot do so he will keep the union men, for he would far rather have a reduced profit than none at all.

The other champions of the scab,

the college presidents and clergy, re-echo the statement of the scab because they have to, to hold jobs. It is dirty work, too, but they have to do it.

The scab is necessary to capitalism, to destroy as far as possible the solidarity of the workers. That is why he finds champions in the ranks of capitalism alone.

But his own silence is the clearest proof that he knows that his defenders are lying. If he was the hero they represent him to be, he would be proud of his scabbiness and would boast of it just as the union man boasts of his faithfulness to his union. But he does not do so and he never will, either.

PROBABLY RELATED.

An old lady, who had been taken to see the Siamese twins, looked at them with great interest and remarked: "Brothers, I suppose."

CHILD LABOR.

Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,

Ere the sorrow comes with years? They are leaning their young heads against their mothers', But they cannot stop their tears.

The young lambs are bleating in the meadows, The young birds are chirping in the nest,

The young fawns are playing with the shadows, The young flowers are blowing towards the west.

But the young, young children, O my brothers, They are weeping bitterly; They are weeping in the playtime of the others,

In the country of the free. —MRS. BROWNING.

"Mother" Jones will tour Canada for Socialism.

Carl D. Thompson, well known in Butte and throughout Montana, is having printed a pamphlet entitled, "The Principles and Program of Socialism." We have arranged for a supply of the first edition, which will be sold at the office of the American Labor Union. The price will be 10 cents each, and advance orders will have our best attention.

Rev. Father Hagerty's Lecture Tour

Rev. Father Thomas J. Hagerty, priest, author, Socialist, lecturer, will commence a series of twenty lectures in Montana, Idaho and Washington on trades unionism and Socialism at Billings, Montana, January 10th.

Father Hagerty is without doubt the brainiest, and certainly one of the most eloquent speakers in the labor and Socialist movement of the world.

He is a very learned man, being a master of arts and sciences. He is a physician of note, and is the author of that splendid work entitled, "Why Physicians Should Be Socialists."

Father Hagerty is a master of languages, reading, writing and speaking fluently the eight leading languages of the world.

He is the man who created such a profound impression in Denver and

throughout Colorado at the time and after the Denver conventions.

Father Hagerty is the man who debated the question of Socialism with Rev. Utter before one of the biggest audiences that ever assembled in the city of Denver, and who made that reverend gentleman so ridiculous, from an argumentative standpoint, that he could scarcely "utter."

This is the man who will lecture through the state of Montana, northern Idaho and Eastern Washington during January and February.

Many Montana audiences have had the pleasure of hearing Father McGrady, who delivered a series of lectures in this state in July of last year and to all those we can say confidently that Father Hagerty is as pleasing and interesting and instructive a speaker.

The principal cities and towns along the route have already arranged for dates. Several places in western Montana, northern Idaho and northern Montana at which he ought to speak have not yet guaranteed the small sum required for a lecture, and the comrades and unionists in those places who are interested should communicate at once with Clarence Smith, secretary of the committee having the lectures in charge.

The cost is trifling, and many union men and Socialists will regret it if they do not arrange dates.

Printing will be done for all places next week, and names of halls and hours of meetings must be reported at once.

CLARENCE SMITH, Secretary Lecture Committee, Butte, Montana.

A VALUABLE SECRET.

"Extravagance is the cause of hard times," said a Nevada capitalist. "We must be more economical. Ten years ago I commenced working in a mill in Gold Hill at a small salary, and in less than a year I owned the mill and had some money in the bank." "You are right," returned a listener with great

earnestness. "It is possible for a man to lay up \$2,000 or \$3,000 a month on a salary of \$5 a day, but he must be very economical, and have the handling of the amalgam."

"The Liberator" is the name of a rattling good Socialist paper just established at Portland by T. E. Laitner, formerly professor in the Wash-

ington State University, and A. E. Fowler, the splendid Socialist cartoonist who has been furnishing pictures for the Journal. Comrade Fowler's new duties will not interfere with his work for our paper, and his cartoons will be continued.

The Tribune at Jackson, South Africa, is a Socialist paper.